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MEMOIRS

OF

COUNT MIOT DE MELITO

MINISTER, AMBASSADOR, COUNCILLOR OF STATE

AND MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, BETWEEN THE YEARS
1788 AND 1815

EDITED BY

GENERAL FLEISCHMANN

FROM THE FRENCH BY

MRS. CASHEL HOEY AND MR. JOHN LILLIE

WITH NOTES AND AN INDEX PREPARED ESPECIALLY FOR THE AMERICAN EDITION.

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PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

MY purpose in placing before the public the recollections of Count Miot, my father-in-law, as a contribution to the large number of works which treat of the Great French Revolution and the events of the early years of the nineteenth century, is to aid writers who desire to throw a new light upon the history of those times. I believe that no materials supplied by contemporaries can be superfluous for the accurate and sufficient representation of all that was memorable, great and terrible in that epoch, and for a true estimate of the influence which it has exercised and still exercises upon the destinies of mankind.

Count Miot passed through a great revolution, but his recollections of it were untinged by personal regret. He had nothing to disguise or to excuse. It was for many years his constant habit to write down every evening all that he had learned or observed during the day. These notes of the events in which he was nearly concerned contain important details, for the most part unknown, and place the origin of those events in a clear and accurate light. In arranging them to meet the eyes of the public, I have thought it advisable to suppress all that possesses interest for the family of Count Miot only, but I have scrupulously refrained from adding anything that might affect the nature of the impressions which were produced by the events on the mind of the author. This book must not, therefore, be confounded with the fabricated Memoirs so profusely offered to the public within the last thirty years—works not indeed without merit, and in many instances written with ability, but in which their reputed authors have little share.

The readers of his Memoirs will probably agree with or differ from Count Miot's views and judgment of men and things, according to their own opinions, likes, and dislikes; but they cannot fail to close the book with sentiments of esteem and regard for its author, as a good man, and one who sincerely loved his country and mankind.

GENERAL FLEISCHMANN.

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MEMOIRS OF

COUNT MIOT DE MELITO.

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I WAS born at Versailles in 1762, and my parents destined me from an early age to be employed in the military administration. With the exception of a few excursions, for purposes of instruction, to Havre, Metz, Holland, and the Low Countries, I passed my first years of youthful manhood in the War Office, in which my father was one of the chief clerks. In 1788 I was appointed "Commissary of War," and sent to one of the military divisions which had recently been established. This, which used to be called "the model division," was commanded by Lieutenant-General the Duc de Guines. The celebrated Comte de Guibert, the Marquis de Lambert, both members of the Council of War formed under the Ministry of M. de Brienne, and M. Blanchard, one of the most eminent of the "organizing commissaries," were included in it. The general officers of the "model division" were the originators of a completely novel system of military administration, which, however, found no favour with the troops. Their plan was to train the French army in the Prussian discipline and tactics, and the national pride repelled those innovations, which were undoubtedly dangerous at a moment when the public mind was seriously disturbed by other proceedings on the part of the Brienne Ministry. The effects of the ferment produced by these combined causes were destined to manifest themselves in the course of the ensuing year.

Meanwhile, two training-camps were established; one at Saint-Omer, under the command of the Prince de Condé, the other at Metz, under that of Marshal de Broglie. I was employed at the former, which included the troops of the division in which I served. I arrived in September 1788 at the camp, which was situated on a wide heath, at a little distance from the town. About 30,000 men were assembled there; among that number were included the Swiss regiments of Salis-Sansade and Diesbach. They had already made great progress in the study of the new manœuvres; and these foreigners, who adapted themselves to the novel *régime* more readily than Frenchmen could, were much admired and highly favoured by the admirers of the Prussian discipline who composed the staff. Being perpetually quoted as an example to all the other corps, these regiments excited jealousy and aversion rather than emulation, and it may safely be affirmed that the first seeds of the insubordination afterwards exhibited by the French army were sown by attempts which were both imprudent and opposed to the national character.

The discontent excited by these innovations found expression in the camp in the usual way, by means of jests and songs directed against the "jobbers" (*faiseurs*), as they were called, and especially against M. de Guibert, who, being much superior in talent and administrative ability to his colleagues in the Council of War, and therefore supposed to be the most influential member of it, was a butt for every epigram. The malcontents went farther than epigrams; conspiracies to insult the Count publicly were formed among the young officers; the manœuvres directed by him were purposely ill-executed, and made to fail; his title, and even his claim to the status of a gentleman were disputed. In short, no means of casting ridicule upon him was left untried, and the unworthy manner in which he was treated at the assembly of the nobles of his province for the election to the States-General was due to the jealousy inspired by his remarkable ability, and the decided repugnance with which the changes he had endeavoured to introduce were regarded.

In addition to all this, in spite of the constant occupations and the perpetual movement of the camps, men's minds were not uninfluenced by what was happening just then at Versailles. The enterprises of the Brienne Ministry were the theme of general conversation ; the resistance of the Parliaments was highly applauded ; the conduct of the Court was mercilessly condemned, while its scandals were not only exposed but exaggerated. Count Charles de Lameth, Colonel of Cuirassiers, was foremost among the malcontents, and had already made a public profession of the opinions which afterward brought him into such notoriety. Grave discussions on the rights of peoples, and the inevitable necessity of a great change, were thus mingled with the sarcasms and epigrams which were ceaselessly showered upon the military innovators. Certain English officers who had crossed the Channel for the purpose of witnessing the manœuvres at the camps, were, on the contrary, objects of openly expressed admiration and esteem. "There," it was said, "are free men ; there are the models whom we ought to imitate, and not the machine-soldiers of a despot-king !"

Thus, while the throne, around which clouds were gathering heavily, was beginning to totter, its chief prop, the army—which ought to have been treated with the utmost consideration—was wounded in its tastes, feelings, and habits ; and, revolting against a system offensive to it, against an apprenticeship for which the French soldier is unfit, did not hesitate to discuss questions of high policy, and to take an active part in them.

This disposition of men's minds could not possibly escape the notice of the Prince who was in command of us. The camp was broken up, and the troops sent back into garrison ; but they took thither with them ideas and opinions which had developed themselves amidst the great gathering of which they had formed a part. According to observations made at the time, the state of affairs at the camp of Metz was almost identical with that at Saint-Omer. Only a deplorable degree of blindness, and that thirst for renown which beset men impatient to secure the triumph of their own hazardous notions, could account for such an act as the massing together of troops, for the sole purpose of worrying them, under such circumstances. The very moment at which they were shaking their chains was selected for imposing fresh fetters upon the soldiers, for reducing them to the condition of automatons. Never was a more foolish deed perpetrated, or one that was followed by results more fatal to those who were guilty of it.

I returned to Versailles in October 1788. During my absence, which had only extended over a few weeks, the aspect of the Court had undergone a great change. The respectful silence of the courtiers and the attendants, the strict forms of etiquette formerly so scrupulously observed, had given place to a freedom of speech and a method of expression to which the ears of our princes were unaccustomed. A drawing together of the different classes of society had become perceptible, the interior of the Palace was more easy of access, in short, that sort of familiarity which is established between men by services requested and promised was making itself felt. The two Assemblies of the Notables, the failure of the plans of Cardinal de Loménie's Ministry, the positive promise of the Convocation of the States-General, the first stirrings of sedition which had manifested themselves in Paris, the return of M. Necker, and the publications of the day, had produced this great change. External customs still existed indeed, but they were frequently violated with impunity. In short, the Court, such as Louis XIV. had made it, existed no longer : it has not re-formed itself since, and probably it never will re-form itself.

It is not my intention to recapitulate the events which took place between the Convocation of the States-General and their meeting. I was too far from the councils in which that momentous measure was so lightly discussed and so imprudently adopted, to be able to throw any light upon such a subject. Besides, several writers have handled it more ably than I could do ; I should be obliged either to copy them, or to extract fragments from the pamphlets of the time, were I to write the history of that epoch after my fashion. My object is not to follow in the track of other writers, but only to relate what I have seen, and how I have seen it. I shall therefore confine myself to detailing a few particulars of what happened at Versailles from the beginning of 1789, until the 5th of October of the same year, that famous and disastrous day which forced Louis XVI. to take up his abode at the Tuileries, and to quit the sumptuous palace of Versailles, never again to behold it.

Prior to those times of disturbance and revolution, when the Court was the whole State, three principal personages divided it among them, and each exercised a more or less decisive influence ; the Queen, Monsieur (afterwards Louis XVIII.), and the Comte d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.) ; but the Queen's party had always been the strongest. The Queen's domination was chiefly exercised through her influence over the mind of her husband, a man of pure life and good intentions, but whose qualities were injured by weakness of character and temperament which rendered him incapable of forming and adhering to any resolution ; and this although he was capable of profound dissimulation, the fruit of the evil education which was given to the princes of the House of Bourbon, and which was partially the cause of their misfortunes.

The three powers were seldom agreed. The Comte d'Artois, who put no restraint upon his passions, indulged to excess in gambling and profligacy. While he was the intimate companion of the young men of the Court, who were led by his example, he was at the same time duped and robbed by old debauchees, who took advantage of his inexperience. For the rest, he meddled but little with the administration of affairs or the selection of Ministers, requiring nothing of the latter except money wherewith to pay his debts, which amounted to an enormous sum at the epoch of the first Assembly of the Notables. He did not begin to take part in public affairs until the beginning of the year 1787, when, by declaring himself against any concession to the ideas of the times, and by supporting M. de Calonne, he exhibited opinions and took a line entirely contrary to those adopted or followed by his brother.

Monsieur was a clever man, but he was held to be pedantic. He was disliked in the Queen's circle, where he was nicknamed "Hortensius." Being repulsed by that clique, which, according to him, did not do justice to his merit, he made one for himself, more intimate and less restrained, formed relations, and had love affairs in which the intellectual rather than the animal side of his character was, it was said, engaged. The resentment which he cherished against the Queen, and the natural bent of his mind, led to his appearing in the Assembly of the Notables as the chief of the Liberal party, and to his being regarded as belonging to the sect of the philosophers. Henceforth he stood high in the opinion of the public, and if he had had sufficient courage and real attachment to the new ideas to put himself at the head of the movement which was then beginning, he would probably have been able to prevent some of its excesses. But it seems that he aimed rather at rendering himself formidable to the Queen, who had scorned him, and turned him into ridicule, than at achieving a more serious sort of distinction, and when he had gratified his private revenge, he withdrew from the stage on which he had made a brief appearance, and hid himself from all observers.

The Queen's party, composed of a number of amiable and clever men and women, but who had no sound importance resulting from superior ability or the *éclat* of great services rendered to the country, held exclusive domination at Court, disposed of all patronage, and succumbed, so to speak, under the mere weight of favour, wealth, and honours. But, just in proportion as the circle which the Queen had formed around herself was calculated to secure to her all the enjoyments of intimate friendship in private life, and the satisfaction of making those whom she loved happy, it was also likely to become fatal to her peace so soon as the eye of the public should penetrate it. This was exactly what happened at the moment when the imperative needs of the social condition of the country turned men's minds towards projects of improvement, the demand for which became increasingly evident with each rent in the veil which covered so much prodigality. When the crisis came, the Queen found no one among her intimates who could aid or sustain her. Her friends had no credit with the outside world; they enjoyed no public esteem, they were objects either of hatred or of envy; and their own safety being seriously menaced, what could they do but escape from the country?

They neither could nor would give her any but bad advice, for they themselves must have been the first to suffer by wise counsels. It was impossible for them to snatch her away from the brink of the precipice to which they had led her, and they soon found their only resource in flight.

Such was the aspect of the Court of Versailles when the States-General were convoked. Neither good faith nor sincerity had dictated this act. Far from seeking to smooth the difficulties as to the method of deliberation, which were raised by the excited state of public feeling, and the twofold representation granted to the Third Estate, those difficulties were increased by the affected silence maintained on so material a point. The courtier's last hope was that the obstacles would become so entirely insurmountable as to render the meeting of the States impossible, and for that end they all schemed. As a result of this system, the Deputies arriving at Versailles—and particularly those of the Third Estate—far from being made welcome by the Court, were offended by sarcasms and jests from the Queen's circle and that of the Comte d'Artois. The language, the manners, even the names of these new-comers were turned into ridicule, and the very men who were destined to shine soon afterwards by their superior talent and by their impressive speeches, and to dictate to the Throne and this heedless Court, were at first regarded as provincials whom the fine ladies and gentlemen of Paris and Versailles might mystify with impunity. An obsolete ceremonial, forms of etiquette that had fallen into disuse since greater freedom had penetrated into the atmosphere of the Court, were revived, and thus, between the other two orders and the Deputies of the Third Estate, a line of demarcation, as marked as it was humiliating, was drawn.

In proportion, however, as their reception by the Court was insulting, their welcome in the town was warm and affectionate. They were cordially received into the homes of the citizens, where many of them had arranged to board, and there they freely expressed their resentment and found it shared. Thus, notwithstanding the injunctions of the Court, notwithstanding the dependence upon it of nearly the whole population, the people openly declared themselves in favour of the new opinions, and became so strongly attached to them that in the end they were absolutely hostile to the Court. The sequel has shown that the popular tendencies were not to be despised.

It was in the midst of this agitation that the opening of the

States-General took place. I was present, as a spectator, at the ceremony which preceded it on the previous day. In the long procession winding through the wide streets of Versailles, the public remarked with dislike those distinctions of rank and of costume which divided into three separate classes the men on whom our fate was about to depend, and who ought to have possessed equal rights. It was mortifying to see the gold-embroidered cloaks of the noble Deputies, the plumes waving on their caps, the episcopal purple proudly displayed by the clergy, while a humble cloak of black woollen stuff and a plain round cap, a strange costume revived from the feudal ages, marked the Deputies of the Third Estate. Nevertheless, their firm demeanor, their steady gait, their expression of mingled dissatisfaction and confidence, drew all eyes upon them, and they were received with hearty salutations not offered to the other orders. There was a crowd of courtiers round the Princes, but they passed on amid silence. The King's countenance expressed neither emotion nor interest. He advanced, as usual, without dignity, and seemed to be merely accomplishing some duty of etiquette. Monsieur, who walked with difficulty, was serious and thoughtful; he seemed to be thoroughly impressed with the importance of the day's proceedings. The Comte d'Artois, casting disdainful glances right and left on the crowd lining the streets, showed evident signs of vexation and ill-humor. The Queen, with anxious brow and close-shut lips, made vain endeavors to hide her uneasiness and to impart a look of satisfaction to her noble and majestic countenance; but the weight at her heart, full of anxiety and bitter thoughts, made her unable to maintain it. At length the States-General, which had opened on May 5th, began to assemble in earnest. I followed their debates with eagerness, and shared in all the agitation of the interval between the opening of the States and their transformation into the National Assembly. When the re-establishment of the National Guard was decreed, I hastened to enrol myself in the section then forming at Versailles. This must have been displeasing to the Court, for it was forbidden to any one belonging to it to join the new militia, and no one wearing the uniform might present himself. And, in fact, I also incurred the blame of the circle in which I had moved since my entrance into society, while some few persons considered that my action did honor to my courage and independence. I deserved, however, neither praise nor blame; for in this I had simply followed the dictates of my conviction. I did not remain long in the National Guard, where I fulfilled the duties of adjutant. A post confided to me by the Comte de la Tour du Pin, the then Minister of War—that of facilitating the arrival of provisions in Paris—took me, in the capacity of War

Commissioner, to Rouen for a month, and obliged me in the first instance to suspend my service in the National Guard. After this, the events that took place shortly after my return compelled me to resign it altogether, and to leave my native town.

Before my departure for Normandy I had witnessed all the events that took place at Versailles during the three months following the opening of the States-General. I had been present at the famous Royal sitting of June 23, at the oath of the Tennis Court; I had seen the foreign regiments in the pay of France enter Versailles, summoned thither in order to dissolve the States-General; I had seen them marching at night through streets crowded with a silent and startled multitude. I had seen the Queen and her circle with the Comte d'Artois go to the Orangery, where the foreign troops were quartered, applaud their games and dances, share in them, and address words of encouragement and praise to the officers and even to the private soldiers. The headquarters of Marshal de Broglie were at that time established in one of the suites of rooms on the ground-floor of the Palace opening on the South Terrace. I had seen the aides-de-camp and the officers of the staff come in with their reports, and carry away from the very palace of the King orders to march on Paris and punish its inhabitants. Artillery was despatched from Douai and Metz; in a word, warlike preparations, the preludes to sanguinary engagements, were displayed on all sides, in places where, ever since the time of Louis XIV., nothing had been heard but the sound of festivity, and the pomp of peace and royal magnificence had reigned undisturbed. I had also seen how, in an instant, at the first news of the capital in insurrection, and of the taking of the Bastille, terror had succeeded to warlike impulse; how the brilliant staff and the troops brought from so great a distance had vanished like shadows, and the silence of fear had fallen on the Palace so full of tumult a few days before. All this formed a striking picture of the fragility of human designs, when they are neither matured by reflection nor sustained by high-souled courage.

On rallying from the violent shock of July 14, the Court party adopted a more tranquil attitude, and seemed for a time to resign themselves to their fate. But their conduct had been so false and so contradictory, that no approbation was accorded even to this resignation; and as they had lost all external influence, as suspicion rested on even their most indifferent actions, as, in short, no one had the least doubt of their bad faith, they had nothing to bestow, and their favor was a burden which those with whom they sought to ally themselves could not bear.

Meanwhile the Court had time to breathe, and once more took to listening to perfidious counsels and cherishing chimerical hopes.

The Comte d' Artois and the Polignacs had indeed gone away, but their influence had not departed with them. They had reached a foreign country and thus secured their personal safety, so they were more than ever urgent in advising violent measures, and represented that the help of foreign Powers would as certainly be lent in carrying such measures into execution.

Then once more arose the questions of flight and of the dissolution of this formidable National Assembly. In consequence of a scheme by which the Municipality of Versailles was induced to request the help of some troops of the line in order to secure the safety of the town, the regiment of Flanders was summoned thither. It was at this time, towards the end of August 1789, that I came back from Rouen. The aspect of Versailles was quiet but gloomy. The National Assembly were discussing the most important questions of social order with equal precipitation and improvidence, to the accompaniment of almost universal applause. Threatened—and they could not be ignorant of the threat—by the Court, they threw themselves entirely on the people, whose passions they flattered and whose excesses they excused. Thus they laid the foundations of that formidable power which in a short time was not only to rival but to exceed their own. The two parties were drawn up opposite to each other, although hostilities had not begun, when the Court thought itself strong enough to throw aside the mask, or rather, in its impatience, it laid that mask by unwittingly, without having made any preparations for acting an openly inimical part. The Court party were skilful in sowing dissension among the National Guard at Versailles, they had succeeded in inducing several who had joined it to abandon the service. They distributed white cockades to some young men, who wore them in the Palace apartments, and this mark of devotion to the Royal cause was rewarded with grateful smiles. The officers of the Flanders regiment were loaded with favors; reciprocal complimentary attentions had led to friendship among that regiment, the Body Guards, and a small minority of the National Guard. The Body Guards gave a grand banquet, to which were invited the officers of the Flanders regiment, those of the National Guard, those of the Household troops who were then stationed at Versailles, and also some gentlemen holding high positions at Court and in the Government, or posts in the municipality or the law. Every one knows that this banquet became an orgy, in which the National Cockade was trampled under foot, and that the Court party, which should have used its authority to prevent such a scandalous scene in the palace of the monarch, with inconceivable folly actually went to the theatre where the banquet was held, and endorsed its disgraceful excesses by their presence. Every one knows that the King, accompanied by the Queen carrying the Dauphin in her arms, made the tour of the table; that they accepted and proposed toasts, and ended by applauding a sham assault made on the Royal box, in which were the King and the Royal Family, by guests excited with wine and political passion, while a military band played the air—"O Richard! ô mon roi?"

I had declined an invitation to the banquet, and during this strange scene was walking alone in the gardens of Versailles, when I perceived a disorderly crowd rushing towards the windows of the Queen's apartment. I drew near, and saw them forming into irregular dances, with shouts of "Vive le roi!" "Down with the National Assembly!" They continued to indulge in noisy and senseless demonstrations during great part of the night. I began then to suspect from what was taking place outside how matters had progressed within, and I felt greatly grieved, foreseeing the fatal consequences of the extravagant conduct of that evening.

Nor were those consequences long delayed. Many external symptoms made it evident to the public that the Court was returning to its former projects; intending either to dissolve the Assembly, or to leave Versailles and take up its abode in some stronghold on the frontier—the city of Metz being named in particular.

In order to carry out the execution of either plan, the four companies of Body Guards, of whose opinions and devotion there could be no doubt since the scene of the banquet, had been assembled at Versailles.

The Court flattered itself also that some of the officers of the Flanders regiment, and also of the National Guard belonging to the town, who had taken part in the fête, would be carried away by the example of the Body Guards. Thus did they cherish illusions, while the ever-growing agitation in Paris, now raised to the highest pitch of excitement by the account of the extravagant scenes just enacted at Versailles, ought to have roused the Court to alarm, and induced it either to give up such ill-concerted designs, or to hasten to put them in execution.

But the King had to make up his mind, and Louis XVI. was incapable of coming to a decision. He was as impassive as ever, and altered none of his habits. Every day, as usual, he went out hunting. He was hunting on October 5, and it was in the woods of Rambouillet that a messenger on horseback, despatched at 1 P.M., brought him the news of the movements taking place in Paris, and of the march of a mob of ruffians on Versailles.

I will not attempt to relate here the events of that day and the following (October 6); I shall merely relate without comment what I saw and what I did on those two days.

At 2 P.M. on October 5 I was informed by one of my comrades, an officer of the National Guard, of what was taking place in Paris. I was not on duty, but I thought it right to put on my uniform and hold myself in readiness for a summons. At half-past three the drums beat the general roll-call, and I crossed the Place d'Armes, on my way to the headquarters of the National Guard, which was at the barracks of the French Guards on the right of the Place. As I passed before the outer courtyard of the Palace—the gates were closed—the Comte de la Tour du Pin, Minister of War, recognised me and called me in. The Court was almost filled by the Body Guards, on horseback, drawn up in order of battle.* I walked up and down for some time with the Minister, who told me that a terrible crisis was at hand ; that they were expecting the arrival of a mob of men and women, coming from Paris on pretext of asking for bread, but from whom the utmost violence was to be apprehended ; that no precautions had been taken ; that the King had not yet returned from hunting, but that it could not now be long before he came back ; and that in the meantime, as a preliminary measure, the Place had been closed and the Body Guards ordered to mount. He remarked that I was in uniform, and asked me where I was going, and what I intended to do. I replied that the general roll-call had been beaten, and that I was on my way to headquarters. He approved, and begged me not to leave the National Guards now assembling, but to unite my efforts with those of the other officers to induce them effectually to resist the attack with which the Palace was threatened. He added that his son, the Marquis de Gouvernet, who was second in command of the Versailles National Guard, of which the Comte d'Estaing was Colonel, had just mounted, and would bring us orders.

I was on the point of taking leave of M. de la Tour du Pin, when he begged me to go from him to the Comte de Saint-Priest, then Minister of the King's Household,† in order to learn whether he had received any further information as to what was occurring in Paris, and to propose that they should concert together such measures as it was desirable to take. M. de Saint-Priest received me rather ungraciously, my uniform was not pleasing to him. He seemed to be in a very bad temper, and told me there was nothing to be done, all that was happening was the consequence of the mistaken conduct of the Court and the weakness of the King ; moreover, there was, so far as he knew, only a mob of drunken women and poor ragged wretches to deal with—that they had no arms, and that the least movement of regular troops would easily put them to flight; but that action would be necessary, and above all no fear must be shown. Finally, he told me he would meet the Comte de la Tour du Pin at the Council, which was certain to be called immediately on the King's return.

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* The French Guards had left Versailles some weeks before.

† The Minister of the King's Household included in his department Paris and the interior of the kingdom.

I carried this reply to M. de la Tour du Pin,* and was not a little astonished to find on his staircase a dozen women from Paris. The Suisse had allowed them to come in, and they were seated on the stairs. They seemed exhausted by fatigue and hunger, and had been supplied with food. They told me they had started in advance from Paris in order to ask the King for bread, and that they were followed by a large number, who were coming on with the same intention. While one of them was telling me these things, the others were crying out, "Vive le roi! let him give us bread!" The Suisse told them to be silent, and they obeyed. The scene was at once piteous and absurd.

After I had repeated to the Minister what M. de Saint-Priest had said to me, I resumed my way to the barracks; but instead of going by the Ministers' Courtyard, I crossed what is called the Princes' Courtyard, and I perceived the Duke of Orleans at the window of the apartments on the ground-floor on the right. He was leaning on the ledge of the window, and speaking, with some gesticulation, to a person standing in front of him. He was in full dress, and wore on his coat the Order of the Holy Ghost. It was then about four in the afternoon.

I went on to the terrace of the Palace facing south, and there I found a squadron of the Body Guards on horseback. Finally, after making the round of the Palace, I returned to the Place d'Armes and reached the barracks of the French Guards.

The aspect presented at that moment by the Place d'Armes was as follows. The Flanders regiment was drawn up in line reaching from the left angle of the Palace gate to the Avenue de Paris. Several persons, among whom I recognized some Deputies of the National Assembly, were walking in front of the troops with the officers of the regiment. Part of the population of Versailles had rushed in to the Place and filled it, but all was quiet, and there was no perceptible movement. Opposite the Flanders regiment was the National Guard of Versailles in front of the barracks, but within the wooden barrier which separates the precincts of the barracks from the Place itself. This guard was in small numbers and in very bad order. Instead of finding it complete, as I expected, I saw that the small number of men who were mustered were out of uniform, poorly clothed, and badly armed. None of the men of mark in this militia, whether by fortune or position, showed on that occasion; and those who at reviews or on days of ceremony appeared in brilliant uniform and wearing epaulettes, now kept themselves shut up within doors. The National Guard under arms at the moment—their number did not exceed two hundred—also remarked these facts. Their observations were accompanied by insulting criticisms and abusive language. I felt that no reliance could be placed on men thus ill-disposed, and that far from finding in them a force which we might oppose to the dangers with which we were threatened, they would lend their aid to disorder. I remained, nevertheless, at their head, with a few superior officers who arrived one by one.

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* The four Ministers, Secretaries of State, resided in the first Court of the Palace, called the Ministers' Court.

All, however, continued quiet, and the ill-humor of our men was evaporating in more or less abusive talk against their chiefs and the Court, when, although the daylight was beginning to fade (it was about six in the evening), seven or eight of the King's carriages were seen leaving the great stables situated on the right of the barracks, and proceeding by the Rue Satory, to the gates of the Orangery which open on the high road to Chartres and Brittany. At this sight several of the National Guards exclaimed that the King certainly intended to go, and that he must be prevented. The troop wavered, and, heedless of the remonstrances of their officers, about thirty men rushed forward, and taking short cuts through by-streets, reached the gates of the Orangery and closed them before the arrival of the carriages, which they forced to return the way they came. This unexpected incident destroyed all the projects that had been formed at the Palace.* The King, who could have mounted his horse and placed himself at the head of his Body Guard, was disconcerted by a mischance which it would have been very easy to foresee, or to repair, by sending a picket of guards to the gate, and he again sank into his usual state of indecision, and awaited events.

The National Guards who had hastened to stop the Royal carriages, returned to barracks more irritated and angry than before, and I felt certain from their language that nothing would now check them; those who did not share in their feelings having taken advantage of the dusk to disappear one by one. Thus there remained but fifty or sixty men under arms. It was six o'clock in the evening.

At about the same hour, the gates of the Palace were thrown open, and Body Guards from the courtyard as well as those from the terrace—their presence being no longer necessary, since the King had given up the thought of departure—began to defile past so as to return to their Hotel, in the Avenue des Sceaux. These troops, in order to reach the Avenue, had to pass through the Place d'Armes, crossing it in front of the French Guards' barracks, then occupied by us. On perceiving them, part of the National Guard moved forward towards the wooden barrier which, as I have said, separated the precincts of the barracks from the Place; the rest remained in front of the building The head of the column of Body Guards which were defiling at a trot, four abreast, had barely passed the barrier, when I saw a flash of firearms from among them. At the same moment, the National Guards, without waiting for orders, replied by an irregular volley, levelling their guns at the Body Guards. The latter instantly set off at a gallop, before the shooters, terrified at what they had done, had thought of reloading their arms.

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* The carriages were to have received the Court at the foot of the Orangery steps, and nothing then could have prevented the flight of the King. The road was free, and the Body Guards assembled in the courtyard and on the terrace would have supplied a sufficient escort.

A gloomy silence succeeded to this momentary tumult. We afterwards approached the barrier, but could find no trace either of the discharge from the column of the Body Guards, nor of the fire from the barracks. Shortly after, M. de Gouvernet arrived on horseback; he ordered us to withdraw all the Guard except that part which was on duty. He assured us that the King had no intention of leaving Versailles; that everything was now tranquil; that the Body Guards and the Flanders regiment had returned to their quarters; but that if anything extraordinary should happen, the drums were to beat to arms.

As I was not on duty, I withdrew, and repaired to a house where I habitually spent my evenings. I found the company much excited by the events of the day, and especially by the shots they had heard. Each one explained them according to his opinions or passions, some asserting that the National Guard had fired first, and others that one of the Body Guard had fired his pistol at one of the National Guards who was near the barrier. I narrated what I had seen, and as nothing absolutely decisive in favor of one opinion or the other could be drawn from my account, each individual maintained his own, and even to the present day the question remains unsettled.

On returning home at eleven in the evening, I again passed by the barracks. I found only a few men there, but near the barrier I remarked a large fire. I approached, and saw, gathered round this fire, a group of men armed with pikes, and women of hideous aspect. They were busied in cutting up a dead horse, and roasting the flesh. I was told that the horse had been found on the Place; it had been probably killed by a shot from the barracks when the National Guards had fired. I could learn nothing farther.

I had scarcely reached my house when I heard the drums beating. On inquiry, I found that the National Guard of Paris was approaching, with M. de la Fayette at its head. A grenadier in one of the Paris battalions, who was a friend of my father, came to see us, and quieted our apprehensions as to the aim of this disturbance. He said that the two churches of Versailles had been assigned as quarters to the different battalions, but that he had preferred asking us for a night's lodging. We made him welcome, and I went to bed. It was then midnight.

At seven in the morning, October 6, I heard the drums beating. I arose in haste, and made my way towards the Palace across the gardens. In the courtyards I saw the vanguards of the battalions of the Parisian National Guard, which were arriving in good form, and falling successively into order. M. de la Fayette was at their head. While these troops were advancing and occupying different posts, I ascended the marble staircase and entered the interior of the Palace, all the intricacies of which I knew perfectly. The posts generally occupied by the Body Guard and the Hundred Swiss were vacant ; the guard-room and the antechambers leading to the Queen's apartment were deserted ; there were stains of blood on the floor and on the stairs. The greatest disorder prevailed ; men clothed in rags and armed with pikes were hurrying down the steps which I had ascended ; the doors of the Queen's apartment lay open ; not a servant was to be seen, either man or woman ; the furniture, including even the Queen's bed, was knocked about or moved from its place. From all this it was plain that the rooms had been forcibly entered, that the Body Guards, no more numerous than usual, had been taken by surprise, and that, after having defended the entry, they had been obliged to yield to force and retreat ; and also that several of them had shed their blood in making a hopeless resistance.

The King's apartment, on the contrary, was closed. I returned by the same way I had come, and then I beheld the National Guard of Paris, in the courtyards, in line of battle, with flags flying and in perfect order. A crowd of people, and numerous groups of men and women, strangers to Versailles, were pressing behind the troops, uttering shouts and howls, and brandishing their pikes, on some of which were human heads. It was a horrible and revolting spectacle ! The furious mob was, however, kept in check by the presence of the National Guard, and a portion of it, even, seeing there was nothing more for them to do, began to return along the road to Paris, whither they bore their bloody trophies.

Lost in the crowd, and dumb with horror, I was contemplating this fearful scene, when another of a more imposing kind presented itself. The windows of the balcony of the King's apartment, looking on to the inner courtyard, called the Marble Court, were thrown open. The King appeared on the balcony, accompanied by the Queen, by his children, and by the Princesses.* Their appearance was saluted by cries of "Vive le roi! vive la famille royale!" M. de la Fayette and M. Necker stood near the King and Queen, and behind them was a group consisting principally of Body Guards, disarmed and bareheaded. The King seemed to be begging that his faithful servants should be spared, by placing them, in some sort, under the protection of the Parisian National Guard, and M. de la Fayette was endeavouring to explain the meaning of the King's gestures. I was at too great a distance to hear distinctly the words that were used, but the National Guard replied by cries of assent. Then the Body Guards, throwing their sashes and white cockades over the balcony, received in exchange tricolor cockades and caps belonging to grenadiers of the National Guard. They fastened in the cockades and put on the caps. After this kind of treaty of peace, confirmed by loud shouts, I heard some voices, at first few in number, but afterward becoming more and more general, and proceeding from every rank in the National Guard, demanding that the King should come to live in Paris. At first these cries seemed to receive no attention, but the clamor soon became so loud, and was mingled with so many threats, that it was impossible to evade a reply. The King and Queen were in consultation with M. de la Fayette and M. Necker on the balcony, and at last, after a quarter of an hour's indecision, the latter came forward—a profound silence prevailed—and I distinctly heard the Minister announce that the King consented to proceed to Paris, and to take up his abode there for the future.

M. de la Fayette confirmed this resolution by voice and gesture. A transport of joy impossible to depict or to express instantly pervaded the crowd, salvos of musketry were fired, and shouts of "Vive le roi!" resounded on every side. When the tumult had somewhat subsided, the King retired with his family into the private apartments, and it was announced that the Court would leave Versailles at one o'clock in the afternoon. It was then about 9 A.M.

The National Guard of Paris piled their arms in the courtyards of the Palace, and dispersed about the town, while awaiting the hour fixed for the King's departure, when they were to resume them, and escort the Royal travellers. The greater part of the crowd of men armed with pikes had already set out for Paris, followed by some of the women. In the meantime, the National

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* Madame Elisabeth and the aunts of the King.

Guard of Versailles was assembling on the Place d'Armes, by order of its commanding officers, and I, having put on my uniform, hastened to join the ranks. The Guard was to line the way when the King passed, and as nothing more than a ceremonial parade was in question, there was a numerous muster, and all was in good order.

At about one o'clock the cortege began to move. A strong advance guard was formed of several battalions of the National Guard of Paris. Tipsy women were seated on the gun-carriages, singing and waving aloft boughs which they had torn from the trees. But I did not see the heads carried on pikes, of which mention has been made in certain narratives. The men who took those horrible spoils of a night of crime back to Paris were already far away. The King's carriages came next; they were surrounded by several of the Body Guard; some seated on the box, or on the shafts of the coaches, and looking much more as though they had sought a refuge there, than as though they were occupying a post of defence. A great many of them still wore the grenadiers' caps, and all displayed the tricolored cockade.

As I have already said, we lined the way, and from my position in front of the men I could easily observe everything. The King's face was quite unchanged, but the countenance of the Queen betrayed agonizing grief, notwithstanding the strong efforts which she made to repress the outward signs of her feelings. Monsieur's carriage followed that of the King, and the others were occupied by persons of the household. There were ten or twelve carriages in all. M. de la Fayette was on horseback, now at the side of the King's carriage, anon riding forward to give orders. Two ranks of National Guards marched in parallel lines with the carriages; the remainder of that numerous body formed the rear-guard. I followed this strange procession with my eyes until it reached the turn into the Avenue de Paris, where at length it disappeared.

During the rest of the day I wandered about the deserted gardens and palace, and through the streets of the town, where the silence was broken only by the wheels of the carriages in which the Deputies and Ministers, all eager to leave Versailles, were setting out for Paris. All night the town was patrolled. This was an unnecessary precaution, perfect quiet reigned everywhere. I was at the head of one of the patrolling parties, and this was the last turn of duty I did with the National Guard of Versailles. Two days later I resigned, and set out for Paris, whither I had been summoned by M. de la Tour du Pin, who was still Minister of War.

CHAPTER II.

The 10th of August, 1792—The Author escapes a decree of accusation—M. Lacuée provisional Chief of the War Department—Joseph Servan, Minister—The Author ceases to be Chief of Division at the Ministry, and enters the Administration of Military Affairs as Comptroller-General—Servan is succeeded in the Ministry by Pache and Hassenfratz, who disorganize its administration—Pache is dismissed, and succeeded by Beurnonville—The Author resumes his former post at the Ministry—Bouchotte succeeds Beurnonville—The Author is made Secretary-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under Deforgues—Sketches of some of the leaders of the Terror—Fall of Deforgues, who is succeeded at the Foreign Office by a schoolmaster named Buchot—The Author, denounced as a "Moderate," is placed under a decree of accusation, together with MM. Otto, Colchen, and Reinhart—They are saved by the 9th Thermidor—The Author is appointed Commissioner of Foreign Affairs—His communications with the Committee of Public Safety—Treaties of peace with Tuscany and Prussia.

I HAD been settled in Paris since October 1789, and I continued in the service of the Military Administration which I had entered at Versailles. I occupied at first the post of "Chief of the Bureau," and afterwards that of "Chief of Division," under the different Ministers who succeeded each other at the War Department up to August 10, 1792.

I was included at this period in the proscription which fell upon a great number of Government employés, and I was to have been arrested and thrown into prison, where I should probably have been one of the victims of the massacres of the 2d of September. But, fortunately as it turned out, I was anxious about the health of my wife and daughter, then at Versailles, and on the very morning of the 10th of August I had left Paris by the Clichy Gate, and had made my way to Versailles, across the plain of Sablons, the Bois de Boulogne, St. Cloud, and the woods above the ancient palace of our Kings, the pathways of which were perfectly familiar to me. During my progress, the noise of cannon and musket-shots in Paris caused me terrible anguish of mind; but I only hastened the more quickly on my way, and reached Versailles about noon, trembling with apprehension, ignorant of what had taken place in Paris, and unable to reply to any of the questions put to me. In the evening the details of that terrible day became known. I concealed myself carefully on the morrow, fearing to be arrested as non-domiciled, and on the succeeding day (August 12) I took my place in one of the little carriages that for some time had been running between Versailles and Paris. We passed without difficulty through the gates, which were closed against all who wanted to leave the city, but freely open to all in-comers. On reaching my father's house I found that a warrant for my arrest had been issued, and that a search had been made for me, in order that it might be put in force. I also heard that my brother-in-law, M. Arcambal, Commissioner-Director of War and Secretary-General of the Ministry, and my uncle, M. Vauchelle, chief Clerk of Artillery, had already been arrested. After acquainting me with this sad news, my father added that he had stated that he did not know where I was, but that I might be heard of at the residence of the War Minister.

Thereupon I quickly decided on my course of action, which was to proceed to the War Office. I learnt there from my fellow-clerks that emissaries of the Commune had in fact come on the previous day to arrest me; that, not finding me, they had left one of their number behind to seize me on my return, and enforce the warrant against me, but that the individual, weary of waiting to no purpose, had departed, and had not since reappeared. The Legislative Assembly had appointed M. Lacuée, one of its members, to administer the department until the arrival of the new Minister of War. I thought it right to wait upon him, and found him, wearing a tricolor sash, and installed in the Minister's cabinet. I told him that I presented myself, in order that he might not suspect me of trying to escape the search now being made for me. He received me politely, said he had no orders to take any steps against me, but that, on the contrary, he requested me to return to my work, and to assist him in the difficult position in which he found himself. He complained of the excesses of the Commune in Paris, which had disorganized every official department by its arbitrary arrests; and in fact he was equally indignant at the acts of that seditious authority as he was powerless to repress them.

I therefore resumed my usual occupations, expecting every instant to be arrested at my desk. But I was not arrested; either it was believed that the warrant had already been executed, or I was forgotten; at all events, I remained at liberty. I even had the very great happiness of saving one of our friends, M. Jullien, who took refuge in my house, and of aiding with him in the release of my uncle and my brother-in-law, whom I have mentioned above, and who were, marvellous to relate, set at liberty a few days before the 2d of September.

Meanwhile the Legislative Assembly had appointed Joseph Servan

Minister of War. He was brother to the celebrated Advocate-General of the same name, and had already occupied that post, to which he had been appointed by the King. He had connected himself with the now triumphant Girondist party, and sent in his resignation some months previously. The Assembly had solemnly declared that on quitting his post he carried with him the regrets of France. During his first tenure of office I had frequently been brought into contact with him; he was acquainted with my opinions and knew that I did not share his. In fact, although I occupied a somewhat obscure position, I had not been permitted to conceal my opinions; and I was naturally opposed to any disguise of the kind. I was—and he knew it—what was called at that time a Constitutional Monarchist, a Moderate, a "feuillant." I belonged to the club so-called, although my dislike of assemblies of that kind generally kept me away from it. All these circumstances being known to M. Servan, he could not feel confidence in me; and although my thorough acquaintance with the details of the Ministry rendered me useful, he felt that by retaining me he might incur censure, and would expose himself to danger without being able to protect me. Nevertheless he received me with some cordiality, after his appointment to the War Office by the Assembly; but as my views of my position there were the same as his, we soon agreed to separate. He accepted my resignation of the post of Chief of Division—I sent it in on the pretext of ill-health—and placed me as Comptroller-General in the Administration of Military Affairs, a position little known and quite obscure, where I hoped to be out of the reach of investigation. But it was fated otherwise. The National Convention had just met, and the Girondists who had placed Servan at the head of the War Office, having lost by degrees the powerful influence they had exercised over the Legislative Assembly, Servan was attacked, dismissed, and replaced (October 4th, 1792) by Pache, a creature of the Communist party. On the arrival of the new Minister, the whole War-Administration was upset. Every man of intelligence or experience was dismissed, and Hassenfratz, placed by Pache at the head of one of the most important divisions of the department, raised confusion to its highest pitch; he persecuted all the former employés by his denunciations, and treated them with the severity inspired by instinctive ill-will, disguised under the hypocritical mask of enthusiastic republicanism. Nor was I to escape: in the month of December there was some thought of entrusting me with a mission connected with the administration to which I belonged: he refused me my passports and the necessary orders, expressing surprise that my name had been left on the list of employés in his department. This expression of opinion on the part of a man who was at that time all-powerful, was equivalent to a sentence of death, and doubtless I should have perished had my persecutor had time to carry his evil intentions into execution.

At this critical moment of my fate Pache himself was violently attacked by Dumouriez. The latter had just entered Belgium after his brilliant victory at Jemappes, and could not carry on the war with a Minister who was disorganizing everything. He had great influence in the Convention ; prevailed over the Commune, and carried the dismissal of Pache early in February 1793. Pache was succeeded by Beurnonville, who had served with distinction in the Belgian campaign, and was nicknamed by Dumouriez " the French Ajax" !

Beurnonville, on coming into office, sent for me and offered to restore me to my former post. Since the time when d'Hassenfratz had declared war against me, and during the trial of Louis XVI., I had frequently absented myself from Paris, to avoid the dangers that threatened myself, also the sight of the terrible tragedy then impending, of that sanguinary execution which shortly afterwards polluted the capital of France ; but I had not relinquished my habitual residence. I was there when Beurnonville's propositions were made to me. I acceded to them, and re-entered the War Office.

Under the new Minister the Administration began to work more regularly, and to emerge from the lethargy into which Pache and Hassenfratz had plunged it. But this state of things did not last long. The reverses experienced by the French army, and which in the early part of 1793 forced us to evacuate Belgium ; the defection of Dumouriez ; the internal discord in the Convention, a stormy prelude to the Reign of Terror that followed the execution of Louis XVI. and which was now developing itself ; these were among the causes that combined to efface every trace of a short-lived improvement. Beurnonville, who was sent with Camus, Guinette, Lamarque, and Bancal, Commissioners of the Convention, to arrest Dumouriez, wished to take me with him, as he was very friendly to me. I had agreed to go, when fortunately the necessity for retaining a confidential person in the War Department, in which Beurnonville intended to resume his post after a short absence, led him to decide on leaving me in Paris. We know the fate that awaited him ; and I should no doubt have shared his long imprisonment.

When, in April 1793, Beurnonville was arrested by order of Dumouriez, together with the Commissioners of the Convention, and the post of War Minister became vacant, the Convention appointed Bouchotte to succeed him. Bouchotte was Commandant of Arms at Cambrai, and had hitherto been undistinguished in the military career on which he had barely entered. It was only the favour of the Paris Commune that had placed him among the candidates. The Commune hoped to find in him a second Pache, and in some respects were not disappointed. The devotion of the new Minister to this odious faction was unquestionable ; he gave frequent proofs of it. Nevertheless, under a plain exterior, with foolish ways, and a bearing which often caused him to be wrongfully accused of total incapacity, Bouchotte had talents and qualities for administration, an upright mind, and the capacity for steady application to business. He even displayed great activity, which seemed at variance with his physical organisation. It was while he was Minister that the garrison of Mayence was removed to La Vendée, and this strange enterprise, the management of which devolved upon me, was carried through with remarkable precision. At this period, too, the telegraph, an invention which rendered great service to military correspondence, came into use.* Notwithstanding the severity exercised in those deplorable days towards so many general officers whose lives were taken by the Convention, I had opportunities of observing that Bouchotte was altogether opposed to these condemnations, and that he saved the lives of many persons who do not know they are under any such obligation to him. Among others, I may name General Canclaux.

When a man appointed by the Paris Commune made his appearance at the Ministry of War, I believed myself irrecoverably lost, and I confidently expected the reappearance of all the officials who had been formerly employed by Pache, such as Hassenfratz, Sijas and others, who had withdrawn with their chief. But, to my great surprise, Bouchotte did not reinstate them. He even insisted on retaining me, treated me with the fullest confidence in everything regarding the affairs of the Administration, neither inquired into my political opinions, alluded on any occasion to his own, nor solicited me to embrace them, although I worked with him many hours daily. Nevertheless, I felt my position to be one of constant constraint. A reverse to our troops, an act of forgetfulness or of negligence, anything that should give room for the most trivial denunciation, might bring irretrievable ruin upon me, and I ardently longed to escape from so critical a position.

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* M. Chappe, the inventor (or supposed to be so) of the telegraph, came to me at the War Office. David, the famous painter, introduced him. Chappe explained to me the method of using his machine, to which he gave the name of *tachygraphe* (" writes quickly"). I proposed to him to substitute for this imperfect description that of *telegraphe* (" writes from afar"). He adopted this alteration. The name " telegraph" has become, so to speak, a household word.

I saw that I owed the consideration with which I was treated solely to the necessity that existed for making use of my experience in the Administration, and that so soon as that necessity should subside, I should be left alone and without a protector to repel the attacks upon me that would inevitably be renewed. I was convinced that the Minister would not willingly dismiss, nor would he denounce me, but I was also aware that he had some difficulty in maintaining his own position, and that, as he was obliged to purchase by continual concessions such protection as was afforded him by the party which had placed him in office, he would be unable to defend me, and certainly would not for my sake put his own popularity in peril. While I was in this state of perplexity, an opportunity of leaving my perilous post offered itself, and I eagerly embraced it. Several assistants had been appointed to the War Ministry. One of these, named Deforgues, with whom I had been brought into constant contact, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, on June 24th, 1793. He proposed that I should change into that department with him, and take the place of Secretary-General. I accepted. Bouchotte was with difficulty induced to part with me, but eventually he consented. I therefore relinquished at this time the career I had adopted in my youth, but resumed it, as will appear in the course of my narrative, just after the 18th Brumaire, year VIII.

A new era had now begun for me. This change in my career eventually called me to high functions in the public Administration, when, after the Reign of Terror, a regular Government was formed in France.

My first experiences in the new course on which I was entering justified the decision I had taken, and realised some of my expectations. I had calculated that, foreign relations with France being for the present almost at an end, I should be less exposed to remarks in a department which had next to nothing to do than in the War Office, which at that time was the centre of attention ; and that Deforgues, who, on attaining to the Ministry, had called me to his side in consequence of the events of May 31st, and who was a man of a firm and decided character, would be a more substantial support to me. It was also with great inward satisfaction that I found myself in an Administration where I should have to work with men of high intelligence as well as of honourable character, such men as MM. Otto, Colchen, Reinhart and Boissonade, who were at the head of the principal divisions of the Ministry. The mere difference in speech seemed to me an inestimable advantage ; to the coarse, rough ways adopted in the War Office, succeeded politeness and elegance of manner, the result of a gentlemanly education and the habit of association with foreigners. I found traces of the former customs of the monarchy still existing in this department. Far from seeking to efface them, Deforgues, who, notwithstanding the party he had joined, had natural good sense and sound judgment, seemed to take pleasure in them, and to desire a restoration of order, decorum, and urbanity.

In this way, with less personal danger than I had hitherto incurred in the terrible storm then devastating France, I passed through the six months which elapsed between June 1793 and the end of the year. During that period I had several opportunities of seeing Danton, the patron of Deforgues, at whose house he frequently dined. I was often invited, as were also my colleagues, Otto and Colchen. These dinner-parties often included Lacroix, Legendre, Fabre d'Eglantine, Camille Desmoulins, and less often Robespierre, whom, indeed, I met but once.

I will pause here for an instant, and endeavour to describe the impression which was produced on me by the appearance and conversation of those famous and criminal Revolutionists, whom I saw for a few moments, as it were, in their private life, and away from the bloody stage on which they daily displayed their fury. My colleagues and I had our places at the end of the table, and took no part in the conversation ; we were mere observers, and it is the result of my observations that I am now about to record.

Danton, the most remarkable of all the personages whom I have named, had a hideous face. His proportions were athletic ; in that respect he was even thought to resemble Mirabeau. But the complexion of the latter was of a livid pallor, while that of Danton was of a reddish-brown, and his countenance was very animated. The tone of his voice was impressive, he spoke with warmth and energy that appeared natural to him. His elocution was fiery, and always accompanied by violent gesticulations ; at table he generally struck the key-note of the conversation, and made frequent use of figurative expressions—"The chariot-wheels of the Revolution will crush its enemies." "The Revolution is like Saturn ; it will devour its children"—and other phrases of the same kind. He felt profound contempt for the Girondists, regarding them as fools who had recoiled before the logical results of their principles. He made no secret of his love of pleasure and of money, and sneered at vain scruples of conscience and delicacy. Intrenched in the club of the Cordeliers, which he looked upon as a citadel always open to him, he believed himself to be unassailable. The cynicism of his morals exhibited itself in his language, for he despised the hypocrisy of some of his colleagues, and his sarcasms on this vice were principally directed against Robespierre ; whom, however, he did not venture to name. Nevertheless it was easily to be seen that Robespierre was the enemy whom he most dreaded, although he affected to despise his party. "They would not dare," he often said, and this rash confidence was his ruin. He thought himself sufficiently strong to leave Paris in the spring of 1794 with impunity, for the purpose of passing a few days on an estate he had acquired at Bar-sur-Aube. He gave himself up when there to the enjoyment of the luxury he had procured by his extortions in Belgium, and thus absented himself from the battle-field. On his return he had lost his influence, and Robespierre, all powerful at the time, sent him to the scaffold.

Lacroix, a friend of Danton's and his colleague in his mission to Belgium, where they both enriched themselves, was of gigantic stature, but of fine proportions, and was a handsome man. He had taken Danton for his model, imitated his manners, and repeated or paraphrased his speeches. The whole of his oratorical talent lay in this imitation. He spoke little, ate a great deal, and applauded the sayings of his master by gesture only. He followed him to the scaffold.

Fabre d'Eglantine's manner of talking was graceful, but affected. Notwithstanding his efforts to conform to the Revolutionary style of speech, it was evidently antipathetic to him, and the ring of a refined education was heard through a coarse exterior. When the conversation turned, as rarely happened, on literary subjects, he eagerly joined in it, and displayed great acquirements. He was an admirer of Molière, and spoke of him enthusiastically. I have heard him make remarks on the works of that great genius which were as striking as they were novel. I remember that, when descanting one day on the merits of the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," he said: "It is a great mistake to think in this play that Molière intended to insult the middle classes. He aimed it at the nobility, and was merciless. He certainly holds up to ridicule the folly of a *bourgeois* who wants to pass for a nobleman; but M. Jourdain, with all his folly, is none the less a very upright man; a good husband, a good father, a generous and practical friend. The rogue, in the play, is the gentleman, Dorante, who is both a flatterer and a cheat. He is a wretch, who deserves only our contempt. All Molière's talent was needed to mislead as to his real meaning, and at the same time it required immense courage thus to exhibit the vices of courtiers on the stage, under the very eyes of the Court." This view of Molière's genius reveals discernment in the critic, and Fabre d'Eglantine has proved by his own writings for the stage that he could appreciate and successfully imitate him whom he had taken for his model. He was indicted as an accomplice of Danton, and perished with him.

Legendre, a Paris butcher, was of small stature, and deeply pitted with small-pox. He spoke with the greatest facility. Gifted by nature with extraordinary but quite uncultivated eloquence, his speeches in public, his conversation in private, were full of original and happy turns. He was an ardent patriot, and fell into the greatest revolutionary excesses, but there is no doubt that he acted in good faith and sincerity, following the impulses of a passionate but misguided love of liberty, and a mind never restrained by the curb of reason or reflection. I often admired this man when, on leaving the Convention where he had supported the most bloodthirsty proceedings, he would return to private life, and talk to us of its charms with an accent of truth impossible to simulate. He would speak of his own domestic happiness, of his wife and children, in the tone of the best of husbands and fathers, sometimes betraying his emotion by the tears that stood in his eyes. He was an incomprehensible mixture of political ferocity and social virtues, proving that man, with his strange mobility of imagination, can unite in himself the most wondrous contradictions. He was a partisan of Danton, whom he regarded, he said, as the Hercules of the Revolution, and was never weary of praising him when speaking of his talents in a public capacity ; but he blamed him openly for his manner of life, and for his luxurious tastes, and never joined in any of his disgraceful speculations. Animated discussions on this subject would frequently arise between them ; and although Danton always turned the matter into a jest, and pretended to laugh at the preaching of his colleague, Legendre never yielded, and it was evident that his words pierced to the quick. Lastly, this remarkable and singularly-organised man had succeeded in inspiring such a general respect that, notwithstanding his openly-avowed attachment to Danton, Saint-Just did not venture to include him in the indictment of the latter. And although even after the death of Danton, Legendre continued to defend him, he was never proscribed, but was in a position to attack Robespierre on the 9th Thermidor, and to contribute to his fall. He was therefore an exception, and although one of the most enthusiastic members of the Convention, he escaped almost alone from the fate which the fiery revolutionists of that terrible time had to endure. After the establishment of the Constitution of Year III. he was elected member of the Council of Former Members (Conseil des Anciens), and died in his bed, at Paris, at the beginning of year VI. (end of 1797), being still a member of the Council, and leaving no fortune behind him.

Camille Desmoulins was also among the number of those who dined pretty frequently at Deforgues'. His personal appearance was commonplace, he had no external advantages, nor did his conversation belie the grudging hand with which Nature had endowed him. Gloomy and silent, his countenance wore an expression of profound melancholy, and it was difficult to recognise the orator of the early days of the Revolution of 1789, the orator who, standing on a chair at the Palais Royal, had by his stirring speech produced the great popular movement of that famous period. At the time when I was in the habit of seeing him, he was horror-struck at the terrible scenes which passed before his eyes every day, and was endeavouring to arouse a spirit of humanity. In several numbers of a newspaper entitled "Le Vieux Cordelier," which was edited by him, he ventured (for it was then an act of the greatest courage) to advocate a return to clemency. Danton laughed at him for what he chose to call his weakness, but Camille Desmoulins, who was also excluded by each so-called patriotic society for having advocated these new doctrines, made no reply. His gloom announced that he already foresaw the fate awaiting him, and the few words that he uttered were always inquiries or observations on the sentences of the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the kind of death inflicted on the condemned, and on the most dignified and decorous way of preparing for and enduring it. His presentiment was soon realised. He was included by Saint-Just in the indictment of Danton and his party, although no appearance even of complicity justified that strange combination, and he was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. He was astonished, he says, to find himself associated with rogues, and made a strange and impious reply, but one which is characteristic of the times,* to the interrogatory of the President, who asked him his age. He went to the scaffold in the same tumbril with Danton.

I have still to speak of Robespierre. I saw him, as I have already said, once only. Elegant in dress, carefully curled and powdered, composed in manner, he formed the most curious contrast with the disorder, affected neglect, and coarseness that appeared in the attire and manners of his colleagues. His deportment was grave, and he took hardly any part in the conversation, speaking only now and then a few sententious words. But notwithstanding the immobility of his pale and sinister countenance, it was evident that he did not feel at his ease, and I learned afterwards that he owed a grudge to Deforgues for having thrown him into the company of men whom he pretended to regard as very uncertain patriots, or what was still more criminal in his eyes, as "Moderates." Thus the conversation at dinner was constrained. I also thought I could perceive by the few words uttered by Robespierre that he especially desired to be distinguished as a great statesman. He spoke of the foreign relations of France, of the necessity of extending them, and of making a fresh alliance with Switzerland. He had already made some enquiries in the Foreign Department on the latter subject, and I recollect that M. Colchen, who was at the head of the division of the Ministry which includes the Swiss Confederation, received with no little alarm an invitation to a conference at the Minister's at which Robespierre was to be present. I recall this anecdote only to show that even at this period Robespierre flattered himself he might become the head of the Government, and that his ambition was to acquire the reputation of a statesman and great politician.

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* Camille Desmoulins replied: "I am of the age of that good sans-culotte Jesus—thirty-three years."

After this digression, I resume the thread of my narrative. But before continuing, I would remark that the beginning of the Republican Era having been fixed at September 22, 1792, the second year of the Republic commenced on September 22, 1793, and, dating from that period, the use of the vulgar era was interdicted.* Therefore all dates that I shall mention will be according to the New Era, and I shall merely indicate the years of the Old Calendar to which they refer. I shall follow this plan until January 1, 1806, when the Republican Era was abolished and the use of the Gregorian Calendar restored.

I passed the remainder of the year 1793 (the early part of year II.) in discharging the duties of Secretary-General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and I took advantage of the frequent leisure which my post afforded, at a time when we had scarcely any dealings with Foreign Powers, to examine the archives of my department, and to extract from them knowledge of a kind which up to that time I had had no opportunity of acquiring. This period of tranquillity, which I owed to my obscure position, did not last long. Danton, accused on Germinal 12, year II. (April 1, 1794) by the Committee of Public Safety, of which Saint-Just was the reporter, had been arrested on the preceding day. Being brought five days later before the Revolutionary Tribunal, his head fell on the scaffold (Germinal 16). The fall of Danton was soon followed by that of Deforgues. He was arrested, and until the Commissions which were to take the place of the Executive Council, and that of the Ministers who had been suppressed by a decree of Germinal 12 should be established, the Convention appointed Hermann to succeed him. That provisional Minister did not, however, appear at the Office of Foreign Affairs; the new Commissioners were appointed soon after (Germinal 29, year II., April 18, 1794).

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* As the New Calendar was not decreed until several weeks after September 22, 1793, the "Moniteur," counting from October 16 of that year, is dated the second month of the Republic, and only from October 31 by the new names of the months. The first of these new dates, Decadi, Brumaire, year II., heads the "Moniteur" of October 31, 1793.

The "Commissioner of Exterior Relations," a denomination substituted for that of Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived to take possession of that department. This Commissioner's name was Buchot. He came from the Department of the Jura, where he had been a schoolmaster in a small town. His ignorance, his bad manners, his stupidity surpassed anything that can be imagined. During five months that he was at the head of the department, he did not occupy himself with it in the least, and indeed was incapable of so doing. The heads of divisions had abandoned the idea of working with him ; he neither saw them, nor asked for them ; he was never to be found in his Cabinet, and when it was absolutely necessary to obtain his signature for the purpose of legalising documents—he had reduced his functions to this act alone—he had to be fetched from the billiard-table at the Café Hardy, where he generally passed his days. On the other hand, apathetic as he was in business, Buchot was fatally active when called upon to second the bloodthirstiness of Robespierre's party, who had appointed him because he was a friend of the President of the Revolutionary Tribunal ; and it was not long before the effects of the hatred he bore to my colleagues and to me became apparent. When Robespierre, threatened by a section of the Convention, multiplied the number of victims whom he sacrificed each day in order to diminish the number of his enemies, Buchot denounced us as "Moderates," who could not too quickly be got rid of. On 8th Thermidor, year II. (July 27, 1794), he obtained a warrant for the arrest of Otto, Colchen, Reinhart, and myself, from the Committee of General Safety. The next morning, Buchot, with a devilish smile, announced our fate to me, and went out to defend Robespierre's interests at the Commune. But it was the 9th Thermidor ! We were saved, although on the following day, notwithstanding the events of the 9th, an attempt was made to enforce the warrant of arrest. This decree, with a great many others of the same kind, had passed in due course through the office of the Committee of General Safety, which had proceeded to carry it out. In fact it was only through the solicitations of M. Humbert, the chief of the Finance Department of our office, that we obtained the revocation of the sentence, and, free from fear, could share in the universal joy displayed throughout Paris when the fall of the monsters who had enslaved France and drenched her in blood became known. M. Otto only, in consequence of a further denunciation, was arrested a few weeks after.*

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* M. Otto was taken to the Luxembourg Prison, but he remained there only a short time, and the suspicions which had led to this act of severity

For some months after the 9th Thermidor, the National Convention, engaged in destroying the remnant of a party whose head only had been wounded, did not set about re-establishing order in the public administration. The Commissioners who had succeeded the Ministers continued to occupy their places, and we beheld the reappearance of Buchot! He was somewhat humbler and less formidable, but no less incapable. At the end of year II. (September 1794) the offices of the Ministry of Exterior Relations were removed from Rue Cerutti (now Rue Lafitte), where they had been established, to the Hotel Gallifet in the Rue du Bac.

At last, the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention which held the reins of Government, was brought by the force of circumstances to ideas of order, and felt the necessity for a reform of the public administration, which was completely disorganized by revolutionary excesses, by the internal divisions of the Assembly, and by the incapacity of the lately-appointed officials. The Government, anxious to assume a more dignified attitude towards the European Powers, showed a disposition to listen to the overtures of peace, which the astonishing victories of the French army had induced some of the Foreign Cabinets to make privately. In this new phase of the public mind it was impossible to leave the Commission of Exterior Relations in the abject and absurd state to which its ridiculous chief had allowed it to sink. MM. Otto, Colchen, Reinhart and myself, were thereupon summoned before the Committee of Public Safety early in Brumaire, year III. Four members of the Committee had been ordered to hold a conference with each of us, in which we were to pass a kind of examination. Merlin (of Douai), Cambacérès, Thuriot and another, whose name I do not recollect, had been selected. I fell to the share of Thuriot.

He put questions to me as to my antecedents, asked me whether I had passed through a regular course of study, and knew Latin, and he appeared pleased when I told him I was acquainted with that language, and that I had also learned some others, viz. Italian, English and German. After this interrogatory, which lasted half an hour, he informed me that the Committee of Public Safety intended to propose to the Convention that the "Department of Exterior Relations" should be so organized as to enable it to carry on certain political negotiations which had been already opened,

were quickly dispelled. Deforgues, who was much attached to him, was released from the same prison after the 9th Thermidor. He worked with the greatest zeal to obtain the liberty of his companion in misfortune. I was luckily able to assist him in his efforts, and we succeeded in procuring an order of release from the Committee of General Safety, armed with which we went to fetch M. Otto from the Luxembourg at five in the morning.

and that he had thought of me as successor to the present Commissioner, whose incapacity was generally acknowledged.* We then parted, and on rejoining my colleagues I found that they had undergone much the same sort of examination.

The results of this singular conference were not long delayed ; by a decree of the Convention dated 18th Brumaire, year III. (November 8, 1794), I was appointed Commissioner of Exterior Relations. MM. Otto, Colchen and Reinhart were specially attached to the Committee of Public Safety. They were to attend to details, as well as to diplomatic correspondence, and I took up my abode in the offices to which, as I have said before, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had been transferred two months previously.

These various changes had taken place without the knowledge of Buchot, who learned them from a newspaper which he bought in the street on that evening. I nevertheless called upon him on the day after my nomination, and treated him with the courtesy usual on such occasions. This, however, he seemed to appreciate but little. He only told me that he should be much inconvenienced if I insisted on his immediately vacating the apartments he occupied at the Hotel of the Commission. I assured him that, as I had no intention of sleeping there, he was at liberty to remain until he had provided himself with another residence. He thanked me, and said that the Committee had done well in appointing me, but that it was very unpleasant for him to have been brought to Paris, obliged to give up his profession in the country, and afterwards left in the lurch. And then he took it into his head to ask me for a place in my office ! I tried to make him understand that it would be the height of indecorum on his part to accept a secondary post in a department of which he had once been the head. He thought such a scruple very extraordinary, and finding that I hesitated to give an affirmative reply, he said that in the event of my not finding him capable of filling the place of clerk, which he was soliciting, he would be satisfied with that of office-boy. I felt ashamed to witness such meanness, and, after a few vague excuses, I left him. He continued to sleep at the Hotel for about a week, but I did not see him again. One morning I was told that he had not come in on the previous evening, and that he had removed his property. I am ignorant of what happened to him afterward ; he was an extraordinary character ; the most singular mixture of baseness, ignorance and ferocity that can be imagined.

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* This awkward appellation was substituted for that of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was subsequently restored.

The organization of the Department of Exterior Relations being decided on, as I have previously stated, a satisfactory activity set in. I worked systematically with the Committee of Public Safety, which at that time consisted of men to whom, whatever we may think of their political conduct in the course of the Revolution, we cannot deny the possession of great ability. Among these are Merlin (of Douai), Cambacérès, Sieyès, Fourcroy, Boissy d'Anglas, Carnot, and others. I endeavoured to renew our foreign relations, so far as the isolation in which the coalition of all the Powers against France had placed her rendered it possible to do so. Consuls were despatched to all countries where there was a hope of their being received. A circular letter addressed to the agents of the Republic abroad, instructed them to regard enquiries into the state of science, of art, and of social progress in general, in the countries where they exercised their functions, as one of their first duties. The famous Volney, with whom I became intimate at that time, and who honoured me with his friendship until his death, drew up at my request a series of questions on political economy, which I forwarded to those agents, and the answers conveyed to us a tolerably accurate idea of the peoples among whom they dwelt.* I ordered foreign publications and newspapers to be sent to me, and formed a plan of founding a library and reading-room on the premises of the Foreign Office, which should be available for all who might choose to come to these for information. Translators paid by the Government would assist persons ignorant of the original languages in their researches.

The Committee of Public Safety supported my views, and readily accepted the propositions that I laid before it. We were then endeavouring to emerge from the abyss of anarchy, and it would be unjust not to acknowledge the efforts of the Committee to re-establish order, and to restore France, if I may so express it, to Europe, whence she had been in a manner exiled. Although surrounded by dangers which were the work of the still smouldering factions, and which on the 12th Germinal, 3d Prairial, year III., and 13th Vendémiaire, year IV. (April, May, and October, 1795), threatened it with overthrow ; in constant alarm on account of the famine that was laying Paris waste, and making a popular rising imminent ; obliged to supply the enormous necessities of fourteen armies, so as to enable them to consolidate their first triumphs and obtain fresh successes ; finally, although hampered in all its movements, and suspected in all its purposes, the Committee did not flinch from the burden, but evinced the most astonishing activity and the most unwavering fidelity—I will not say to the confidence reposed in it by the public (neither the nation nor even the Convention honored it with any), but to the greatness of the task imposed on it by destiny. History bears witness that during the administration of the Committee which lasted over a year, from the 9th Thermidor, year II. (July 28, 1794) until the establishment of the Constitution of year III. in the month of Vendémiaire, year IV. (October 1759), France was victorious everywhere ; and if not respected abroad, she was at least feared, for during that interval several foreign cabinets solicited peace, and so far sacrificed their pride as to treat with a Republic that they had openly scorned.

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* These questions, which are a model of precision and sagacity, were published in Nivose, year III. (January, 1795), together with the Circular Letter that accompanied them. They form a small volume in 18mo, which is now rather scarce.

The negotiations entered into by the Committee of Public Safety came to a speedy and prosperous issue. Count Carletti, Envoy from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, came to Paris to negotiate a renewal of neutrality between the French Republic and Tuscany. The treaty of peace concluded by this Minister with the Committee of Public Safety was ratified by the National Convention on 25th Pluviôse, year III. (February 13, 1795), on being reported by Richard.*

Another more important treaty was signed shortly afterwards (16th Germinal, year III., April 5, 1795) between Prussia and France. Holland, Spain, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel also recognized and treated with the Republic in the course of the same year.†

With the exception of the treaty with Tuscany, which, as I have said, was negotiated at Paris, directly, between Count Carletti and the Committee of Public Safety, the others were negotiated and signed at Bâle by the French Ambassador, M. Barthélemy, according to instructions from the Committee. The negotiations entrusted to this diplomatist were conducted with all the skill he had acquired in his long experience of affairs ; but they did not present the difficulties that might have been expected in first transactions of this kind between a Government quite recently established, and long-existing powers which had but lately shown so deep an aversion to the doctrines on which it was founded. It is certain, I have had opportunities of ascertaining the fact, that the advances were not made by the Republic, but that, on the contrary, all the preliminary steps were taken by the foreign cabinets. Two powerful motives induced the latter to hasten the conclusion of peace; first, the fear of bringing troops full of enthusiasm, elated by a long succession of victories, and whom no obstacle seemed able to stop, on their territory; and secondly, the dread that the principles professed by these troops, and which rendered them so formidable, might penetrate into the heart of the ancient political constitutions of Europe, carrying with them the germs of revolution.

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* The treaty itself bears date 21st Pluviôse (February 9).

† Holland on 27th Floréal (May 15) ; Spain, 4th Thermidor (July 22) ; the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, 11th Fructidor (August 28), year III. (1795).

The third year of the Republic may then be justly considered as one of the most brilliant in the history of the nation. During the course of this single year France, victorious within, over the tyranny of Robespierre and the revolutionary madness, closed the den of the Jacobins, made for herself a constitution in which, although it had imperfections that might have easily been removed, the first principles of the balance of power were laid down, and a regular Government, offering such sufficient guarantees that other Governments no longer feared to treat with her, was established. Abroad, she regained a high degree of political consideration, made peace with enemies hitherto bent on her ruin, imposed severe conditions on them, and herself submitted to none that could lower her dignity. Finally, she carried her arms into the neighbouring countries, while she no longer suffered a single foreign soldier to tread her soil. Everything promised a great and lasting prosperity for her in the future; but the rulers whom the Constitution of year III. placed at her head possessed neither ability nor worth; and when, five years later, she repudiated that constitution, the nation, dazzled with glory, heedlessly adopted institutions which, as they deviated completely from her professed principles and rested on no solid basis, were speedily overthrown.

Victory alone was for long years faithful to France, and it dazzled her; but her glory was dearly bought at the price of the loss of liberty.

CHAPTER III.

The Author is appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Grand Duke of Tuscany—The 12th Germinal—The Author embarks at Marseilles for Genoa, and proceeds from thence to Florence—Report to the Committee of Public Safety on the political state of Florence—Difficulties caused by the presence of the French *Émigrés* at Leghorn, and by the ill-will of the Tuscan authorities towards the Republic—General Buonaparte appointed to the command of the army of Italy—Opening of the campaign and series of victories obtained by the young General—The Governments of Italy take steps towards obtaining peace—The Author determines to proceed to Buonaparte's headquarters.

The re-establishment of political relations between France and several of the European Powers, and an impulse of greater activity given to those which had not been entirely broken off, with Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the United States, had once more thrown open the career of diplomacy.

I was only thirty-two years of age; I was longing for knowledge, for travel; I desired therefore to obtain a diplomatic post, and the Committee of Public Safety showed itself willing to accede to my wishes. I was permitted to choose between the mission to Florence and that to the United States. My tastes led me to select the former.

On 9th Pluviôse, year III. (February 6, 1795), I was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The decree of the Committee of Public Safety containing my nomination is signed by Cambacérès, Merlin (of Douai), Maret, Pelet, Carnot, A. Dumont, Fourcroy, Boissy d'Anglas, Chazal and Dubois de Crancé. M. Fréville* was appointed Secretary of Legation, and M. Finet, a painter, was at my request nominated to reside with me at Florence. In his capacity as an artist he was to negotiate an exchange of pictures between the two Governments, to their mutual advantage.

Meanwhile the Grand Duke published throughout his States, on March 1st, 1795, the treaty of peace he had just concluded with France, and despatched letters accrediting Count Carletti to the functions of Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris. M. Carletti was solemnly received in that character by the Convention on 28th Ventôse (March 17), and the minutes of this extraordinary sitting are recorded in French and also in Italian at the National Printing Office. This was the first political triumph obtained by the Republic.

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* He died at Paris, a Councillor of State and a Peer of France.

M. Colchen succeeded me a few days later as Commissioner of External Relations, and my letter of credit, together with my instructions, were handed to me on the 9th Germinal (March 24).

All being thus in order, I was preparing to start, when a fresh disturbance threatening the Convention led me to postpone my journey, in order that I might observe its tendency and effects.

The remnant of Robespierre's faction was still active, and as the conduct of the Committee of Public Safety deprived that party of all hope of regaining power in the Assembly, whether by eloquent speech, or by influence over men's minds, it attempted, by an insurrectionary movement, to lay forcible hands on the authority of which the 9th Thermidor had deprived it. Numerous bodies of armed men, delegated by various sections, forced their way into the hall of Assembly during the session of the 12th Germinal (April 1), shouting loudly for bread, for the constitution of 1793, and for the release of the patriots, viz. Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes and others, who had been arrested some time previously. The Assembly maintained its tranquillity during this attack; Boissy d'Anglas, especially, distinguished himself by the courageous firmness which was afterwards put to a terrible test.

At length the Assembly passed a decree at this memorable sitting, which lasted until six o'clock in the morning, ordering the immediate transportation of Collot d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Barrère and Vadier; and the arrest of several members of the Convention, including Chaudieu, Leonard Bourdon, and others. Pichegru, who then appeared for the first time on the political stage, was entrusted with the command of Paris, and the city was declared to be in a state of siege. Numerous patrols perambulated the streets of the capital during the night, and I myself made part of the patrol ordered by the "Section" in which I resided. In spite of some opposition, immediately quelled, the decree of the Convention was carried out. Collot d'Herbois and Billaud-Varennes left for Rochefort, and were sent thence to Sinnamari. Two days later, perfect quiet was restored. Feeling convinced that after this success public tranquillity would not again be disturbed for a long time to come—a conviction that shortly afterwards unfortunately proved to be unfounded—and having nothing to detain me in Paris, I began my journey to Italy on the 20th Germinal, year III. (April 9, 1795).

As the war in which France was then engaged against Austria and the King of Sardinia precluded me from travelling through Upper Italy, I proceeded to Marseilles, whence I embarked for Genoa. We were obliged to put into harbour at San Remo, and I performed part of my journey on horseback, crossing the outposts of our army of Italy. This army, which was destined to accomplish such great deeds, was at that time very weak. The troops occupied difficult posts in the mountains, where they were subjected to the greatest privations. But they endured them with the most admirable resignation, and prepared by heroic patience for the glory that was soon to immortalize them. I found Kellermann at Alassio, he had come to take command of the place; and also my countryman Berthier, with whom I had been intimate from my youth, and who had been appointed chief of the Staff. After having consulted with both as to the means of carrying on a correspondence, and on the services which the diplomatic post I was about to occupy would enable me to render to the army, I took my leave and proceeded to Genoa, whence I despatched a felucca to Leghorn with my luggage, and I continued my route on horseback by the banks of the Levanto. At last, having thus made my way through Larici, Sarzano, and Pisa, where I found my luggage, I arrived at Florence on the 1st Prairial, year III. (May 28, 1795). I had passed nearly six weeks on the journey; but I had profited by the opportunity of visiting Nîmes and its antiquities, and the bridge over the Gard, and I had passed a few days at Genoa and Pisa, where many objects worthy of a traveller's attention had detained me. Freed from the terrible agitation of our political troubles, I took a great deal of pleasure in this journey, although anxiety as to what was taking place in Paris, the grievous reports that were prevalent, and the news, true or false, that reached me at every moment, rendered me frequently indifferent to the ever-varying spectacle before my eyes. In this respect, however, I was but serving an apprenticeship to the arduous position in which I was about to find myself in a foreign land, amid a people where, in consequence of our excesses, every man was our enemy; where we met with no sympathy in our misfortunes, no excuse for faults or crimes whose perpetrators were abhorred, while the victims were not pitied, and no justice was shown toward those who had punished the guilty.

Notwithstanding the manifestation of hostile feeling, which was carefully encouraged by the French *émigrés* residing at Pisa and Leghorn, the news of the neutrality re-established between France and the Grand Duke had been received with universal satisfaction in Tuscany. Even the English, although they affected displeasure, in reality regarded this event with inward satisfaction. It rendered them, in a manner, masters of the port of Leghorn, where by reason of the neutrality they could land without fear. English merchants felt they possessed a guarantee for their property which was denied them in a state of war, when at any moment French troops might enter Tuscany. Moreover, the English, as masters of the sea and possessors of Corsica, had nothing to fear from our feeble navy ; and our privateers, which were almost the only vessels that hoisted the national flag in those seas, were in greater danger than ever.

The English, in fact, blockaded the entrance of the port with their men-of-war, and it was the only place of safety for our privateers ; even there they barely found means of escape from enemies who had the upper hand at Leghorn, and did not respect the neutrality of a feeble prince. Finally, the population of Leghorn, and even its authorities, were entirely devoted to the English, who felt certain beforehand of impunity for the numerous breaches of neutrality which they committed. In everything, therefore, the advantage was on the side of our enemies.

These inferences I drew from the particulars first given to me by M. Fréville. He had preceded me into Tuscany by some weeks, and had come to meet me at Pisa. In the end I was fully convinced that he had not been mistaken in his estimate of the situation.

After the first few days, which were taken up with the delivery of my letters of credit, with my presentation at Court, and the duties imposed by etiquette, against which I was careful not to offend, in order to show that I was anxious to conform to the customs of the country, I began to investigate matters for myself.

After about a month's stay at Florence, and a few days at Leghorn, the observations which I made were sufficient to enable me to form a tolerably precise opinion, which I communicated to the Committee of Public Safety. The events of the 3d Prairial, year III., which as I had learned on the 13th (May 22, 1795) established the triumph of the National Convention, had endowed the Provisional Government of France with steadiness and confidence it had not hitherto possessed, and its heads felt the necessity, with a view to the execution of their plans, of learning what was the true position of Italy, towards which their eyes were turned, the principles of the first government with which they had treated, and the character of those who directed it. I took every pains to satisfy curiosity so well founded, and the following is nearly what I wrote on the subject to the Committee of Public Safety, 20th Messidor, year III. (July 8, 1795).

" After the famous era of the Florentine Republic, Tuscany had been erected into a Grand Duchy under the sceptre of the descendants of the Medicis, and was scarcely distinguishable from the other secondary States of Italy, until Peter-Leopold gave her a more important part to play. Considering this prince in his capacity as a Grand Duke we cannot but recognize in him an enlightened ruler. The wisdom of his commercial regulations, his efforts to reduce the authority of the nobles, and to restore the influence they had lost to the middle classes of society, prepared a happier existence for Tuscany than she had enjoyed during the reign of his predecessor. But while for these reasons he won the approbation of enlightened men, he was in the highest degree displeasing to the class whose privileges and prejudices he attacked. Meanwhile his absolute authority, the unsparing rigour with which he used it when necessary, and the strength afforded him by his great popularity, were sufficient to stifle every germ of discontent.

"The death of Joseph II. and the French Revolution brought about a new order of things. Leopold reigned in Vienna, and as Emperor seemed to forget or to repudiate the principles he had professed as Grand Duke. His accession to the Imperial throne, and his death, which took place very soon afterwards, caused the government of Tuscany to devolve on his second son, Ferdinand III., then hardly more than a youth, and the pupil of the Marquis de Manfredini, to whose care his father had confided him.

"The retrograde movement of the Emperor Leopold, in declaring himself against the French Revolution, became an occasion of triumph to the class he had kept down in Tuscany. His government and his laws were attacked, his memory was insulted, and a party antagonistic to the system he had established was soon formed. The influence of Manfredini and the inertia natural to a government which was opposed to all violent measures, had the advantage in the struggle with this party ; but eventually, assisted by the *émigrés*, and by English influence, it succeeded in pushing Tuscany into the coalition against France, an imprudent step which nearly caused her ruin.

"French victories, the counsels of Manfredini, and still more, perhaps, the tendency to inaction natural to the country, soon made the danger of so impolitic a rupture evident. Peace was solicited, and France acquiesced.

"But it would be a great mistake to suppose that this reconciliation was the result of friendly feeling, or of any similarity of principle. All that I have said proves the contrary. Fear has done it all. There exists but one man here, whose actions seem to be dictated by wider views, by philosophic ideas, and by a general philanthropy. That man is Manfredini.

"He is attached to the principles of Leopold's Government, and although perhaps he is not at one with him as to the means of carrying them out, he seems to take a pride in maintaining his system. He has hitherto retained great ascendency over the mind of his pupil, and I must do Ferdinand III. the justice to say that he is himself disposed to follow the path traced out by Manfredini. Meanwhile the opposite party, taking advantage of the youth and inexperience of the Prince, acquire fresh strength every day, and while waiting until they may venture openly to attack Manfredini, they seek stealthily by every means to weaken his authority and diminish the respect in which he is held.

"Leopold's plans have already been abandoned in many respects. The laws on the freedom of trade have been modified ; poverty in the country districts and dearness of provisions, the result of the restrictions on trade, are already beginning to be felt. There is a project for restoring the penalty of death which was suppressed by the code of 1774. The power of the priests, which had been considerably restricted by means of wise regulations, is again springing up. The men employed by Leopold have been set aside. In a word, this country, which has latterly made such strides towards philosophical ideas and a better government, and which has even in that respect outstripped other nations, is now evidently falling back, and ready once more to take up the yoke of prejudice, from which the genius of one man had delivered it.

" Manfredini is a witness of these ill-starred innovations, but he either makes no effort to arrest them or he feels himself powerless to do so. I am strongly of opinion that it is in order to secure the triumph of his opinions as regards neutrality, that he has thought it well to yield on other points. If I am not mistaken in this conjecture, he has committed, I apprehend, a great blunder. He should have taken up his position on the basis of Leopold's government, and should have deduced the maintenance of neutrality as a consequence from it. By relinquishing that basis, he gives a great advantage to his enemies. He will be imperceptibly drawn into measures entirely opposed to his own views, and it will be easy afterwards to overthrow him, when surrounded only by the ruins of a government which was the safeguard of his reputation and political existence.

" It is quite true that Ferdinand would be unwilling to part with Manfredini. The habit of consulting him in everything, which public esteem has justified, makes him necessary to the Prince. Moreover Ferdinand, although gifted, so far as I have been able to judge, with an upright mind, simple in his habits, much better brought up, and better informed than men of his rank in general, is perhaps more averse than any one else to the measures pressed upon him, and of all persons that one to whom they would be most repugnant. Consequently he seems to me to be thought little of by the nobles, and though he is one of the most estimable men whom I have met with here, I have not heard a single word in his praise. But with all these qualities he is young, and the fears that may be instilled into him for the security of his power, amid the events that are now disturbing Europe, must react on him, and weaken the opposition to the proposed innovations to which his education and his natural character would urge him.

"On the other hand, it seems to me equally impossible that he should entirely release himself from the influence of the Emperor, and certainly the Cabinet of Vienna is not in accord with Manfredini. The hopes of the latter—he did not conceal them from me—were to bring back the Emperor to his former principles, and to make Tuscany mediate for peace between Austria and the French Republic. The steps latterly taken at Vienna, the alliance between Russia and England, the subsidies granted by the last-named Power; finally, the report that has got abroad, that the overtures of such a negotiation, if there is to be one, would take place at Basel, have wrecked Manfredini's hopes, and consequently lessened his influence, which such a negotiation, if crowned with success, would have raised higher than ever.

"I shall not dismiss the question whether France should desire or dread the realization of Manfredini's ideas. My immediate concern is with the consequences to the Government of Tuscany that may ensue from all these facts.

"It is evident that the present conjuncture is favourable to that numerous party who are hostile to the system of government adopted by Leopold, and who will make every effort to turn it to their own advantage. That party will therefore intrigue with the object of influencing the selection of a Prime Minister, whose functions comprise those of the department of Foreign Affairs, and whose place may be said to have been vacant for a long time past, for Senator Serristori who occupies it is a mere figure-head. The post, however, must soon become actually vacant through his death or retirement.

"Manfredini, having hitherto directed the action of the Government, without official title, has made no change in the Ministry. He has restricted himself to preparing beforehand a man whom he can trust as a successor to Serristori. Neri-Corsini,* at present Secretary of State, is named for that office. He belongs to an illustrious family; he is young, and having never left Italy, his experience and his knowledge of affairs seem to me limited to the ancient ways of the astute policy that has always prevailed in the

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* Since then he has been Councillor of State in France, where I found him, when, in 1813, I resumed my place in the Council of State. He was, like myself, a member of the Interior Section. We little thought, in 1795, at Florence, that we should be colleagues eighteen years later.

Cabinets of this country. Being connected with the aristocracy, both by family interests and by birth, he seems to me to be widely divided from us in principles ; but he acts with dissimulation, and lets his real sentiments appear as little as possible. Nevertheless it is plain that Manfredini has but an ungrateful pupil in this young man, one greatly inclined to go over to the side of his enemies if their party prevails.

"Corsini is aware that in such an event he need not aspire to the post now destined for him. He feels that, strictly speaking, he might be able to fill it under the tutelage of Manfredini, but that, left to himself, he could not sustain its weight, and that his youth alone would be a sufficient reason for excluding him. Such a competitor being therefore by no means formidable, the eyes of this political party would turn, after the overthrow of Manfredini, towards Signor Francesco Serrati, the present Governor of Leghorn, who, by reason of his age, his gravity, the importance of the posts he has filled and the reputation he has acquired, may at any moment be invested not only with the title but with the actual functions of Prime Minister ; may succeed to Manfredini in the direction of affairs, and may even exercise, though in an opposite sense, equal influence in the general administration of the State."

Such was the situation of the Tuscan Government, and such the view of it that I sought to impress upon the Committee of Public Safety, by insisting on the indispensable necessity of serious attention to the war in Italy, which until then had been almost disregarded. It will be seen hereafter that I was not greatly mistaken in my judgment, in the results I foretold, and in the nature of the remedy. But in the meantime I had serious difficulties to overcome, for it is evident that until we had acquired the upper hand in Italy by force of arms, we should possess neither the security of neutrality nor the advantages of conquest. Every prejudice had been aroused against us. The nobles, whose privileges and influence were attacked by the spread of our doctrines, bore us an ill-concealed hatred ; the people, excited by the priests, and also, it must be confessed, by the violent speeches and odious calumnies of the *émigrés*, were ready, at a word, to rush into the greatest excesses against the French, and many of our countrymen have fallen victims to their fury, on occasions it could be vented with impunity.

Amid the hostile feelings prevailing among the two extremes of society, my arrival at Florence had caused a sensation and excited malevolent curiosity. The strangest rumors had preceded me. People expected to see a sort of savage, clothed in an extraordinary manner, using the coarsest language, having no idea of the rules of society, and ready ostentatiously to violate them. My habits, my mode of life, the deference to the customs of the country I was scrupulous to show, and the care with which I respected even its prejudices, soon dispelled these first impressions ; I was even received by the middle and most cultivated class of its inhabitants, and by men of letters, artists, and men of science, such as Fontana, Fossombroni, Fabbroni, Galuzzi, &c., more favourably than I had ventured to expect. I must, however, except Alfieri, who was then in Tuscany, where he lived on terms of great intimacy with Madame d'Albany.* It is well known that this remarkable genius—one of the most illustrious writers of Italy, who displayed in his work on Tyranny an ardent hatred of despotism, and was one of the warmest apologists of the French Revolution—taking offence at the severity of the decrees of the Constituent Assembly which attacked Madame d'Albany's property, and disgusted probably by the excesses which subsequently dishonoured the cause of liberty, had entirely changed his opinions. He bitterly hated the whole French nation, and had expressed his hatred in most insulting verse. I should have liked to have made the acquaintance of a man of such remarkable talent, in the hope of gradually overcoming an enmity which passed the bounds of reason and justice ; but he was too inflexible to yield, and after some overtures, which he rejected, I abstained with regret from any further effort.

Meanwhile, although my conduct and my domestic life had, on becoming known, removed the popular prejudice against me, political opinion had not altered, and in proportion as I progressed in the management of affairs, it became more and more adverse. Leghorn was almost daily the scene of contests between the *émigrés* and the little band of Republicans whom trade or privateering brought to the town. Some Frenchmen, taken prisoners by the English,† who had carried them to Leghorn, were insulted and wounded during an altercation which arose between them and the *émigrés*. The populace, being friendly to the English, encouraged these acts of violence, and the Tuscan Government, fearing to compromise itself, had acted towards the guilty persons with reprehensible supineness. My first care, therefore, was to prevent the recurrence of these deplorable quarrels, by demanding the expulsion of those who, regardless of the tranquillity of the country which had given them hospitality, were continually bringing it into difficulties, and at the same time were wanting in every sentiment of generosity towards the brave soldiers whose misfortunes should have excited the sympathy of their countrymen. Their banishment, on which I insisted, was in the interest of the Grand Duke and of the *émigrés* themselves. The latter would have found a more peaceful retreat in other parts of Tuscany, and the Government, by appointing the interior of the country for their residence, would have avoided a continual subject of complaints and recriminations, which constantly compromised it with France, and in the end brought down the arms of the Republic on Leghorn.

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* Madame d'Albany was the widow of one of the last descendants of the Stuarts. Of that House, so celebrated for its misfortunes, there now remained only the Cardinal of York, whom I met at Rome. On his death, the Stuart family became completely extinct.

† These prisoners were part of the crew of the men-of-war the *Ça-ira* and the *Censeur*.

The most evident self-interest counselled them to follow so reasonable a course, and yet Ferdinand's Ministers would not adopt it. Our armies, detained in the Riviera of Genoa, had not yet entered Italy. Not being worked on by fear, the Ministry stuck to the tortuous and evasive policy generally adopted by Italian cabinets. They made promises only to break them ; they replied to complaints by other complaints ; accusations were met with rival accusations ; they extended impunity to those who were guilty of the excesses I had denounced, while they demanded the punishment of a few Frenchmen accused by the Tuscan Government. I went myself to Leghorn to ascertain the real state of things, so as to be on my guard against the exaggerated reports brought to me, but my journey was almost in vain. The only thing of which I convinced myself was that Signor Serrati, Governor of Leghorn, was an open enemy of France. In the very warm discussions which I had with him relative to the affair of the French prisoners to which I have previously alluded, his partiality for our enemies was discernible through his affected assurances of sincere respect for neutrality. He was opposed to all the measures that I had proposed, and I returned to Florence convinced that we should not obtain any satisfaction, so long as my demands were not sustained by dread of our arms. But the time was approaching when the irresistible strength of victory was to display itself, and the Tuscan Government to perceive too late that its ill-disguised partiality had aroused so much resentment, that it could no longer hope to save itself from the torrent which was about to be let loose on Italy.

The events of the 13th Vendémiaire, year IV. (5th October, 1795) had placed on the political stage a man who was to fill the whole of Europe with his name in less than three years. Buonaparte, who was called to the defence of the National Convention against the combined sections which menaced it, had triumphed easily over the brave but undisciplined crowd led by its ignorant chiefs. The importance rather than the merit of his success had drawn public attention to him ; and when the constitution of year III. placed a Directory composed of five members at the head of the Government, Barras, one of the five, who had put forward the young General during the days of Vendémiaire, either through gratitude or because he recognised his genius, occupied himself with his fortunes, arranged a marriage between him and Madame de Beauharnais, and, six months later, gave him the command of the army of Italy.

This post was not a popular one. The army of Italy, the smallest of all those we had in action, was least fit for action.* Scherez—one of the most incapable of French generals—who succeeded Kellermann, had been attacked and beaten by the Austrian General De Vins. Obliged to evacuate Vado,† his communications with Genoa were cut off, and when by some subsequent successes he regained the line, he did not know how to profit by it to penetrate into the plain, but remained in complete inaction. The French, hemmed in between the coast and the mountains, unable to get supplies except by sea—an uncertain and often a dangerous method—could scarcely hold their difficult position, by dint of valour and endurance, against the attacks of an enemy now elated by success. Already people imagined us driven hopelessly from the frontier of Italy, which we had not dared to pass, and fancied the Austrians on the point of invading our Southern Departments. The inimical Governments of Rome and Naples, emboldened by our reverses at Vado, took an active part in the war, and furnished both men and money to our enemy. Venice and Genoa, who had remained neutral, were vacillating, and sought to obtain pardon for not having joined the coalition, by using their neutrality in the service of Austria. Even Tuscany, which had just entered into a treaty with us, assumed an air of patronage, disdainfully deferred her replies to our just complaints, and appointed Signor Serrati as her Prime Minister, replacing him at Leghorn by Signor Spanocchi, formerly a naval captain in the service of Naples, regardless of the annoyance which appointments so disagreeable to us and so unfavourable to our interests must necessarily produce.

It was with an army apparently so little to be feared, it was with means so limited, and in presence of difficulties so great, that Buonaparte had to act. But he felt his own strength, his genius had already suggested a plan different from all those of the commanders who had preceded him, and nothing was ever more admirable than the conception of that plan, unless indeed the astonishing rapidity with which he put it into execution.

Meanwhile the Executive Directory, which had sent me fresh letters of credit, signalised its accession to the Government of the

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* At the end of year III. and the beginning of year IV. (six last months of 1795).

† In the month of Messidor, year III. (July, 1795).

Republic by energetic measures. It made known to me its intention of giving a fresh impulse to the war in Italy, and ordered me to support the generals of the army by every means in my power, and to assume a firm and threatening attitude towards the Government to which I was accredited. The Directory had dismissed M. Carletti, the Grand Duke's Minister, from Paris, because he had asked permission to visit the daughter of Louis XVI. The young Princess was on the point of leaving Paris for Vienna, and was to be exchanged at the frontier for the former Commissioners of the Convention, General Beurnonville, who had been arrested by Dumouriez in April 1793, and MM. de Semonville and Maret, who were made prisoners by Austria during the same year, while passing through Switzerland on their way to Constantinople as diplomatic agents of the Republic. The Grand Duke, alarmed by so decisive a proceeding, put up with it without venturing to complain, although deeply aggrieved ; and Carletti, censured by his own Court for his imprudence, was succeeded at Paris by Neri-Corsini.* Without in reality approving the conduct of the Directory, who in this affair appeared to me to offend against all diplomatic custom, and to punish with uncalled-for severity a merely formal request which they might simply have refused, I could not but perceive that its stern action had inspired a salutary fear. If it did not make us loved—an impossibility, no matter what we did—at least it made us feared, and to some extent facilitated my dealings with the Tuscan Government. I took advantage of this state of feeling to obtain from the Government the refusal of free passage through Tuscan territory to the regiments sent by the Court of Naples to the Austrian army. During this negotiation, in which I was opposed by family interests,† I was ably seconded by M. Manfredini, who strongly urged the strict observance of neutrality. Of this they made a crime at Vienna, whither a copy had been sent of a letter I had written on the subject to Charles Lacroix, Minister of Foreign Affairs, containing an account of conversations between myself and Manfredini, in which the neutrality question had been discussed. This copy, stolen from the bureaux of the Ministry in Paris by some treacherous person who was probably bribed, was used, as an act of accusation, against Manfredini, and he was obliged to go to Vienna to clear himself.‡

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* The new Minister arrived in Paris on the 15th Nivôse, year IV. (5th January, 1796). Carletti had already left, and reached Basel on the 7th Nivôse (28th December, 1795).

† The Grand Duchess was a daughter of the Queen of Naples.

‡ This journey took place in April, 1796. He came back in May, and he assured me himself that he had seen the copy of the letter of which I speak.

The fears by which from time to time the Tuscan Government was swayed, were in themselves proof of its weakness. I in vain expected from it the firmness necessary to bring the outrages of which Leghorn was so often the scene to an end. Acts of violence against the French, incited by turns by the *émigrés*, the Neapolitans or the English, were constantly committed, and provoked the bitterest resentment, skilfully augmented by men who coveted her wealth, against the town. They ultimately succeeded in ruining Leghorn.

The war in Italy was assuming a formidable aspect. Buonaparte had arrived at Nice at the beginning of Germinal, year IV. (April 1796). I received a first letter from him, in which he announced that he was about to put the army in motion. At the same time he asked me to give him any information I could about the state of Italy. I saw at once by his style, which was concise and animated, although careless and incorrect, that he was no ordinary man. I was struck with a breadth and depth of view on military and political subjects, such as I had not found in any correspondence which I had held up to that time with the generals of our army of Italy. I predicted, therefore, either great success or great reverses. My uncertainty did not last long. The campaign was opened, and a series of victories as dazzling as they were unexpected, succeeding each other with surprising quickness, raised the glory of our French soldiers, and that of the great captain who led them daily by fresh triumphs to the highest point.

It does not enter into the scope of this work to relate in detail the military events of that memorable campaign. The battles of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Mondovi ; the engagements at Dego and at St. Jean ; the passage of the bridge of Lodi, are among the great facts of history ; and their names, recalling so much valour, such deeds of daring, such a display of talent, genius so audacious in design, so fertile in resource, have become immortal. The news reached to the centre of Italy, and the bulletins giving descriptions of these wonderful deeds of our troops, at first contradicted, produced sheer bewilderment, when the force of truth convinced the most incredulous. Nothing was then thought of but how the torrent of war was to be turned away from regions it had not yet reached.

The victories of the French, the armistices concluded with the King of Sardinia, and the Dukes of Modena and Parma, and the occupation of the country round Milan, had disconcerted the policy of Upper Italy. I received more attention from the Cabinet of Florence than had yet been shown me. Notwithstanding Neri-Corsini's efforts to oppose it in Paris, notwithstanding his complaints of what he called my haughtiness, a proclamation was issued, ordering the *émigrés* to leave Leghorn, and this measure, which in reality did them a service, was carried out with all the consideration demanded by humanity and with the respect due to misfortune. Rome and Naples, especially the former of those two Powers, which was more exposed to immediate attack from the conqueror, began to take steps to obtain peace, or at least a suspension of hostilities. Prince Belmonte-Pignatelli, ambassador from Naples to the King of Spain, came to Florence with instructions from his Court to make the first advances to me. Count Manfredini introduced him, and begged me to second the steps he proposed to take with respect to the General Commander-in-Chief of the French army. As an armistice with Naples, of which one condition would be to close the ports of that kingdom against the English, and to withdraw the Neapolitan cavalry regiments from the Austrian army, seemed to me advantageous both in a political and military point of view, I readily undertook to second the proposals of Prince Pignatelli, and I even promised to go myself to Buonaparte's headquarters to open the negotiation.

Apart from this motive, which was in itself sufficient to make me undertake the journey, I was resolved upon it for other reasons. It was important for me, with a view to the ordering of my future conduct, to know what political bent a general who had already assumed an almost independent authority, and was inclined rather to dictate orders to the Directory than to receive them, intended to give to our dealings with the various Powers of Italy. Did he intend to transform the conquered States into a Republic, as he was urged to do by all the numerous vehement Republicans who were beginning to make their voices heard throughout the country? Did he, by leaving these countries under their former modes of government, mean only to keep them dependent on France? What were his designs respecting Rome and the Pope? Would he recognise the latter under the twofold aspect of a temporal and spiritual power?

In the views of the advantages to be reaped from our victories in Italy, and of the use we should make of the preponderance they gave us in that country, which I had submitted to the Directory, I had particularly insisted on two results which I looked upon as the real fruit of our conquests: the complete destruction of the power of Austria in Italy, and the overthrow of the Papal Government. I was firmly convinced that emancipated France had no more formidable and implacable enemy than that Power; it was therefore indispensable that I should be in harmony with a conqueror who, after subjugating Italy by force of arms, was not the man to neglect its political administration.

I was quite sure he would agree with me as to the exclusion of the House of Austria from all power and even from all property in Italy; but I was not so certain of his views on the other question.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author's interview with General Buonaparte—Conclusion of the armistice between the General and Prince Pignatelli, Plenipotentiary at Naples—The Author returns to Florence—He goes away again to visit General Buonaparte at Bologna—His interview with him—The Author does not succeed in preventing the violation of the neutrality of Tuscany and the occupation of Leghorn by the French—In returning from Leghorn, General Buonaparte stops at Florence, visits the Grand Duke and dines with him—A treaty being concluded between the Pope and the French Republic, the Author goes to Rome to secure the fulfilment of its conditions—The gloomy fanaticism reigning in Rome—Some discontented Italians having claimed the intervention of the French for the purpose of introducing Republican Institutions in Italy, the Author, instructed by the Directory to inform them of his views, strongly opposes the project—Being superseded by Cacault in the duty of superintending the fulfilment of the terms of the armistice at Rome, the Author returns to Florence—Rumours of the reverses experienced by Buonaparte produce great excitement in Italy—The Governments no longer conceal their tendencies, and the Author sends M. Fréville to Paris to point out to the Directory the necessity of excluding Austria from all influence in Italy, and of destroying the Papal Government—The Author is appointed Ambassador at Turin, but before entering upon the exercise of his functions, he has to undertake a mission to Corsica as Commissioner Extraordinary of the Government—Sketch of the State of Tuscany, the conditions of life, and customs of the inhabitants of Florence.

After having confided the guidance of affairs during my absence to M. Fréville, I began my journey on the 3d Prairial (May 22, 1796). I went by Prato and Pistoja, and crossing the Apennines by the magnificent road made by Leopold's orders a few years before, I reached Rubiera, and from thence Reggio, without having touched Pontifical territory. This I thought prudent, on account of the hostility which still existed between France and the Pope. It was with a view to placing his States in a direct line of communication with the other possessions of the House of Austria in Italy that the Grand Duke had ordered this road, which terminated at Rubiera, to be made.

From Reggio I went by Parma and Placenza to Milan. The armistices recently concluded with the Dukes of Modena and Parma opened a free passage to the French through their territories, and the neighbourhood of our triumphant armies held the population in check. But, in spite of the terror and astonishment produced by our victories, the aversion of the inhabitants was visible on every occasion. Some revolts had broken out, and I was detained one day at Placenza by a riot at Binasco, a large town between Milan and Pavia. This revolt, in consequence of which the latter city shut its gates and imprisoned the French garrison, assumed a serious aspect, and was only suppressed by sanguinary military executions. As the roads were very unsafe, in consequence of these disturbances, I did not cross the Po until tranquillity was re-established on both sides of the river.

I reached Milan on the 6th Prairial (May 26, 1796), but found that General Buonaparte was not there. Having retraced his steps with his ordinary rapidity, punished the rioters and reduced Pavia to submission, he had proceeded to besiege Mantua, the only stronghold in all Lombardy which, with the fortress of Milan, still remained in the power of the Austrians. I was therefore obliged to go to headquarters to find him. I remained, however, several days at Milan, and there saw Salicetti, the Commissioner of the Executive Directory, with whom I had no previous acquaintance. Judging from the reputation he had acquired in the Convention, and which had preceded him in Italy, I had expected a cold reception, and was not a little surprised to meet a man of the greatest politeness and urbanity of demeanour, and who received me with the utmost courtesy. Salicetti, of whom I shall have to give a detailed account further on in these Memoirs, and of whom I shall say no more here than that he possessed great ability, recognized the necessity of conforming in manner and style of conversation to the fashion of the country in which he now lived. In this, at first sight, he appeared to have perfectly succeeded ;* but in the course of our frequent interviews I found we were not at one as to the political course to be pursued in Italy. I insisted especially that the neutrality of Tuscany must be respected. While admitting the justice of our complaints against its Government, I maintained that it would be worthy of the generosity of France to pardon its errors, and of her justice to observe the confidence manifested by the Grand Duke by his treating with us, and being the first to set the example of the re-establishment of political relations between the Republic and the Continental Powers. But I soon saw that the Commissioner of the Directory had other views, and differed with me from another motive than that of avenging the injuires which the French had sustained at Leghorn.

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* He had, however, exercised some severity in driving from Milan certain distinguished citizens whose influence he feared. Among the number was Signor de Melzi, who afterwards played a great part in the annals of his country. He went to Florence, where I saw a good deal of him, and a friendship sprung up between us which lasted until his death.

It was the wealth of that city which tempted his cupidity. Its riches were all regarded as English property; and, under that pretext, should we become masters of Leghorn everything would fall into our hands. The imagination of man had never conceived a more splendid prize. Part of the booty, no doubt, would have to go to the State, but a great deal would remain in the hands of those charged with its distribution. From the moment that I recognized his real end I despaired of the success of my own views, and saw that the only chance of prevailing was my having better luck with the Commander-in-Chief.

I left Milan on the 15th Prairial (June 3), and directed my steps towards headquarters; but on reaching Brescia I learned that Buonaparte was expected there from day to day. I therefore remained at Brescia, where I found Prince Belmonte-Pignatelli, who had arrived there before me.

On the 17th Prairial, Buonaparte came to Brescia from Verona. He had entered the latter city on the 15th, after having forced the remainder of the Austrian army, commanded by Beaulieu, to recross the Adige and to retire upon Trente by the valley watered by that river. He was on his way back to Milan, and I was with him a few moments after he dismounted. I was quite astonished at his appearance. Nothing could be more unlike the idea my imagination had formed of him. In the midst of a numerous staff, I saw a man below the middle height, and of an extremely spare figure. His powdered hair, oddly cut and falling squarely below the ears, reached down to his shoulders. He was dressed in a straight coat, buttoned up to the chin, and edged with very narrow gold embroidery, and he wore a tricoloured feather in his hat. At first sight he did not strike me as handsome; but his strongly-marked features, his quick and piercing eyes, his brusque and animated gestures revealed an ardent spirit, while his wide and thoughtful brow was that of a profound thinker. He made me sit near him, and we talked of Italy. He spoke in short sentences and, at that time of his life, very incorrectly. He said that nothing would be really done until we were in possession of Mantua; that then only could we consider ourselves masters of Italy; that so difficult a siege must necessarily last long; that we had not the means even of commencing it, and that for the moment we must be content with surrounding the place; that it could not be doubted but that Austria would put another army on foot in order to succour so important a stronghold, but that she required time in which to assemble an army; so that we had consequently a month before us, which he intended to employ in advancing toward the centre of Italy, making himself master there, and securing tranquillity on that side when the war in Upper Italy should recommence. His discourse naturally led me to mention the overtures that Prince Belmonte-Pignatelli had made to me at Florence ; I informed him of the Prince's presence at Brescia, and of my desire to present Pignatelli to him. He said that this was good news, and that he, like me, saw no objection to treating for an armistice.* I proposed that he should stipulate as one of its conditions that the ports of the kingdom of Naples should be closed to the English. "Ah ! that is the policy of the diplomatist," he answered abruptly. "What we must stipulate for just now is that Naples shall immediately withdraw her troops from the Austrian army. The infantry is worthless ; but you are aware that they have four excellent regiments of cavalry which have already given me a great deal of trouble. I should like to get rid of these as speedily as possible. Send M. de Belmonte to me ; the treaty shall soon be made." And, in fact, the treaty was drawn up, and signed in the course of that day—in less than two hours. I managed, however, to have a clause inserted by which it was stipulated that the Neapolitan vessels should separate at the earliest opportunity from the English squadron.†

This affair concluded, I began to discuss the general policy of Italy with Buonaparte. I saw that he was ill-disposed towards Tuscany and already contemplated the occupation of Leghorn. I tried to discuss that point, but as he was in haste, I saw clearly that he would not listen ; I therefore confined myself to giving him a memorandum‡ drawn up at Milan, in which I had exhaustively treated the question, which I could not argue with him verbally. I told him that I had left a copy in Salicetti's hands, although I perceived that the reputed wealth of Leghorn tempted him toward so profitable a conquest. "The Commissioners of the Directory," he answered impatiently, "count for nothing in my policy. Let them busy themselves, and welcome, with the administration of the public revenues, for the moment at least, the rest does not concern them. I do not expect they will long retain their posts, nor will the Directory send me others in their room. On the other hand, Citizen Miot, I will read your Memorandum, and I hope you will meet me at Bologna, where I shall be, no matter what are my future plans, in a fortnight's time. I shall send a courier to inform you of my arrival. Adieu."

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* He used the word *amnesty*, and throughout the whole conversation always made the same error.

† This armistice, called simply a *suspension of hostilities*, is dated from Brescia, June 5 (19th Prairial, year IV.), and signed Buonaparte and Belmonte-Pignatelli. It contains five articles only, of which the fourth relates to the Neapolitan vessels.

‡ This Memoir turned on the points previously indicated : the expulsion of the Austrian power from Italy, and the annihilation of the Papal Government. I also endeavoured to show that the dignity of France, as well as her manifest interest, demanded that she should refrain from a violation of the neutrality of Tuscany.

The horses were harnessed. He crossed the rooms adjoining that in which he had received me, and gave some orders to Murat, Lannes and Junot, his aides-de-camp,* and the other officers in attendance. Every one maintained towards him an attitude of respect, and I may even say of admiration. I saw none of those marks of familiarity between him and his companions that I had observed in other cases, and which was consonant with republican equality. He had already assumed his own place, and set others at a distance.

I saw him off, and then returned to my hotel, greatly struck and in some sort bewildered by what had just taken place. I immediately occupied myself with committing the particulars of this interview to paper, and I then took leave of Prince de Belmonte, who was returning to Naples by way of Milan, much surprised and delighted at a diplomatic negotiation being concluded during a change of horses. I passed the night at Brescia, and left the town next morning for Venice. I was too near that celebrated city not to gratify the curiosity I had long felt, by a visit to it.

The mainland of the Venetian Republic was partly in the occupation of the French. Dezensano, Peschiera on Lake Guarda, and Verona, an important post at the entrance of the valley of the Adige, were garrisoned by French troops, and, as had always happened in Italian wars, Venice, unable to enforce respect for her neutrality, was again in this campaign fated to supply a field of battle to the armies that were disputing the conquest of that beautiful and hapless country. I found, however, no French troops beyond Verona. From the gates and towers of Vicenza and Padua the standard of St. Mark was flying; the smiling valley of Brenta lay before the traveller, adorned by the luxurious dwellings of the wealthy owners of a hundred magnificent palaces, rising from the banks of the river, whose waters were furrowed in every direction by boats and gondolas. During this journey I forgot the busy scenes I had left behind, and enjoyed the tranquil landscape passing before my eyes, and it was through scenes of continual enchantment that I reached Fusino on the lagoon. There, a far different spectacle presented itself, and I beheld, at last, the superb city, once the proud Queen of the Adriatic, rising from the bosom of the waves on which she seems rather to float than to repose.

Venice, when I saw her in June 1796, was still what she had been for twelve centuries. The same government, the same customs subsisted ; I beheld ancient Venice, although her existence was almost at an end. It was therefore with lively interest that I visited her squares, her churches, and above all her ducal palace, and the halls which had witnessed so many great and sanguinary measures ; the secret tribunals, the terrible prisons ; mute walls which, though about to fall, were still standing, eloquent of remembrances which strike the imagination with that terror which they can no longer inspire. The powerful institutions which had so long sustained that formidable government, now shaken to their foundations by the French Revolution and the presence of our armies, were tottering, and could no more support the grand edifice ; the least shock must bring it to the ground. Nothing, indeed, was changed in appearance, but everything was about to change, and a presentiment of this was universally felt.

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* General Berthier was not just then with Buonaparte.

After having passed a few days at Venice, where I did not meet the Minister of the French Republic, M. Lallemant, but where M. Jacob, the Secretary of Legation, took the greatest pains to gratify my curiosity, I set out on my return to Florence. When I had passed the Adige and the Po, I resolved on continuing my route by Ferrara and Bologna. The Pope was at this period endeavouring to obtain an armistice, which was concluded shortly afterwards. The strict orders by which Frenchmen were forbidden to enter the Papal States had already been modified. I was not, therefore, in any way impeded, and although I stayed but a few hours at Bologna, the Governor, on being informed of my arrival, sent to offer me any facilities I might desire for the continuance of my journey. I thanked him, and passing the Apennines on the following day reached Florence on the 25th Prairial (June 13).

Great changes had taken place in the Tuscan Government during my short absence. The Grand Duke, alarmed by our successes, trembling for Leghorn, and aware that the Directory was not satisfied with the reparation he had already made, had resolved, in hopes of dispelling the storm which he saw was coming, to give the conduct of Foreign Affairs to Signor Fossombroni, one of his chamberlains, who had acquired a distinguished reputation in mathematical science.* By this arrangement he terminated the correspondence between the French Legation and Signor Serrati, a correspondence which had become more than ever strained and intricate owing to the dislike that Serrati, as Governor of Leghorn, had always evinced for the French, and his extreme partiality for the English. But although the new arrangement was agreeable to us in that respect, it produced no change in the mind of the Cabinet. Signor Fossombroni was evidently only an intermediary between us and Signor Serrati, whose influence still existed, and who, in fact, really regulated the conduct of affairs.

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* Signor Fossombroni is the author of a highly esteemed work, published at Avezzo in 1731, entitled, " Saggio di Ricerche sull' Intensità del Lume."

Meanwhile the causes of complaint to which the weakness of the Tuscan officials at Leghorn had given rise, far from diminishing, increased, and excited great discontent among the French. It looked as if the officials were acting in concert with the persons who, for other reasons than those stated above, were urging the Commander-in-Chief to an expedition on Leghorn. The danger to Tuscany was evident, and I soon perceived that it was no longer possible either to avert it, or preserve the neutrality of the country. The French army was approaching in two columns; one was advancing on Reggio by the new Apennine route, and was approaching Pistoja, the other was marching on Bologna. Thus our troops were on the point of entering the territory of the Grand Duke. No hope of preventing the violation of the treaty remained, all that could be done was to regulate the movement and to see that it caused as little damage and disorder as possible. I had received from Buonaparte, as he had promised me, an intimation of his arrival at Bologna, and I waited upon him in that town on the 4th Messidor (June 22). He was conversing with General Berthier when I was shown in. Berthier was, like myself, a native of Versailles; I had been very familiar with him during my childhood and youth, and we addressed each other with our old intimacy, using the "thou" and "thee." Buonaparte remarked this, and when he had dismissed Berthier, said he wished to have a private conversation with me. Before entering on this, he asked me, "How long have you known Berthier, I see you are very familiar with him?" I explained in a few words. "Very well," he answered, "but do you, like so many people, believe what I have read in the country newspapers, that it is to Berthier that I owe my success, that he directs my plans, and that I only execute what he has suggested to me?" *

"Not at all," I replied; "I know him too well to attribute to him a kind of ability which he does not possess. And if he did, most decidedly he would not give up the glory of it to you!" "You are right," answered Buonaparte with warmth, "Berthier is not capable of commanding a battalion!" † He stopped there,

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* Some certain foreign newspapers, in order to lessen Buonaparte's glory, delighted to represent him as the pupil of Berthier, who certainly was at least fifteen years older than he.

† In these words there was perhaps exaggeration, and certainly ill-

and we began to discuss the object of my journey seriously. This interview lasted a long time, and he heard me with great attention.

I explained to him in detail my reasons for insisting on the observance of the neutrality of Tuscany. "What are you going to do?" I asked him. "You are departing from the real object of the war, instead of pursuing the Austrians in their retreat, and going either through Tyrol or by Styria to threaten Austria with the presence of a victorious army as I proposed in the despatches which I have written to Paris. By withdrawing from Upper Italy you give the enemy time to breathe and to put a fresh army into the field, larger than that which you have just so completely and gloriously defeated. In the meanwhile, as you must occupy Leghorn and maintain your line of communication with that town, you weaken yourself by the necessity of leaving a portion of your forces there. And do not be deceived; you will not gain the advantages you expect from the occupation of Leghorn. A large part of the wealth that the English possess there has already been removed or hidden. No sooner will you have entered the port of Leghorn, than the English will enter Porto-Ferrajo,* and we shall have no right to complain of a violation of neutrality, of which we ourselves shall have set the example. Of course, notwithstanding the precautions of the English merchants, there will still be merchandize and property of theirs in Leghorn. Seals will be put on their warehouses; their goods will be sold; but who profit by those seizures and sales? The Commissioners of the Directory; the crowd of agents who follow your army, attracted by the hope of gain. You will be engaged in military operations, which must occupy your every moment and your every thought, and you will soon lose sight of Leghorn. Frightful abuses will result from the occupation, scandalous fortunes will be made, and I shall be the reluctant witness of countless transactions dishonouring to the French name, but which I shall be powerless either to prevent or to punish. Everything will be disguised under the grand names of patriotism, insults to avenge, and respect for the national flag. Immediately on your departure, a dictatorial power will be established, there will be vexations of all kinds, and the popular feeling, already averse to us, will become still more inimical. Then if the fortune of war should waver for a moment, the French

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humor. It is, however, a fact, that Buonaparte never confided an expedition to Berthier, nor ever employed him except as Chief of the Staff. He did give him in 1798, when leaving Italy, the command in chief of the army, but, as the reader will see, he did so only to justify the opinion which he expressed on the occasion of my second interview with him.

* The English, in fact, seized upon Porto-Ferrajo on 28th Messidor (July 11), less than a fortnight after the French entered Leghorn.

would be exposed to the most atrocious reprisals, and neither an armistice nor even a treaty of peace could insure their safety.''

"If I had heard what you had to say sooner,'' replied the General, "perhaps I should not have given orders for the movement that is taking place to-day ; but it is too late now, it has commenced. The Directory is expecting to find mountains of gold at Leghorn, and has its head turned. Every one sides with its action ; I am powerless. I will try to prevent disorder, you may assure the Grand Duke of that. But, then, he must give the strictest orders that the troops are to be respected and their wants abundantly supplied. I shall go to Florence on my return from Leghorn. I shall finish with the Pope to-morrow. I mean to grant him an armistice, but on condition that he give us money, paintings, and statues. If you will go to Rome and undertake the execution of the treaty, I will forward it to you from Pistoja, where I shall be in two days' time, and where I shall be glad to see you again, if your occupations will permit. In any case we shall meet at Florence.''

I answered in a few words. The General's intention of treating with the Court of Rome proved that, supposing him to have looked over the memorandum I had forwarded to him a fortnight previously at Brescia, he had not adopted the opinions expressed in it. To treat with the Pope was to recognise his power, and to guarantee in some sort his existence both as Prince and as Pontiff. I pointed this out to him, but he evaded an explanation, and I perceived that he had no intention of taking advantage of our victories to destroy the double power of the Holy See, and that, notwithstanding the sacrifices he was about to exact from the Papal Court, he was careful to maintain the principle of its existence and anxious for its safety. Was he already thinking of the use which he would one day make of it ? That he was, cannot be proved ; but subsequent events have shown that the conjecture is at least plausible.

Seeing therefore that there was nothing more to be done to advance the principal object of my journey, that the neutrality of Tuscany was to be violated, and that Rome would escape with the sacrifice of some money and pictures, I confined myself to requesting Buonaparte that he would at least, when he moved the columns of his army, avoid sending any troops through Florence. I represented to him that the Grand Duke was particularly anxious to spare his capital the inconveniences and in a sense the shame of foreign troops passing through it, and that it seemed to me to be right to satisfy him on this point. The General gave me his promise, and we parted. In the course of the day I saw the Commissioners of the Directory, Salicetti and Garrau. They purposed following the march of the army to Leghorn, and announced to me that after having regulated the affairs of the administration they would come in their turn to visit me at Florence. I entered into no particulars with them ; and left Bologna on the following morning, 5th Messidor, year III. (June 23, 1795). I arrived at Florence on the same day.

I found the Government there in a state of the greatest alarm. Notwithstanding the promise made to me at Bologna, a column of the French army was marching on Florence, and in two days' time was to pass through the city. The excitement was extreme, and the conjuncture all the more unfortunate, that the passage of the troops would occur on the Feast of St. John, which is celebrated with great pomp at Florence, that Saint being the patron of the city.*

I saw the Grand Duke on the morning of the 6th Messidor (June 24) at a place which he had appointed in the Boboli Gardens. I protested to him that I had received a positive promise from General Buonaparte that no troops of any kind should pass through his capital, that I suspected there must be some misunderstanding about the order, but that I was going to send off a courier and had no doubt it would be countermanded. In fact, the courier on his return brought me a despatch from the Chief of the Staff which informed me that through an official mistake only, some troops had been ordered to pass through Florence, and that the error had been rectified.

Meanwhile the French army destined for the occupation of Leghorn had entered Tuscan territory by way of Pistoja on the 5th Messidor, and Buonaparte, who was already in the town, sent me his aide-de-camp, Marmont, on the 8th, with a letter announcing to the Grand Duke that the Executive Directory had ordered a march on Leghorn. To that information the General added, that, although forced to take this step by the repeated insults which the national flag had suffered in Leghorn at the hands of the English, the French Government desired to maintain friendly relations with Tuscany.†

The aide-de-camp was also the bearer of a letter for me from

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* On the Feast of St. John, the Grand Duke with his Court proceeds in the morning to the Palazzo-Vecchio square, to receive the homage of the magistrates of Florence and of the other towns of his States. On the eve of the Feast, also, he is present in great state at the horse-races, which attract vast crowds. On these two days in the year. only, does the Court of Tuscany, which is very simple in its habits, display any magnificence.

† This letter, together with the answer made to it by Fossombroni in the name of the Grand Duke, may be found in the "Gazette de Florence," of Tuesday, June 28, 1796.

Berthier. He informed me that General Buonaparte wished to see me, but that I must come that same night, because he intended to leave early on the morning of the 9th for Leghorn. I could not start, accompanied by Marmont, until very late on the night of the 8th, and I learned at Prato that the General had already gone on. I went no further, therefore, but returned to Florence, where I waited to see him on his way back from Leghorn.

The French army, which had begun to move on the 6th Messidor, was advancing on Leghorn from Pistoja, without crossing the territory of the Republic of Lucca, although that route, being the shortest, seemed the most natural.* On the 9th Messidor (June 27) a division of cavalry reached the gates of the town. The officer in command having presented himself at the house of Spanocchi, the Governor, was at first coldly received ; but after a few difficulties, which were promptly settled, the troops entered the town and made themselves masters of the most important positions. A proclamation was placarded to tranquillise the inhabitants, whose hostile feelings toward the French were freely manifested. Buonaparte arrived that evening, and ordered the arrest of the Tuscan Governor, of whose conduct the general of the vanguard had complained. The following is a letter which Berthier sent me by one of his aides-de-camp to inform me of these events. With it came a letter from Buonaparte to the Grand Duke.

"Headquarters, Leghorn, 10th Messidor,
"Year IV. of the French Republic,
"One and Indivisible.

"THE CHIEF OF THE STAFF TO HIS FRIEND MIOT.

"Everything here, my dear friend, is going on well. The late Governor played scapegoat for all. He certainly showed very different feelings towards us from those evinced by His Royal

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* M. Redon de Belleville, then Consul of the Republic at Leghorn, assured me some time after the occupation of that town, that good treatment for Lucca had been dearly bought by the magistrates of the Republic. According to information which he had obtained, a sum of from £240,000 to £280,000 was placed by the Commissioners of Lucca in the hands of an agent of Salicetti, at a house in the suburbs of Leghorn. This agent was the elder Arena. He was a compatriot of the Commissioner of the Directory, and had been a member of the Convention. He was appointed afterwards one of the Council of the Five Hundred, and on the 18th Brumaire, year VIII., was one of those deputies who most strenuously opposed the designs of Buonaparte. His brother, Joseph Arena, afterwards played a part in the conspiracy of Ceracchi, year IX., and perished on the scaffold. I do not know how far the truth of the fact I relate may be relied on, but I am certain that M. de Belleville was incapable of inventing it. The immense fortune that Salicetti made in Italy gives it probability.

Highness. After you have read the letter of the Commander-in Chief to the Grand Duke, send it on to him as quickly as possible.

"The Commander-in-Chief will reach Florence the day after to-morrow. We shall come to your house. He desires me to tell you that he expects you to give a grand ball and supper. I sincerely hope that our ambassador will display dignity and magnificence worthy of the French Republic. I must tell you that we want to be put up at the Legation.

"Adieu. I embrace you. My aide-de-camp will tell you all I have left unsaid.

"ALEXANDER BERTHIER."

I handed Buonaparte's letter to the Grand Duke, excused as well as I could the violence used towards the Governor of Leghorn, and announced the speedy arrival of the General. The Grand Duke received these communications with ill-concealed concern, but at the same time with resignation. He told me that he would give orders for the reception of the General with the honour due to his rank, and spoke to me with the greatest admiration of his military talent and of the glory he had acquired by his victories. I assured him on my side that the General would hasten to solicit the honour of being presented to him, and the audience, equally painful for both parties, was brought to a close—coldly, but without any rupture.

Buonaparte, according to promise, reached Florence on the 12th Messidor, year IV. (June 30, 1796), at about seven in the evening.* He alighted at the palace in which I lived,† whither the Grand Duke had sent a company of infantry with a flag to receive him. He was accompanied by General Berthier and two aides-de-camp, Murat and Leclerc; and escorted by a picket of dragoons. I received him and his staff into my house, and thus there was no need to quarter any one in the town. The soldiers were lodged in a vast orangery belonging to the gardens of the Ximenès Palace. The inhabitants of Florence were thus in no way inconvenienced by the presence of the French dragoons, and all vexatious incidents were avoided. I had invited a great many people to dinner, and there was a crowd at my house, both before and after the play. Curiosity to see a man who had accomplished such prodigious exploits attracted great numbers to the theatres; the streets through which Buonaparte passed, from the San Frediano Gate, by which he entered, to the Pitti Gate, near which I

* He had remained on the 29th of June at San Miniato, where Canon Philippe Buonaparte, one of his relatives, lived. He left San Miniato again on the 30th.

† Palazzo Ximenès, via Porta Pitti.

lived, a distance forming the diameter of the town, were filled with the whole population, who flocked from every quarter to behold the spectacle. His was truly a triumphant entry, although no shouts were uttered by the multitude, and astonishment rather than admiration prevailed over every other sentiment in the reception of the conqueror.

The next morning I accompanied him to the Court and presented him to the Grand Duke,* with whom he conversed for some time.

His Imperial Highness invited the General to dinner, and left it to him to name the officers of his staff to whom he desired the same honor to be extended. The dinner took place, but the Grand Duchess, pleading an indisposition, did not appear. The Grand Duke placed my wife on his right hand, and Buonaparte on his left. A few ladies of the Court were present. After dinner the General took leave of the Grand Duke, and we went down with him into the Boboli Gardens, where a courier, arriving from headquarters, handed him despatches announcing the surrender of the fortress of Milan. I had arranged to give the ball he had wished for on the next day, but he could not stay longer, and left at once to return to headquarters by way of Bologna. In the various conversations that I had with Buonaparte during those two days, he appeared to me to be intent upon the movements of the Austrians, and very anxious to rejoin his army. I know that it was with regret he left troops in Tuscany, although he had reduced their number as low as possible. I entreated him to deal as gently as he could with the country, so as not to enrage the inhabitants at a moment when he had so few men to control their discontent, and secure his own line of communications from interruption.

I suggested to him that he should put forth a proclamation enjoining on the superior officers the necessity of the strictest discipline during the passage of the French troops through Tuscany. He consented, and I began to draw it up; but he was offended by a phrase in which I used the expression, "*the Commanders of the French army*," and erasing these words with some irritation, he told me that the army had *but one Commander*, and that was himself. After several attempts at drawing up the proclamation, he resolved to issue it from Bologna, where he was to arrive next day, but I heard nothing more of it. Notwithstanding this slight cloud, we parted on very good terms, and from that time forward our correspondence was carried on in a confidential and friendly spirit, which subsisted between us for a long time.

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* Fourteen years after, in 1811, I saw this same Grand Duke, at the Tuileries, standing unnoticed amid the crowd who besieged the doors of Buonaparte, now become Emperor and King, and awaiting, with the other courtiers, the hour of his "lever."

After the General's departure for Northern Italy, the Commissioners of the Directory, who had remained at Leghorn, placed seals on the English property there, sold part of it, and used the rest for the supply of the army. But as I was in no way concerned in these financial transactions, I can give no details on the subject. When the preliminary arrangements had been made, the two Commissioners, Salicetti and Garrau, came to spend a few days at Florence. Madame Buonaparte, who was curious to see the town, also arrived there a short time afterwards. On that occasion I renewed my acquaintance with her. I had met her in society at Paris, but not often, and I had formed an estimate of her which my increased intimacy with her during her stay at Florence only served to confirm. Never has any woman united greater kindness of heart with greater natural grace, never has any woman done more good with more pleasure than she. She honoured me with her friendship, and the recollection of the kindness she showed me until the last moments of her too brief existence will never be erased from my heart.

When my guests had departed, I began to prepare to leave Florence for Rome. But in order to explain the motives of this journey, I must go back a little in my narrative.

At the commencement of the war in Italy, and especially when the temporary success of the Austrians in the Riviera of Genoa, under General de Vins, during the month of Messidor, year III. (July 1795), had restored confidence to the Powers inimical to France, the Pope had taken an active part in the war, and once more roused against us the same populace which in January 1793 had murdered Consul Basseville. After that event, no French agent had remained at Rome; our artists had all sought refuge at Florence, and we had thus been three years without holding any communication with Rome. When Spain recognised and entered into a treaty with the French Republic, on the 4th Thermidor, year III. (July 22, 1795), a share of the hatred that we inspired devolved on the Spaniard, and his residence in Rome soon became unbearable to the Chevalier d'Azara, ambassador from Spain to the Holy See.

He also established himself at Florence, in the spring of 1796, and I then enjoyed the advantage of intimacy with that cultivated lover of the fine arts, who had adopted Rome as his second fatherland. He was a sincere friend to France, and shared our joy at the victories of our troops, while he at once foresaw that our success would occasion a change of language, if not of feeling, at the Court of Rome. He was not mistaken, and he was soon solicited, by the very Court which had in some sort exiled him, to employ his own best endeavours and the mediation of Spain, whom he represented in Italy, to obtain a suspension of hostilities until peace could be definitively arranged. M. d'Azara, having accepted this honourable mission, came to the Commander-in-Chief at Bologna, accompanied by M. Antonio Guendy, whom the Pope had appointed his Minister Plenipotentiary. I saw them both on the 4th Messidor at Bologna, and on the next day, the 5th (June 23, 1796), the armistice was signed in the name of the Pope, by the Chevalier d'Azara and M. Guendy, and in the name of the French Republic by Buonaparte, Salicetti, and Garrau. The Pope undertook to pay twenty-one millions of Roman lire, and to hand over to France one hundred pictures, busts or statues, together with five hundred manuscripts.* The matter in hand was to get this armistice carried out, its conditions being very hard, and not as yet ratified by the Pope.† Buonaparte, as I have before said, had already informed me that he wished me to undertake the business, and had caused a copy of the treaty to be sent to me from Pistoja. He persisted in this resolution when at Bologna, and sent me, through Berthier, an official intimation that I was to repair to Rome. The Chevalier d'Azara, having returned from Bologna, was still at Florence when the despatch reached me, and I communicated it to him. He seemed pleased to find himself associated with me in matters of a delicate nature and requiring much moderation and good management. We had no troops in the neighbourhood of Rome, nor would we in any case have had recourse to force. He advised me, therefore, to delay my journey for a few days, that he might have time to precede me to Rome, whither he would repair without delay, and whence he would write to me. I took his advice, and a few days afterwards I received the following letter from him :

ROME, July 14.

"I reached Rome yesterday, having got through my journey satisfactorily, notwithstanding my bad state of health. You can easily imagine that since my arrival I have been occupied only with your journey. I have seen the Pope, and have informed him of all that you and I agreed on. You may set out therefore, and you will not meet with the slightest obstacle, either on your road, or in Rome. You will come to the Hôtel de Sarmiento, opposite the Spanish Embassy.

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* The following is the text of the 8th Article of the Treaty, containing the agreement in question : "The Pope shall deliver up to the Republic at the choice of the Commissioners who shall be sent to Rome, one hundred pictures, busts, vases or statues ; among which will be included the bronze bust of Junius Brutus and the marble bust of Marcus Aurelius, both in the Capitol, also five hundred manuscripts, at the choice of the said Commissioners." It is to be remarked that the first Article states that the French Government consents to treat only in order to give a proof of its deference to the wishes of His Majesty the King of Spain.

† The ratification, although dated June 27, was not then made known. It was handed over to me at Rome in July.

"Immediately on your arrival, we will meet and arrange together all that is to be done. I will introduce you to the Secretary of State; afterwards you shall visit the Pope, and I hope you will be satisfied with everybody. So far as I am concerned, you may rely on my desire to serve you and to ensure the success of your mission. I am anxious to embrace you, and to prove to you the interest I take in yourself personally, and the friendship I feel for you," &c.

Some few days before this letter reached me, the Marquis Massimo, the Pope's envoy for the negotiation of a definitive peace, had arrived at Florence, and I had seen him. He had assured me that his Holiness's dispositions were most pacific, and that no obstacle would be offered to the carrying out of the armistice. Reassured, therefore, on all sides as to the success of my mission, and no longer detained in any way at Florence, where I left the Commissioners appointed by the French Government to collect objects of art in Italy,* with injunctions to join me as soon as possible, I started on the 30th Messidor (July 18), and reached Rome on the 3d Thermidor (July 21). M. d'Azara came as far as Ponte Molle to meet me, where I got into his carriage, and I entered the city with him in the midst of an immense crowd, who followed me with unfriendly glances, and whose traditional enmity was aroused by the tricolour-cockade in my hat, and in the hats of the persons who composed my suite.

Rome, at that time, presented a very singular and revolting spectacle. A gloomy fanaticism, kindled by the monks and fed by absurd fables, had filled the minds of all.

The populace was exclusively absorbed in religious practices, and listening to fanatical preachers, and the higher classes of society dared not hold themselves aloof. The streets were choked with long files of priests or monks, walking in procession and followed by enormous crowds. Men's imaginations were excited, and only dwelt on marvels, on murders and on vengeance. Far from quieting this commotion, the Government secretly encouraged it, regarding it as their strongest safeguard against the propagation of revolutionary principles, which they dreaded above all things. My presence and that of a few other Frenchmen, in the midst of a people ready at any moment to commit the greatest excesses, could not but increase the popular excitement, and I perceived that there would be no safety either for my countrymen or myself if the terror inspired by our victories and the near neighbourhood of our armies were dispelled for even a single day, or if the fortune of war ceased for one instant to be favourable to us. The latter contingency arose. The news of Würmser's arrival at the head of a second Austrian army had revived all the hopes of our enemies. His success was considered certain; it was announced beforehand, although no operations were as yet begun, and the siege of Mantua was carried on uninterruptedly.

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* This Commission comprised MM. Monge, Berthollet, Thomir, Barthélemy the painter, Moitte the sculptor, and Tinet, draughtsman and painter.

We, in the heart of Italy, already felt the consequences of these ominous reports, and we might have been seriously endangered before the news of the victories which soon after lent a new lustre to French arms had once more filled the people with that terror which was our only security.

I must, however, do justice to the conduct of the Pope's Government toward me. Although the reports abroad were of a nature to make it less docile in the carrying out of the armistice just concluded at Bologna, I did not at first meet with all the difficulties I expected. The Chevalier d'Azara, who seconded me admirably at each step I took, accompanied me to the Secretary of State, Cardinal Zelada, who gave me a positive assurance of the payment of the first instalment of the contribution which the Court of Rome was to furnish, by virtue of Article 9 of the armistice, and, in fact, I received proof that this first instalment was on its way to Bologna. I obtained also, and on the spot, the liberation of certain men who had been imprisoned for their political opinions, and of whom General Buonaparte had sent me a list.

On the next day, after my interview with the Secretary of State, I was conducted by M. d'Azara to the Monte Cavallo* Palace, to have an audience of the Pope. I was accompanied by M. Fréville, Secretary to the Legation. We each wore the uniform of the National Guard. The Pope was seated on a daïs, raised one step from the ground, with a canopy. In front of him was a table on which were a number of papers, writing-materials, and a bell. When I was announced by the chamberlain, who drew back the door-hangings, his Holiness rose, came down from the daïs, and advanced to meet me. M. d'Azara made a genuflection on entering; I only bowed profoundly, and the Pope, having taken me by the hand, led me up to the daïs, where he resumed his place, and, pointing to a seat on his left hand lower than his own, invited me by a gesture to be seated. M. Fréville sat near me, and the Chevalier d'Azara opposite the Holy Father's writing-table. Pius VI., although he had reached an advanced age, was still a remarkably handsome man. He was distinguished by an elegant and well-proportioned figure, and a countenance full of nobility and mildness. He lacked none of the outward gifts of Nature, and it was impossible to approach him without a feeling of respectful admiration. This, at least, was the sentiment which I experienced on seeing him. The conversation was in Italian. I assured the Pope that, in carrying out the conditions of the armistice, I would do all in my power to render them less onerous, while I ventured to hope, in return, that his Holiness would deign to give orders that the Commissioners who had been entrusted with the selection of the works of art should have all needful facilities for fulfilling their mission. "I will do so," he answered eagerly; "the execution of these conditions is a sacred thing (*é cosa sacrosanta*). Rome will still be rich enough in objects of Art, and I do not think that in making this sacrifice I have bought the peace of my States too dear. Here," added his Holiness, "is the ratification of the treaty. I wished to hand it over to you myself, in order to convince you that I have no repugnance to investing this act with my consent."*

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* Formerly the Quirinal Hill. The Pope resides there in summer, the air being more salubrious than at the Vatican.

The conversation then turned on more general topics. We spoke of Rome, and of all that attracts the curiosity of strangers. At last, after an interview of half an hour, the Pope rose to dismiss me.

A few days after this audience the Commissioners whom I had left at Florence rejoined me.

I found them much alarmed by the reports they had heard everywhere on the road between Florence and Rome, and by the ill-feeling they had observed at the places at which they had stopped. I could not wholly tranquillize them; I myself was anxious, and I had received no reassuring despatch either from the headquarters of the army or from Florence.

I advised them, however, to set about the mission entrusted to them; I put them in communication with the Pope's agents, and it was those same agents whom they employed to pack the valuable works which they selected.

In the brief leisure afforded by my numerous occupations, I visited Rome and made myself acquainted with the neighbouring country. But I could barely satisfy the most urgent demands of my curiosity. When I visited Italy ten years later, and made a longer stay in Rome in more tranquil times, I had an opportunity of thoroughly investigating that famous city. I shall therefore defer speaking of it until I shall have reached the later period of my narrative.

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* The ratification, correctly drawn up, was signed Pius Papa VI.

While the animosity of the Italian people to us was revived by the first report of our reverses, which their enmity led them to receive as certainly true, a few men of sounder sense, and many others stimulated by private dislike, and especially by ambition to play a part in the history of their country, had hastened to the Commander-in-Chief, and even to Paris, with plans of revolution in Italy, and claimed the intervention of the French to help them to upset absolute government and, as they expressed it, to restore liberty to their country.

The importunity of these patriots, who displayed no less enthusiasm in their republican fanaticism than did the rest of their fellow-citizens in their religious fanaticism, made an impression on the Executive Directory, which was already disposed toward political proselytism, and I foresaw that if Buonaparte would lend a helping hand, it would not be disinclined to let this leaven of Revolution ferment, and to aid its development. A despatch which I received during my stay at Rome, revealed this to me. It contained one leading query : " Is it possible, is it desirable for the French Republic to republicanise Italy ?" I was perhaps better able than any political agent to discuss this question. I was in the heart of Italy. I had lived more than a year in the country ; I had closely observed the conduct and the feelings of the people and their governments in the various positions we had held towards them, whether as victors or as vanquished ; I knew how much either of submission or resistance we had to expect from them. I believed it therefore to be my duty to put forward the opinions which circumstances had led me to form.

As I also desire to clear my character of the suspicion that during my stay in Italy I was guilty of participating in acts of violence or in breaches of faith, which, on the contrary, I always resisted or blamed, I will here copy the reply which I made to the question put to me by the Minister of Exterior Relations. That reply is dated Rome, 9th Thermidor, year IV. (July 27, 1796).

" CITIZEN MINISTER.

" I have received your letter of 29th Messidor since my arrival in this city. I will devote mine to answering the questions you address to me, by placing before you the result of the observations I have made on the state of public feeling in Italy, on the resources it offers, and on the use that may be made of it for the conception or the establishment of a new political system in the countries that have been subjugated by French arms. My further residence in

Rome may furnish me with additional means of clearing up many difficulties and of forming a more general opinion.

" The chief question which is put to me, is the following : ' Is it possible, is it desirable for the French Republic to republicanise Italy ? ' The second part of this question depends clearly on the first ; for it is evident that if such a change were possible it would certainly be desirable. All that is required, therefore, is to examine that possibility.

" If by the word *republicanise* is to be understood the establishment of a system of government founded on the same principles as our own, resting merely on such simple bases as those of political liberty and equality, and divested of all prejudices, I do not see as yet any means of attaining that end in Italy. We shall doubtless find a few sincere persons, but many others moved by private interests, and especially by a spirit of revenge, who will be anxious to persuade us that a complete revolution is possible and even easy. A cursory examination of the means they propose to employ, the monstrous alliance they would attempt between superstition and policy, the use they would actually venture to make of that execrable weapon in order to found a revolution, will, however, show how impracticable it would be as yet—in the full completeness I have just sketched out, and the Directory cannot be too much on its guard against such projects.

" If, on the contrary, in order to make our victories conducive to our true interests, we confine ourselves in the present state of Italy to practicable political changes which will be useful to its inhabitants, the question, from that point of view, becomes more interesting and its discussion assumes real importance.

" You will remember, Citizen Minister, what I have stated in my correspondence as to the object which I believed should be aimed at in the war of Italy.

" To wrest his possessions in this part of Europe from the Emperor, to lessen the power of the Pope, since we can no longer think of destroying it altogether ;* these were the principal results to which I pointed as the fruits of our victories.

" We have now the means of obtaining these two great results. We hold the country round Milan ; the legations of Bologna and Ferrara are in our hands.

" To remove those beautiful and fertile provinces forever from the domination of Austria and the Popes, is to attain as completely as possible the aim that we ought to propose to ourselves.

" It now becomes necessary to inquire under what government we must leave these countries, which we cannot and ought not to retain.

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* From the moment that we treated with him we acknowledged his Government, and we could not, without flagrant breach of faith, seek to overthrow it.

"That which has been done in Holland may serve us as a guide here. We have delivered Lombardy, Bologna and Ferrara from a despotic government, but we have no desire to violate their independence. It is for their inhabitants and not for us to make a revolution, and this distinction appears to me to be of the greatest importance. It is not for us to dictate laws for them, still less to impose on them our own. Let us watch their progress in the exercise of the power we have restored to them, but let us not take on ourselves the task of directing it. Let them seek, while protected and defended by a Power which watches over their safety, an organisation suited to their genius, and their religious opinions, in harmony with the ideas circulating among them ; our part is to oppose the intrigues of a party who would bring them again under the yoke that we have broken' but not to force forward fruits of a kind which the climate can not as yet produce.

"The first step towards this result—the only one that appears to be desirable—would be a precise statement on the part of the Directory, declaring that these provinces shall never be restored to their former masters by any treaties concluded by the Republic. Until this is done, we can hardly hope that they themselves will take a decisive part ; and even if they did, they would afterwards find themselves without sufficient means to resist the attacks which might be made upon them.

"The Directory is probably not as yet prepared to make such a declaration. A moderate policy therefore, such as I have indicated above, seems to me the right course to follow. In any case, I think we must not for a long time abandon the forms of military government in the countries we have conquered in Italy ; and that without forcing on the organisation of a new national government which would be without the necessary resources for self-maintenance, we should allow it to develop itself under our eyes. And when a general peace shall have secured the independence of those provinces, it will still be desirable for our interests to maintain our garrisons in them for a long time, or at any rate, in order to avoid any reproach from other nations of violating this same independence, to leave some French troops in the pay of the separate governments which will have been formed. Such, in my opinion, is the only means of consolidating the task we shall have accomplished, and a sound policy demands that amid so much enmity and so many passions directed which unhappily will not be completely quieted by the peace in Italy, we should continue to keep before her eyes a portion of the armies which have terrified and conquered her.

"A complete revolution in Italy is, to my mind, impossible. If in the present state of public feeling such a revolution could take place, it would be terrible, owing to the excesses to which fierce and unprincipled men would abandon themselves. It would not result in any advantage to humanity or in the welfare of society, because it would be the work of fanaticism and revenge.

"But a change of government in the conquered States, the establishment of a new order of things, modified according to the surrounding circumstances, is both possible and desirable."

To this letter I received no reply. Subsequent events have made it plain that the ideas of moderation and respect for the independence of peoples, which I had put forward, were not well received.

I had been two weeks in Rome, and, although the business of the execution of the conditions of the armistice was going on, I perceived that for some days past the Government had been acting in the matter with dilatoriness that led me to suspect that, being better informed than I of what was taking place in Upper Italy, they flattered themselves that the reverses we were sustaining there might eventually dispense them from keeping their promises. The darkest rumours were secretly spread about, and, as I had no means of refuting them, I soon found myself in a position as false as it was dangerous.

Things were in this state, when Cacault,* an agent of the French Republic, who had remained in Italy without ostensible title since 1793, arrived at Rome from headquarters. He brought me two letters, one from Buonaparte and one from Berthier. The first, on the supposition that I had not yet left Florence, advised me to remain there, and to delegate to Cacault the task of superintending the execution of the armistice concluded with the Pope. This change of plans was evidently the result of some manœuvres of Cacault, who had wished for this post, and easily persuaded Buonaparte that the numerous acquaintances he had formed at Rome would afford him better means of filling it, and other advantages which I did not possess. Besides which, Buonaparte, who knew my feelings about the Papal Government, and who intended to treat it tenderly, was sure of finding in Cacault a more yielding negotiator than I; one indeed, inclined by his own private views, to second the General's views.

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* M. Cacault knew Italy, where he had long resided, perfectly well. He had been ordered to repair to Rome after the assassination of Basseville, but not having succeeded in getting there, he had remained at Florence, as an agent of the Republic, but without official position until my arrival. He successively occupied various diplomatic posts in Italy, and on his return to France he was created a Senator in 1803. He died at Clisson in 1805.

The other letter, Berthier's, dated, like the first, from the head-quarters at Castiglione, on the 3d Thermidor, and consequently before the raising of the siege of Mantua, was full of confidence and hope of fresh successes. But as it was already twelve days old, and more recent news had reached Rome, it had become valueless for the purpose of forming any opinion, and I could make no kind of use of it.

However, in spite of the dangers to which a journey in the midst of the general ferment produced by the accounts of our reverses, magnified by active ill-will, might expose me, I did not hesitate to undertake it. I handed over the business to Cacault, and started, the very evening of the day of his arrival, on my return journey to Florence.

I had not been misinformed as to the state of feeling throughout the Roman territory. I therefore avoided passing through Viterbo, where I knew that the excitement was greater than in any other part, and took the route through Civita-Castella, Narni, Terni, where I stayed a few hours in order to see the celebrated cascade, and Spoleto, where I intended to pass the night. But it was impossible to carry out my plan; a furious mob surrounded my carriage, and if I had not displayed coolness which took them aback, I should probably have been subjected to very bad treatment. I therefore merely changed horses, and continued my journey by way of Foligno, Assisi, and Perugia.* I entered the Tuscan territory through Cortona and Arezzo, and although I was then in a country where I bore, so to speak, a sacred character, I saw, by the animus displayed by the inhabitants of the last-named town, that even that character would barely serve to protect me should we cease to be conquerors. As we drove from the gates of Arezzo, stones were thrown at my carriage; but it was dark, and this insult had no serious consequences; my horses quickly placed me beyond reach. Finally, I arrived at Florence on the 17th Thermidor, year IV. (August 4, 1796).

Profound consternation prevailed among the few French who were then at Florence. For several days the most disastrous accounts had succeeded each other without interruption, and my first interviews with the Tuscan Government convinced me that, if exaggerated, they were not unfounded. The populace of Florence, who until then had taken no decided part, now awoke from the calm indifference which characterised them. Inflamed by the monks, they began to imitate the Romans; they also had their miracles and their prophecies. Their excessive credulity made them accept the most absurd rumours; they were persuaded that I had brought back Buonaparte in my carriage wounded; that he had died at my house, and that I had buried him in my garden. An immense crowd collected about my door; I was obliged to come out and address them, and I had great difficulty in preventing their forcing their way into my house in order to satisfy their stupid curiosity.

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* I must do justice here to the Governor of Perugia, who received me with the utmost courtesy, and watched over my safety with sedulous care.

This state of alarm lasted for twelve days, and during that time the Grand Duke's government acted with such weakness as to make it evident to me that, far from wishing to repress the disturbance, it intended to make use of it to free itself from any remaining consideration for me, in the event of our sustaining further reverses. From the moment that we were or were supposed to be no longer formidable, it would have been useless to appeal for security to treaties, which had simply been extorted by fear.

At last, on the 23d and 24th Thermidor (10th and 11th August), couriers despatched from headquarters made their appearance, and put an end to our anxieties. During my stay in Rome, and my journey thence, hostilities had recommenced in Northern Italy. Würmser, at the head of a fresh Austrian army, had forced Buonaparte to raise the siege of Mantua, leaving all his artillery on the spot. But this check, news of which had spread so rapidly, had been as quickly repaired by the wonderful victories of Salo, Castiglione, and Lonata (17th and 18th Thermidor). Never had so rapid and complete a change taken place in war; never had such genius, talent, and valour been displayed. A campaign of less than ten days' duration had reconquered Italy and routed all the projects of our enemies. But in proportion as the news of our reverses had been readily believed, did that of our victories meet with incredulity, and it was only after the lapse of several months, and when the surrender of Mantua ratified, as it were, the bulletins of our army, that the people were at last induced to credit our success.

For the time being, our reverses had brought back the Powers of Italy, to their former policy and their former enmities. The negotiations for peace between the Pope and France had been interrupted,* the conditions of the armistice were no longer carried out; the Commissioners whom I had left at Rome had withdrawn, and come back to Florence to wait for more favourable circumstances and fresh instructions.

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* They were not completely broken off until a month later, the fourth complementary day of year IV. (September 20, 1796). The Pope declined any arrangement, nor would he state what were the modifications he would have desired in the stipulations of the treaty.

Cacault only remained, and was carrying on some private communications, the Papal Government not having as yet decided on an open rupture.

Meanwhile, Buonaparte having pursued Würmser's army into the valley of Adige and Brenta, forced the General to shut himself up in Mantua. But another army, commanded by D'Alvinzi, soon made its appearance in Italy, and to save this important stronghold, opened a fresh campaign, in the course of which the engagement at Arcola and the battles of Rivoli and Favorita immortalised the glory of the French arms.

While military events were thus hastening on, and Victory, still undecided, had not declared herself for either side, the difficulties of my position increased daily. The Tuscan people openly displayed their dislike to the French. I was grossly insulted several times, and my time was entirely occupied in hearing and laying before the Grand-Ducal Government the complaints which were addressed to me by the French inhabitants of Tuscany.

At length, being convinced by the facts before my eyes that there was no hope of security for the French, nor any real advantage to be obtained from our victories in Italy so long as the House of Austria should possess any of its territory, and that the Pope's Government should endure, I resolved on sending M. Fréville, Secretary of Legation, to Paris, with a despatch, in which I laid before the Executive Directory my observations on the state of Italy, and stated my views of the direction in which our policy should move.

I will here give a summary of the plan which I had drawn up.

I pointed out that Austria and Spain had been dominant in succession in Italy, but that France had always tried in vain to establish a permanent influence in the country ; notwithstanding her victories, dominion had invariably slipped from her grasp.

"Austria, then, was exclusively powerful in Italy before the war. Venice was trembling, Genoa was sold, Naples shared in all the passions of Austria ; the Pope was at her beck. This brilliant structure was overthrown by our first victories. Austria wants to build it up afresh ; she calls on the people as auxiliaries to her army and succeeds in inflaming them ; she is preparing another *Sicilian Vespers* for us in Italy. The various Governments approve and second her views. But for our recent victories we should be irretrievably lost.

"At the first wind of our reverses, neutrality disappeared, the execution of treaties was suspended. We have therefore acquired no guarantee by negotiation, and we can only count on force, or on the establishment of a political system which will be a real guarantee. Now, therefore, is the time at which to treat this question.

"The first idea that presents itself is to alter the political situation of Italy entirely, in a word, to use the language of the day, to revolutionise her. I have opposed that solution; insurrection, even rebellion, may be kindled in Italy, but not a revolution.

"Let that part of Italy which we have conquered adopt a form of government of whatever kind, and let us protect it, provided these countries detach themselves altogether from Austria and the Pope. Let us possess nothing ourselves in Italy, but let us acquire influence there, and be a preponderating power only in the conquered part. As for the rest of the Peninsula, we must have another allied Power with us, which, acting on Rome and Naples, will keep them within defined bounds. Let Spain be that power.

"Spain is alive to her true interests; she has just made peace and allied herself with France; she will be responsible to us for Southern Italy. Let us give to her, or to a Prince of her House, those possessions of Austria which form a part of her States in Northern Italy, and which we will render independent.* By such a political arrangement Leghorn would be in the hands of Spain, and the neutrality of that port would no longer be an empty name. This plan involves, it is true, a complete rupture with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, but he himself has furnished us with a pretext for, and a right to it, by his late behaviour."

Fréville left Florence for Paris early in Fructidor, year IV. (middle of August, 1796). He had several interviews with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and presented a further development of my proposals in a detailed memorandum. In the end they were not adopted, and he rejoined me at Florence towards the end of Vendémiaire, year V. (October, 1796). He was the bearer of a letter from the Minister, Charles Lacroix, very flattering to me, but altogether evasive. I gathered from this letter and from the details added by Fréville that the French Government desired to remain on cool terms with Tuscany, in order to take a decisive step of rupture or alliance, according to circumstances, and to be in a position to justify either the one or the other. It was easy to satisfy the Government in this respect.

The intercourse between the two Cabinets had become more strained than ever; recriminations abounded on our side because of the weakness of the Tuscan Government, which allowed its neutrality to be disregarded, and showed itself altogether partial towards the English; and on the side of Neri-Corsini, the Grand Duke's Minister in Paris, because of the disrespect with which the Tuscan Government treated our military commanders and troops at Leghorn. It must be admitted that both sides were in the right. The partiality of the Tuscan Government towards the English was not more evident than the behaviour of our officers and men toward the authorities of the country was insulting. They acted in defiance of all rules, or, if the term is preferred, in defiance of every popular prejudice.*

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* This plan was afterwards adopted by Buonaparte, when he created the kingdom of Etruria for an Infant of Spain.

Whether my views as to the line of policy to be pursued in Italy had awakened some personal dislike towards me, or whether it was thought desirable to appoint an agent in Florence more dependent on the Commander-in-Chief than I was—and I have not discovered which—my mission in Tuscany was drawing to a close. Fréville had scarcely left Paris, when a decree of the Directory, dated the 2d Brumaire, year V. (October 23, 1796), changed all the diplomatic corps in Italy. I was appointed Ambassador to the Court of Sardinia; Cacault succeeded me at Florence as Minister Plenipotentiary, and Joseph Buonaparte was named resident Minister of the French Republic at the Court of the Infant-Duke of Parma. I did not, however, receive the decree containing my new nomination and its accompanying instructions until five months later. I was destined before I reached Turin to undertake a troublesome mission, for which I was in no wise prepared.

Corsica, which had been delivered to the English by Paoli, and occupied by them as a fourth kingdom annexed to the crown of the King of Great Britain, had just been evacuated by its new masters.† They had never succeeded in subduing the interior of the island, frequent insurrections had kept them in continual alarm, and free communication between the various towns could only be effected by sea. The victories of the French army in Italy, under the command of one of their countrymen, had redoubled this internal ferment in Corsica, and the English had decided on entirely abandoning their conquest. In September 1796 they withdrew their troops, and also removed from Corsica their chief partisans, such as General Paoli, Pozzo di Borgo, Beraldi and others, who sought an asylum in England. On the first intelligence of the English preparations for evacuating the island, Buonaparte despatched General Gentili thither at the head of two or three hundred banished Corsicans, and with this little band Gentili took possession of the principal strongholds. The island being thus restored to the rule of France, it became indispensable to provide temporarily for its civil administration and to prepare for the establishment of the constitution. Salicetti, Commissioner of the Directory, with the army of Italy, hastened to assume those functions, and had already repaired to Corsica, where he was beginning to exercise them. But the Directory had felt that it would not do to leave them in the hands of a man born in the island, having personal injuries to avenge, and who, even supposing him to be impartial in the conduct of affairs, could never persuade his countrymen that he was so. An administrator had therefore to be found, who should be an entire stranger to the country, having no interests but that of restoring order, healing quarrels, and bringing Corsica as soon as possible under the laws and institutions common to the rest of France. The choice fell on me, and on the 5th Frimaire, year V. (November 25, 1796), I received a decree of the Executive Directory, dated the 7th Brumaire, appointing me Commissioner-Extraordinary of the Government in Corsica, and ordering me to proceed thither at once. Accordingly I prepared to set out, and left the Legation in the hands of Fréville, who succeeded me with the title of Chargé d'Affaires.

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* General Hullin, in command at Leghorn, celebrated the fête of the 10th of August there with a brilliant military display. Nothing could be more offensive to the Tuscans, nor more uncalled-for by the French.

† The crown of Corsica was carried to London in October 1794 by four Corsican deputies.

On returning from Corsica on my way to Turin, I stayed at Florence for a few days, but without any official character. My mission therefore came to an end at the period I have now reached, and as I shall have no further occasion to speak of Tuscany, I will summarise here in a few lines the observations I made on the country during a residence of nearly twenty months.

During the whole time that Leopold governed Tuscany, her prosperity had gone on increasing, her population had sensibly augmented and was still tending towards increase; while free trade in grain had materially added to the products of agriculture. These results proved the beneficial influence of the principles adopted by Leopold, while the restrictions subsequently imposed on the grain trade have, by diminishing the products of the earth, confirmed the disadvantages of a prohibitive system. The events of the French Revolution, which brought war and all its attendant evils upon Italy, arrested the progressive impulse that Leopold had given to Tuscany. The administration which succeeded his, dreading the introduction of the principles which were triumphant in France, believed, as it generally happens, that the best means of opposing the evil was not to yield points, which the spirit of the age and the new ideas which were circulating freely made it necessary to yield in order to satisfy the needs of society, but to withdraw all that had been hitherto granted, and to return completely to the past. In all Leopold's institutions it detected the germs of

Revolution, and it could think of no better way to kill those germs than by destroying the institutions. The nobility and the clergy, whose privileges had been restricted, and whose alarm increased as the Revolution made progress in France, applauded this course of action, and aided it with all their influence. Nevertheless it would be an error to believe that society in general attached much importance to these questions, and a still greater mistake to conclude that the people took any active part in them. With the exception of a few movements promoted with great difficulty at critical junctures, and of which I have had occasion to speak, the prevailing aspect of all classes was that of indolence. For two centuries and a half Florence had lost the antique energy which had distinguished that noble city in the stormy times of the Republic. Her peaceable inhabitants, deprived of all their rights, were no longer the distrustful citizens, whom love of freedom and of independence had so often roused to the most courageous measures and the most generous sacrifices. They were no longer so many illustrious Mæcenas who offered magnanimous hospitality to science and letters. Almost everywhere my eye fell on men basking in a beautiful climate, occupied only in the dull details of a monotonous life, and vegetating beneath a beneficent sky. As for the women, a mixture of piety and intrigue was, as it is throughout all Italy, their distinguishing characteristic. Morals were extremely relaxed, but as that relaxation was universal and, singularly enough, the result of a generally admitted social convention, it gave rise to no criticism, and so long as a woman kept on good terms with her *cavaliere servente*, and that she used some secrecy and a sort of decency in her infidelities towards him, she enjoyed a spotless reputation. The domestic habits of France were therefore regarded as not a little ridiculous ; and although the report of the disappearance of all modesty from our manners since the beginning of the Revolution had preceded us at Florence, and turned the public mind against us, our women were, to our great astonishment, set down as intolerable prudes, and their husbands' conduct in accompanying them in public, contrary to the customs of the country, was considered unpardonable. But if the ladies of Florence were not very scrupulous as to conjugal fidelity, they were scrupulous in inverse proportion as to religious practices, and a woman who, with a perfectly easy conscience, violated conjugal duties which are held sacred everywhere else, would not eat meat on a day of abstinence for any consideration. Nor were the other duties of religion observed less rigorously. They interfered a little, it is true, with the pleasures of intrigue ; but they also served as a pretext for escaping from wearisome bonds, and it was usually at Easter that old intimacies were broken off and new ones formed. It was also at that holy season that the husband's consent to a change of *cavaliere servente* was asked and obtained, for changes of this kind are family affairs.

I do not, however, pretend to include the whole of society in this generalization. No one has had better opportunities than I of knowing what remarkable exceptions were to be found at that time in Florence and the other principal towns of Tuscany; men and women of sterling merit and incapable of the weaknesses I have commented on. The famous physician Fontana, MM. Fabbroni, Fossombroni and Paoli, who have borne great names in natural science and mathematics; M. Pignotti, a writer of charming fables; M. Galuzzi, who wrote a history of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and other learned and literary men did honour to Tuscany and preserved to her a remnant of her ancient renown. Several ladies, Madame Fabbroni among the number, were distinguished for their talents and cultivation, and would have shone with brilliant lustre in any country and in any society.

CHAPTER V.

Letter from General Buonaparte—The Author embarks at Leghorn and arrives at Bastia, where he finds Salicetti—He is instructed to adopt a system of conciliation, and to endeavour to reconcile party divisions—He publishes a proclamation accordingly—Political situation of Corsica—Some seditious risings are repressed and tranquillity re-established—Administration and laws organized, first in the department of Golo, and next in that of Liamone—Journey from Bastia to Ajaccio by Corte and the Col de Guizzavano, and from Ajaccio to Bonifacio by Gartena.

On receiving the decree of the Directory which appointed me Commissioner Extraordinary of the Government in Corsica, accompanied by instructions bearing date the 12th Brumaire, I had hastened to inform Buonaparte of my appointment, and to ask his advice respecting the best way of fulfilling a mission whose difficulties I fully recognised. He sent me the following reply :

"Headquarters, Verona.
"3d Frimaire, year V.

"I have received, Citizen Minister, the letter you wrote me before your departure for Corsica. The mission you are about to undertake is an extremely difficult one. Until all the work here is finished, it will not be possible to send any troops to Corsica. You will find General Gentili in command of this division there. He is an honorable man, and generally esteemed in the country. The people of Corsica are difficult to understand, their imagination being very lively, and their passions extremely active.

"I wish you health and happiness.

"BUONAPARTE."

This letter was not encouraging. The General entered into no details, and sent me no help either in men or money. Nevertheless I did not despair of success, and I embarked at Leghorn on the 11th Frimaire, year V. (10th December, 1796).

We were obliged to put into harbour at Capraja* to avoid the English cruisers, and I was blockaded there for six days. I decided at last to leave the *Aviso* and to embark on board a felucca, and I took advantage of a calm, which detained the English ships, to row across the canal between Capraja and Corsica. In this way I landed on the 22d Frimaire on the eastern coast of the island, near Erba Lunga, five miles from Bastia, whither I proceeded on the following day.

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* A small island to the west of Leghorn, about half way between the continent and the island of Corsica.

I had just left one of the most civilized cities in Italy, and it was with strange sensations that I found myself in a country whose wild aspect, barren mountains, and inhabitants all clothed alike in coarse brown cloth, contrasted so strongly with the rich and smiling country of Tuscany and with the comfortable, I might almost say the elegant, dress worn by the fortunate cultivators of that fertile soil. My disembarkation, on a dark winter's night, on an almost uninhabited coast, where I had found no better shelter than a smoky cabin, had inspired me with gloomy forebodings. But a few days passed on the island were sufficient to accustom me to its aspect, which had at first seemed so repulsive. The rich natural vegetation clothing the hills that slope downwards to the sea, the beauty of the sky and the mildness of the climate, in a season which is often very severe in France and Northern Italy, speedily dispelled my unfavourable impressions.

I found many reasons, subsequently, to convince me that in the variety of its sites, the characteristic grandeur of its mountains, and the majestic solitude of its forests, Corsica need not fear competition with the countries most renowned for beauties of the same kind, whether the traveller studies it with the eye of an artist or that of a naturalist.

On my arrival at Bastia, I found Salicetti there. He told, me that he had been informed of my appointment, that he had put everything in training so as to secure me a favorable reception, and that I might rely on his influence and that of his friends for the success of my mission. I expressed my gratitude for his zeal, but I was obliged to let him know that my instructions prescribed a different course of action from that which he had adopted. I told him that I could not introduce the Constitutional *régime* into the island without having first assured myself that the state of popular feeling and opinion would allow of its establishment without danger to the public tranquillity ; and that I should therefore adjourn the meeting of the Primary Assemblies, and the exercise of the political rights of the inhabitants, until I should have acquired that assurance. And, indeed, such a delay was warranted by common prudence : it was evident that if the Constitutional system were suddenly adopted, authority would fall, without any counterpoise, into the hands of all those who, having left the island in order to escape from the influence of Paoli and of the English, were now returning in crowds, full of vengeance against such of their countrymen as, having taken the opposite side, had remained in the island, and were necessarily excluded from all public employment. Thus nothing could have been more detrimental to the end which I proposed to attain, that is to say, the effacement of those sharp divisions so as to blend them in submission to the Constitutional system, than an attempt to establish that system in the midst of so much enmity and so many ardent passions. Salicetti admitted that this system might have some advantages, but he looked on it as a mark of weakness on the part of the Directory. He thought that conciliatory dealings with men, who, according to him, had betrayed their country and the cause of Liberty, was a sort of concession likely to disgust patriots and occasion more internal difficulties than it would prevent. General Gentili, a most upright man, and raised by his high character and his social position above every suspicion of intrigue, was in favour, on the contrary, of the course that I proposed adopting, and which, in fact, I could not relinquish without deviating from the intentions of the Government. I therefore decided on making known at once by a proclamation,* which I published on the 24th Frimaire, year V. (December 14, 1796), my arrival in the island, and the course I intended to pursue. A few days afterwards, Salicetti left Bastia, to return to the continent, and I was then enabled to exercise freely the authority confided to me.

Before entering into details of my operations, I will devote a few lines to the political situation of the island at the time of my arrival. This is necessary in order that a correct estimate of my conduct may be formed.

The inhabitants of Corsica may be represented, at the time of my arrival there, as divided into three classes : first, that of the Republicans who had taken refuge in France and were then returning to their native country, with claims to the national gratitude, and to demand indemnity for the losses they had sustained ; secondly, that of the inhabitants who had remained on the island, but had not been employed by the English in any public capacity, and many of whom had been ill-treated on account of the attachment to France which they often manifested ; and thirdly, that of the partisans of Paoli, who had served the English and taken advantage of the period of their supremacy to enrich themselves, and to plunder or devastate the property of their absent fellow-citizens.

It behoved us to adapt ourselves to a people composed of such opposite elements, and above all to prevent collisions between them ; and it was therefore necessary to renounce the idea of any settlement which would have brought individual interests into opposition, in a country where public spirit had no existence, and where those interests predominated over all others. I had already acted in this sense, by suspending all popular meetings ; and to this preliminary measure I added another, which was dictated by prudence. On proclaiming a general amnesty, I was careful not to mention the exceptions which the Executive Directory had made to this act of clemency. These comprised, first, the deputies who had carried the crown of Corsica to the King of England in London ;* secondly, the members of the Council of the Viceroy ; † thirdly, the *émigrés* who were described as such on the lists of the Departments. But as these exceptions were meaningless as regards the two first-named classes, none of the individuals composing them being at that time in the island, so that consequently they could only fall on the third, I soon perceived how dangerous and impolitic it would be to make them known. Indeed, the emigration had but just taken place at the time when Paoli, who had been recalled to his country by a decree of the Constituent Assembly‡ came back to the island, where he seized the reins of power, and, by violence and threats, forced all those who would not recognize his authority or serve his projects, to expatriate themselves.

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* This proclamation appears in the "Moniteur," of the 19th Nivôse, year V.

How was it possible then to inflict the terrible penalties adjudged against the *émigrés*, on those who had only fled from the tyranny of a man who had seized on illegitimate power, and at the same time, by a verbal equivoque, to pardon those who had supported the usurper, and afterwards aided him in selling part of the territory of the Republic to England? This omission, for which I was not censured by the Government, facilitated my first operations, and though it gave rise to discontent among those pretended patriots who were already casting their eyes on the property of the *émigrés*, that they might indemnify themselves for the losses they had sustained, it was generally acknowledged as well done, and I obtained the confidence of the public by means of it.*

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* This deputation, consisting of four persons, fulfilled its mission in October 1794. The King of England had been recognized as King of Corsica by the Constitution of June 19, 1794 (see Chapters xi. and xii. of that Constitution). Corsica had been handed over to the English on May 21, 1794, in virtue of a capitulation concluded with Admiral Hood, and signed by Stephen Monti, President of the Department of Corsica, John Baptist Galeazzini, Mayor of Bastia, Charles Francis Emmanuel Couthaud, and John Baptist Franceschi, adjutants-general of the French army.

† Sir Gilbert Elliot. He was at first Lieutenant of the king in Corsica, and afterwards received the title and authority of Viceroy. He was assisted by a Council of State, consisting in great measure of Corsicans. Paoli was a member of the Council.

‡ This decree is dated November 30, 1789. Paoli returned to Corsica as a simple citizen only ; but the ascendency he exercised over his countrymen rendered him virtually sovereign. The National Convention decreed an indictment against him on April 2, 1793, and on the 17th of the following July declared him a traitor to the country. Paoli revenged himself by delivering the Island of Corsica to the English, who soon abandoned it, and merely offered him a refuge in London, where he died on February 3, 1807.

I could not, however, prevent some insurrectionary movements which took place in a part of the island known by the name of Balanga.† These movements, set on foot by some former partisans of England who considered themselves not sufficiently guaranteed by the recent amnesty, had assumed a rather serious character.‡

I felt the necessity of suppressing them promptly by an immediate expedition, and as, to my great regret, the health of General Gentili did not allow him to take the command, I determined to proceed in person to the spot with Adjutant-General Franceschi, who directed the military movements. The rapidity of our march and our unexpected arrival at Alziprato, a Capuchin Convent, situated in the mountains, and which was the centre of the insurrection, immediately dispersed the rebels, with whom we exchanged a few shots only. Order was quickly re-established. By a further proclamation, which I published at Calvi the 21st Nivôse, I calmed the fears of the inhabitants respecting the consequences of these seditious risings, and thenceforth tranquillity was restored. Nor was it interrupted for a single moment during the remainder of my stay in Corsica.

Having strengthened and consolidated my position by the success of this expedition, I returned to Bastia, and occupied myself exclusively with the civil organisation of the country, beginning with the department of Golo, in which I resided.§ Profiting by the information which I had acquired in the course of a month, I had, before my departure for Calvi, nominated the individuals to compose the central administration of this department, so that, had my absence been prolonged, the town and department would have been provided with a regular government. The new administrators had completely justified my confidence, and I ascertained during my journey that my selection of men was generally approved. This first success was encouraging, and I believed that I ought no longer to delay the organisation of the law-courts, which was now urgently required. I proceeded therefore to install the judges I had appointed by a decree of the 16th Nivôse, year V. (January 5, 1797), and also, by decrees passed on the 6th Pluviôse (January 26) to institute the Tribunal of Commerce, the Municipalities, and the Magistrature, in the different cantons. A regular order of things being thus established in the department without opposition, I ceded to the administrations and tribunals, in succession, the powers I had exercised extraordinarily, and I prepared to leave the department of Golo for that of Liamone, of which Ajaccio is the capital.

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* I ought, however, to state that, just as the Primary Assemblies were about to meet, that is to say, on 1st Germinal, I consented, on the representations of the Central Administration of the Department of Golo, to have these exceptions put in force against some few persons included in them, in order to avert the disturbances which their presence would not have failed to excite in the Primary Assemblies. For this severity I was denounced; with how little reason I have already shown.

† Roussa, a harbour on the west coast of Corsica, is the capital of this province.

‡ A report had also been spread that the French were about to abandon Corsica, and that the English were bringing back Paoli with a considerable force.

§ Corsica was then divided into two departments, Golo and Liamone, the names of the two principal rivers by which they are respectively watered.

I left Bastia on the 10th Pluviôse (January 29). I first crossed the beautiful plain which extends from Bastia, north and south, to the banks of the Golo. Thence a road, excellent throughout its whole length, made since the conquest, leads to Corte up the valley of the Golo, which is crossed by a very fine bridge at about thirty miles from Corte.

The variety of a landscape which at every step assumes a new aspect, renders the road from the point at which the traveller reaches the river, until he arrives at Corte, very agreeable; but it has the drawback of passing through no inhabited parts, it merely skirts villages on the right and left without entering them. The mania of making the directest and shortest roads had been imported from France into Corsica by the engineers, very skilful men no doubt, who had made this one, and a road, which by a circuit of perhaps two or three miles would have given life to several villages, has been of no service to civilisation, whose progress it would undoubtedly have accelerated, had it been constructed on a different plan.

The town of Corte, situated at the foot of the mountains in the centre of Corsica, contains from three to four thousand inhabitants. The houses of which it consists are scattered over several low hills, and present no regularity of aspect. Its situation is wonderfully picturesque: two rivers, or rather two torrents, celebrated for the clearness of their waters, the Tavignano and the Restonica, the latter uniting with the former,* water the surrounding country.

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* Both these torrents descend from Monte Rotondo, and, united under the name of the Tavignano, flow into the sea near Aleria, the ancient Alalia, founded, according to Herodotus, by the Phocians.

Its air is healthy at all seasons, and its situation had caused it to be selected as the seat of the Administration when the island consisted of only one Department. The English during their occupation had also appointed it as the residence of the Viceroy, and the seat of the Corsican Parliament. But since the return of the French, and the division of the island into two Departments, Corte had lost all its former importance. I stayed there for two days, and after settling some business, I left the town for Ajaccio.

The carriage-road at that time ended at Corte, and from thence as far as the coasts of the Gulf of Ajaccio, there were but narrow pathways which were barely practicable on horseback. The department of Golo is separated from that of Liamone by the lofty chain of mountains situate in the centre of the island, and from which rise the two peaks of Monte Rotondo and Monte d'Oro, which both reach a height of between 1300 and 1400 fathoms above the level of the sea. This chain is traversed by a passage, called Foce di Guizzavona, which may be perhaps 400 fathoms above the level of the sea.

It becomes impracticable at times from the accumulation of snow, and is frequently even dangerous during the terrible storms so common in the Alps, and to which the mountains of Corsica are equally liable.

The passage was free at the time of my arrival, and I had full opportunities of admiring the wild and magnificent landscape spread out before me. The slopes of the Col, on the side of Vivario, a village situated at the foot of the Foce, and from whence the ascent of the sides of the mountain begins, are, as well as those that lead down towards the Gulf of Ajaccio, clothed with most beautiful vegetation, almost wholly with the kind of pine special to Corsica, the Pino Caricia (*pinus pinaster*). This magnificent tree sometimes attains a height of more than 720 feet, and in the distribution of its branches and the beauty of its leaf, is rivalled, among the numerous family of pines, only by the Cedar of Lebanon, or Lord Weymouth's Pine-tree (*pinus strobus*) when growing in their native soil. The Col properly so called, or the Foce di Guizzavona consists of a flat table-land which may be half a mile in length by about a quarter in width.

A tower, with a facing and moat, which forms a little fortress, has been erected there and is sometimes occupied by a small garrison for the purpose either of watching over the safety of travellers, or in times of disturbance of supporting military expeditions into the mountains, and preserving communications between the northern and southern parts of the island. This little fort was deserted and almost in ruins when I passed through the Col, but I had it restored subsequently.

After the table-land has been crossed the descent commences, and from its southern extremity the waters fall into the Western Sea, which soon becomes visible through the trees, on the verge of the horizon. The mountain torrents rushing and bounding over granite rocks, the sound of their waters, the whistling of the wind as it shakes and bends the gigantic trunks of the pine-trees, all give a charm to the descent which make the traveller forget the fatigue and danger of a path which is safe only for the Corsican horse and the mule. The spectacle was new and interesting to me and to most of my companions, and we arrived without accident at Bogognano, where the steep slope comes to an end. We were then eighteen miles from Ajaccio, and I reached that town on the 13th Pluviôse (February 1).

Before I entered the town, I saw a number of the inhabitants, all of them on horseback, coming to welcome me according to the custom of the country. Among them was Joseph Buonaparte, the elder brother of the General. I met him with great eagerness. His mild and refined countenance, affable manners, and polished language, prepossessed me in his favour. I may say, that I date from this our first meeting the sincere affection I have ever entertained for him, and which the intimacy which subsequently existed between us has only served to strengthen and increase. I attached myself to him, as will be seen, in all the different phases of his fortune ; and his friendship has been the reward of my fidelity.

So long as I was settled, I occupied myself unremittingly with the organisation of the department of which Ajaccio is the chief place. I met with fewer difficulties than in the department of Golo. The confidence I felt in M. Joseph Buonaparte greatly alleviated my labours ; I followed his advice in the various appointments I had to make, and I have had reason to congratulate myself on the result. Every nomination that I made by his counsel has been since confirmed by the approbation of the public. Nevertheless, although my selection of persons was complete within a week after my arrival at Ajaccio, I did not think it well to make the list known until I had inspected the greater portion of the department. I wished to collect on the spot information respecting the persons whom I proposed to appoint to various offices. I wished especially to profit by the judgment of General Gentili on so important a matter. He had preceded me to Ajaccio, and had agreed to accompany me on the journey I intended to make into the interior as far as Bonifacio. I bade a temporary adieu to M. Joseph Buonaparte, who remained at Ajaccio, and started on the 19th Pluviôse (February 8) for Sartena.

The district through which I had to pass in order to reach Bonifacio is one of the most uncultivated in Corsica. Entirely separated from the great line of communication existing between Bastia and Ajaccio, lying away from the route of any traveller, it retains traces of the character of its ancient inhabitants, and, like Niolo and Fiumorbo, districts also placed beyond the reach of intercourse, it has not benefited by the progress which civilisation has made in the other cantons, especially in the towns on the sea-coast.

Before reaching Sartena* I passed through several villages where hereditary feuds, which had originated more than fifty years back, divided the inhabitants into parties constantly hostile to one another. Houses with battlemented walls, for the purpose of defence against the attacks of an enemy, and from which the indwellers only issued in armed gangs in order to procure provisions and making preparations for enduring a siege, proclaimed a continual state of warfare in many villages. Meanwhile these singular people had suspended hostilities by formal treaties in honour of my arrival ; the chiefs of the warring factions came together to meet me, and each solicited my preference of himself as a host eager to afford me hospitality. Had I been induced to make a choice, it would have been a fresh cause of quarrel between them ; so that I did not accept the invitation of either of the rivals in any instance, but generally took up my residence in the house of some less wealthy person, where I did not, it is true, meet with so splendid a reception, but whose owner holding himself in a neutral attitude inspired no jealousy in the dominant families ; or, if this resource failed me, I would lodge in one of the Capuchin Monasteries.† These were the only Religious houses established in the interior of the island, and a few of them were still in existence. The poverty of the country had never attracted thither the sons of Benedict and Bernard ; the Jesuits only had braved this inhospitable soil ; the Society had an establishment at Ajaccio.

My journey into the interior, which gave me a clearer idea of the habits and character of Corsicans than I had until then acquired, was also rendered memorable by a remarkable circumstance. At a short distance from Sartena, I was joined by a courier who had been despatched to me from the Army of Italy, to announce the surrender of Mantua on the 14th Pluviôse (February 3). This courier, not finding me at Ajaccio, had followed in my footsteps, and came up with me on the road, in a very wild spot, which soon re-echoed with the joyful shouts of our little caravan. No piece of news could, in truth, be more welcome to me; while the fall of Mantua made our conquests in Italy secure, and was a presage of those which followed and which extended our rule over the remainder of the peninsula; it also rendered my arduous mission less difficult, and gave me, so to speak, a pledge of its success.

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* My route lay through Cauro-Ornano, Santa Maria d'Istria, where there exists a branch of the house of Colonna, and Sartena.

† This is the course I adopted in travelling from Bastia to Ajaccio ; when the two principal families of that district, the Vivaldis and the Peraldis, fired on each other in their dispute as to which should have the honour of entertaining me.

After remaining half a day at Sartena, I arrived at Bonifacio on the 22d Pluviôse (February 10). This town, situated at the southern extremity of Corsica, is built on a chalk cliff which projects over the Straits of Bonifacio, from east to west, and separates the port, formed by a deep inland bay, from the open sea. Its situation, which is wonderfully picturesque, gives it the command of the channel and the islands which traverse it in various directions, and also of Sardinia, whose nearest village, Lungo-Sardo, is so near that a saying current in the country is, "The inhabitants of Bonifacio are awaked by the crowing of the cocks of Sardinia." There are remarkable grottoes along the shore, into which the sea flows: these grottoes deserve the notice of travellers, on account of the beauty of the stalactites, produced by infiltrations of chalk from the soil above, which hang from their roof.

I was very well received by the inhabitants, and I found the people generally well disposed towards the Government. I passed three days at Bonifacio, where I had to regulate some affairs of local interest; after these were settled, I began to think of returning to Ajaccio as quickly as possible. The journey that I had just accomplished by land was fatiguing and long; the sea offered a quicker mode; it was calm, the wind was favourable, and, by keeping near the coast during the night, there would be little to fear from any English vessels which might be cruising in the neighbourhood. I therefore decided on embarking with General Gentili on the 24th Pluviôse, in the evening. The next morning we doubled Cape Mulo, and entered the Gulf of Ajaccio, where I landed in the afternoon. On the same day I published the regulations for the organisation of the Central Government and the tribunals of the Department of Liamone. I installed the appointed officers on the 27th Pluviôse (February 15), and on the 28th a public fête took place in honour of the surrender of Mantua. Prizes were distributed for horse-races and gondola-races with oars. These contests, of which the Corsicans are very fond, attracted a crowd of spectators from the mountains, who came to the show in their national costume. The weather was superb, and the view from the Gulf of Ajaccio, which as I have since convinced myself is greater in extent than that of Naples, was truly magnificent.

All that I had to do was now accomplished, and the administration was in regular working order ; so that I did not require to prolong my stay at Ajaccio, where I left men and things in a satisfactory state. On the 2d Ventôse (February 28) I set out on my return to Bastia ; and, as I adopted the same route as in coming to Ajaccio, I have nothing more to say about it.

I stayed another month in Corsica, in order to superintend the first steps of the Government I had established there. But, as my mission naturally came to an end on the 1st Germinal, year V. (March 21, 1797), the period at which, according to the constitution of year III., the Primary Assemblies were to be held, and to confirm or annul by their votes the appointments made by me, I did not wish to prolong my stay beyond that date. By taking my departure, I avoided on the one hand the appearance of putting pressure on the popular choice, and, on the other, responsibility for any disturbance which the first exercise of their political rights might occasion among a people in whom, notwithstanding all my efforts, the spirit of party was not completely extinguished. I was resolved therefore to relinquish all my functions on the 1st Germinal, and I had arranged to meet Joseph Buonaparte at the beginning of the month, and cross with him to the mainland. I took advantage of the time which still remained to me on the island to gather together and put in order the documents I had collected during my stay, and from which I drew up a report addressed to the Minister of the Interior on the state of Corsica, its productions, its trade, and its industries ; and also on the habits and character of its inhabitants.

CHAPTER VI.

The Author leaves Corsica with Joseph Buonaparte, goes to Florence, and from thence to Milan—He visits General Buonaparte, then residing with his family at Montebello, after a brilliant campaign terminated by the treaty of Tolentino—The peace preliminaries of Leoben and the transformation of the Governments of Venice and Genoa—Lukewarm Republicanism of the General—A remarkable conversation in which Buonaparte reveals his future plans—The Author goes to Turin—Political situation of Piedmont and its Government—Embarrassment caused to the Author by the secret agents maintained in Piedmont by the Directory with revolutionary objects—The Sardinian Government, supported by Buonaparte, displays excessive severity in putting down the partial insurrections in Piedmont—The Author goes to Milan to have an interview with Buonaparte—Situation of the different parties in the Directory and the Councils in Paris before the *Coup d'Etat* of the 18th Fructidor—Buonaparte decides on supporting the Revolutionary party—The Author accompanies the General and Madame Buonaparte in an expedition to Lake Maggiore—He returns to Turin after having agreed with the General upon the course he is to take there—The 18th Fructidor—Its consequences as regarded the position of the Sardinian Government, which, as a result of the treaty of Campo-Formio, found itself deprived of Buonaparte's support—The Directory separates the General from the Army of Italy by giving him a command in the interior—Buonaparte, in going to Rastadt, passes through Turin—His conversation with the Author—The position of the Sardinian Government becomes more and more precarious.

At the end of the month of Ventôse, Joseph Buonaparte joined me at Bastia, and on the 8th Germinal we embarked to return to the mainland. We had to stop at Capraja, in order to evade the English cruiser, and we left the island in the night of the 10th–11th Germinal in very stormy weather. Favoured by the darkness and a strong wind, we reached Leghorn in less than four hours. I went to Florence, where I had to wait for the papers concerning my nomination to the embassy of Turin. I did not receive them until the end of the month of Floreal ; my letters of credit and instructions awaiting me at Turin.

I left Florence on the 10th Prairial (May 29) for Milan, where I remained for several days in order to see General Buonaparte, and to consult with him on the new functions I was about to exercise.

At this epoch Buonaparte seemed to have attained to the zenith of military glory. The fall of Mantua had set him free to march on Rome, and if the treaty of Tolentino,* signed on the 1st Ventôse (February 19, 1797), had not re-established peace between the Republic and the Holy See, the ancient capital of the world would have been occupied by a French army. But not only did Buonaparte wish to spare the Pope, but policy forbade the pursuance of a campaign which would remove the French from Upper Italy, where they had to fight a new Austrian army commanded by the Archduke Charles, and it was with reason that Buonaparte said, "If I went to Rome I should lose Milan." Thus, after his short expedition into the Romagna, rapidly retracing his steps, he crossed the Tagliamento and the Isonza, pursued the Austrian army, which was flying before him, into Carniola and Styria, and arrived at the gates of Vienna. Austria, in great alarm, asked for an armistice, which was granted her on the 18th Germinal (April 7) at Judenbourg, and signed preliminaries at Leoben the 26th (15th) of the same month. In returning to Italy, after arranging this treaty, which had become as necessary to France as to Austria, on account of the insurrection against the French that had just broken out in the States of Venice, Buonaparte avenged his country for the perfidy of the Venetian Senate by overthrowing forever that formidable oligarchy, which had maintained itself for so many centuries, in the midst of the political convulsions and wars that had ravaged Italy. As the conqueror of four Austrian armies, Buonaparte, the destroyer of the most ancient government of Europe, came back to Milan, where he received the deputies of the people of Venice, dictated to them his laws, and established an absolute Democracy† on the ruins of the Senate and the Grand Council, which had sent in their resignation. He had at this time been barely a year in Italy.

He then settled himself down at Montebello,‡ where conferences commenced by a definitive treaty of peace concluded between France and Austria, and where the affairs of Genoa were discussed at the same time. Intimidated by the example of Venice, Genoa consented, like her rival, to renounce her ancient organisation.§

I was received by Buonaparte, at the magnificent residence of Montebello, on the 13th Prairial (June 1), in the midst of a brilliant court rather than the headquarters of an army. Strict etiquette already reigned around him; his aides-de-camp and his officers were no longer received at his table, and he had become fastidious in the choice of the guests whom he admitted to it. An invitation was an honour eagerly sought, and obtained with great difficulty. He dined, so to speak, in public; the inhabitants of the country were admitted to the room in which he was eating, and allowed to gaze at him with a keen curiosity. He was in no wise embarrassed or confused by these excessive honours, but received them as though he had been accustomed to them all his life. His reception-rooms and an immense tent pitched in front of the palace were constantly full of a crowd of generals, administrators, and great contractors; besides members of the highest nobility, and the most distinguished men in Italy, who came to solicit the favour of a momentary glance or the briefest interview. In a word, all bowed before the glory of his victories and the haughtiness of his demeanour. He was no longer the General of a triumphant Republic, but a conqueror on his own account, imposing his laws on the vanquished.

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* It was only after this treaty that the articles of the armistice, relative to the cession of the art objects, were executed.

† This treaty is of the 16th Floreal, year V. (May 5, 1797).

‡ Château and park about four miles from Milan.

§ The convention which regulated the affairs of Genoa, signed by Buonaparte and Faipoult, then Minister of the Republic at Genoa, bears date the 17th and 18th Prairial (June 5 and 6, 1797). It is signed for the Genoese by Michel-Ange Cambiaso, Louis Carbonara, and Jerome François-Serra.

Austria had sent two Plenipotentiaries to Montebello; one of them was Count de Meerfeld, and the other the Marquis de Gatto, ambassador from Naples to Vienna. The latter was afterwards ambassador to Paris, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, under the successive reigns of Joseph Buonaparte, King of Naples, and Murat, who succeeded him on that throne. On its side, the Directory had sent to Buonaparte General Clarke (afterwards Duc de Feltre), who had on the 16th of the preceding Germinal concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia. Jealous of the preponderance, or rather of the absolute independence that Buonaparte affected in the conduct of political affairs, and uneasy at his ambition which was already showing itself without disguise, the Directory had contrived this appointment under the pretext of assisting General Buonaparte, but in reality to place a spy on his designs and provide a counterpoise for his authority. But an expedient of this sort was not likely to succeed with such a man as Buonaparte. He saw through the intentions of the Government at once, and, far from giving his colleague a share in the conduct of the negotiations, he concealed their progress from him more closely than from any other person, and Clarke was positively of all the negotiators then at Montebello the individual in whom Buonaparte confided the least.

Such was the state of things when Buonaparte, to whom I had written on arriving at Milan, invited me, through Bourienne (who for some time past had been his private secretary), to come and see him at Montebello, where he even proposed that I should establish myself. This offer I refused, in order not to be separated from my family, who were with me, and besides, the distance between Milan and Montebello was sufficiently short to enable me to come and go every day.

In addition to the persons of whom I have already mentioned, as either living at Montebello or coming there regularly, I met Madame Buonaparte, the General's wife ; Madame Lætitia Buonaparte, his mother, who had just arrived from Genoa ; his brothers Joseph and Louis, the latter then very young ; his sister Pauline, who was shortly afterwards married to General Leclerc, and Fesch his uncle. Fesch had at that time an interest in the army supplies, and according to rumour had little of the priest about him ; he did not even wear clerical costume, although he had been Grand Vicar to the Bishop of Ajaccio. In this numerous society I frequently met Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, whom up to that time I had known only by the reputation he had acquired in the Constituent Assembly, and soon became intimate with him. He had official employment connected with the hospitals, but he had attracted Buonaparte's attention by his editing a French Journal which came out at Milan. He displayed rare facility, as well as remarkable talent, as an editor, and to this circumstance, which frequently brought him in contact with the General, he owed his subsequent fortune.

In the first conversation that I had with Buonaparte at Montebello, and which began with the subject of my Corsican mission, in which he thought I had acquitted myself well, I saw, so soon as he touched on more important topics that he had by no means decided upon treating definitively with Austria, and still less upon promoting the negotiation or concluding it promptly. He recognised all the advantages of the position he had acquired, and feared that peace might change it. This actually happened after the treaty of Campo-Formio. He seemed to me to hold the negotiators the Emperor had sent him cheap, and made some very bitter jests at their expense. He took especial care to tell me that Clarke, whom the Directory had chosen to associate with him, was there merely for form's sake, that he had no influence, and never received any communication.

" He is a spy," he added, " whom the Directory have set upon me ; besides, Clarke is a man of no talent—he is only conceited."*

I perfectly recognised by what he said at our first interview, and in all my subsequent conversations with him during my stay at Milan, the same views and the same designs that I had detected in our previous interviews at Breccia, Bologna, and Florence. In a word, I still found in Buonaparte a man thoroughly opposed to Republican forms and ideas; he treated everything of the sort as idle dreams.

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* Nevertheless, he afterwards raised Clarke to the highest dignities.

He withdrew the mask more completely on a certain occasion, which I cannot pass over in silence.

Among the crowd which surrounded and followed him eagerly, I observed that he particularly distinguished M. de Melzi, a Milanese noble, and one of the most enlightened and honourable citizens of Lombardy.* I happened to be with him one day at Montebello, and Buonaparte invited us both to walk with him in the vast gardens of that beautiful palace. Our walk lasted about two hours, during which time the General talked almost incessantly, and either the confidence with which we inspired him led him to reveal his mind undisguisedly, or he was carried away by the longing he frequently experienced to give expression to the ideas crowding upon his brain, to the first comer. He spoke with entire frankness of his projects for the future.

"What I have done up to this," he said, "is nothing. I am only at the beginning of the course I must run. Do you imagine that I triumph in Italy in order to aggrandise the pack of lawyers who form the Directory, and men like Carnot and Barras? What an idea! a Republic of thirty million men! and with our manners, our vices! how is it possible? That is a fancy of which the French are at present full, but it will pass away like all the others. What they want is Glory and gratified Vanity; but as for Liberty, they do not understand what it means. Look at the army! the victories we have just won have already restored the French soldier to his true character. To him, I am everything. Let the Directory try to take the command from me, and they will see who is master. The nation must have a chief, and a chief rendered illustrious by glory, not by theories of government, by phrases, by theoretic speeches, which Frenchmen do not understand. Give them baubles—that suffices them; they will be amused and will let themselves be led, so long as the end towards which they are going is skilfully hidden from them.

"As for your country, Monsieur de Melzi, it possesses still fewer elements of Republicanism than France, and can be more easily managed than any other. You know better than any one that we shall do what we like with Italy. But the time has not yet come ; we must temporise with the fever of the moment, and we are going to have one or two Republics here of our own particular kind—Monge will arrange that for us. In the meantime I have already expunged two from Italian territory, and although they were quite aristocratic Republics, they had more public spirit and more fixed opinions than we found anywhere else. They would in the end have hampered us. For the rest, I am quite determined. I will not give up either Lombardy or Mantua to Austria. You may reckon upon that" (he was still addressing himself to M. de Melzi), " and you see that whatever decision we arrive at with respect to your country, you may enter into my views without having anything to fear either from the return or the power of Austria. I will give her Venice, and a portion of the terra firma of that ancient Republic as an indemnification."

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* M. de Melzi d'Eril (afterwards Duke of Lodi) was subsequently named Vice-president of the Italian Republic, and when in 1805 that Republic was changed into a kingdom he received the title of "Chancellor-keeper of the Seals of the Crown." I had known him at Florence (see note, page 50), and I saw him again a few years later at Paris. He died in 1816.

We both together exclaimed against such a proposition, which would once more set Austria at the gates of Italy, and crush all the hopes of a population which he himself had freed from the yoke of an odious oligarchy, only to transfer them to an absolute monarchy, which would hold them in a no less intolerable slavery than that from which he had just delivered them. He answered that we need not cry out before we were hurt.

" I shall not do that," he continued, " unless by some blunder in Paris I am compelled to make peace ; for it is not my intention to finish so promptly with Austria. Peace is not to my interest. You see what I am, and what I can now do in Italy. If peace is made, if I am no longer at the head of the army, which is attached to me, I must renounce the power, the high position I have made for myself, in order to pay court to a lot of lawyers at the Luxembourg. I do not want to leave Italy unless it be to play a part in France similar to my part here, and the time has not yet come ; the pear is not ripe. But the management of all this does not depend exclusively on me. There are disagreements in Paris. One party is in favor of the Bourbons ; I do not intend to contribute to its triumph. I am quite ready to weaken the Republican party ; some day I shall do it for my own advantage, not that of the former dynasty. In the meantime I must act with the Republican party. And then, if peace be necessary in order to satisfy our Paris boobies, and if it has to be made, it is my task to make it. If I left the merit of it to another, such a concession would place him higher in public favour than all my victories have placed me."

The foregoing contains the substance and the most remarkable expressions of this long allocution, which I both consigned to paper, and retain in my memory.

After the General had left us, I continued to converse with M.

de Melzi, during our return journey to Milan, on the serious subjects he had suggested to us.

In my final conversation with Buonaparte, the mission I was about to undertake at Turin was discussed.

The General assured me (and the sequel has proved that he was not insincere) that he had no intention of disturbing Piedmont, and that I might give ample assurance that such was the case ; but he added that he could not be answerable for the intentions of the Executive Directory in this respect, surrounded as it was by schemers, who would not fail to stir up dissensions in the country.

He said enough, on the whole, to make me feel that my mission would be a difficult one.

At last, after spending a week at Milan, I left that city for Turin. I crossed the Ticino on the 21st Prairial, and on the right bank of the river I found a detachment of cavalry which the Government had sent forward to meet me. It escorted me to Turin, where I arrived the next day, the 22d Prairial, year V. (June 10, 1797).

I shall now endeavour to describe the political situation of the country, and the government to which I was accredited.

The peace concluded with the King of Sardinia on the 26th Floreal, year V. (May 15, 1796), ensuing on the victories of the French in the early months of the same year had saved the Court of Turin from complete ruin. Victor Amadeus III., who had concluded the treaty, died a few months after its ratification, October the 16th, 1796 (26th Vendémiaire, year V.). His son Charles Emmanuel IV. had succeeded him, and had hastened to appoint an ambassador to the Executive Directory in Paris, in the person of Count Prosper de' Balbi. My appointment to the same post at the Court of the King of Sardinia had immediately followed. Independently of these reciprocal marks of a friendly understanding between the two Governments, negotiations had been commenced with a view to a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Piedmont, and one of the conditions was the cession of the island of Sardinia to France, in exchange for an increase of territory in Italy.* General Clarke had been entrusted with these negotiations, and he found the dispositions of the Cabinet of Turin favourable. On the one hand, that Cabinet was displeased with Austria for her desertion of it in the hour of danger,† and on the other, the fear lest France might support the revolutionary projects of certain Piedmontese subjects, held the Sardinian Government in bondage to France, and made it ardently desire an alliance, which would be, in reality, a guarantee of its existence.

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* This stipulation was not contained in the treaty itself, but in a secret convention signed on the same day.

† The King of Sardinia and the Emperor had concluded a treaty of alliance, signed at Valenciennes on May 23, 1794, by Baron de Thugut and the Marquis d'Albany. The conditions of this treaty were ill-observed by Austria.

These negotiations which, it might be thought, would, under such favouring circumstances, advance rapidly, hung fire for several months. Buonaparte, who was informed of the delay, pressed for a conclusion, in order to get hold of the contingent which Piedmont was bound by one of the articles of the treaty to furnish, and which would have been of considerable use to him. He even asked the Sardinian Government to anticipate the conclusion of the treaty, and to order to Novara the troops which were to be added to the French army when the *casus fœderis* should take place. But he asked in vain. The treaty was eventually signed at Turin on the 16th Germinal, year V. (April 5, 1797), between General Clarke, Plenipotentiary of France, and the Count de Prioca (Clement Damiano), Plenipotentiary of the King of Sardinia and his Minister for Foreign Affairs.

By this time, however, the importance that might have attached to the men and guns which the treaty placed at the disposition of the French Commander-in-Chief, had ceased to exist.

Buonaparte was already in the heart of Styria, and he affixed his signature at Leoben to the preliminaries of peace with Austria nearly on the same day as that on which the treaty, which gave a new enemy to the Court of Vienna, was signed at Turin.* The time had gone by, and the Directory, which then wished to conciliate Austria so as to facilitate a definitive peace, showed no haste in proposing the ratification of the recently-concluded treaty to the Legislative Councils. The Court of Turin relapsed into its former anxieties, which were daily increased by the revolutionary movements then disturbing Italy and penetrating into Piedmont, where secret agents employed by the Executive Directory were disseminating a spirit of revolt, and the first germs of those disturbances which broke out shortly afterwards.

In allying itself with the French Republic, the Court of Turin was far from embracing or condoning the principles of the French Revolution. Fear alone had induced it to form that alliance, and the Government continued to treat all in the Sardinian States who showed any favour to those principles, or appeared as their partisans, with extreme severity. Barbarous executions had just taken place in Sardinia, in consequence of disturbances in the island. All persons who evinced friendship for France and her institutions were prosecuted, banished, and dismissed from public employment, and the surest method of incurring disgrace with the Sardinian Government was to show friendship to its new ally, or to rejoice in the triumphs of France.

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* The preliminaries of Leoben are dated 18th Germinal (April 7).

On the other hand, the Executive Directory, which at the beginning would perhaps have desired to establish its power on principles of moderation, was led away by that extreme party within it which was urging Revolution on all the Italian States. This party, owing to the victory which it obtained shortly afterwards, on the 18th Fructidor, acquired the mastery and grasped the whole direction of affairs. On neither side, therefore, was there any guarantee of lasting harmony between two Governments so utterly opposed in their views. Buonaparte alone desired tranquillity for Piedmont. He was resolved to permit neither disturbance nor agitation on his rear, and he deprecated equally any movements that might take place, either for or against political revolution, in a country which he desired to maintain in quietude, so as to afford him, whatever happened, a secure and easy retreat.

It was not, however, in his power to put a stop to the intrigues of numerous agents who were personally unknown to him, and who had a central rendezvous in Paris. The Executive Directory, moreover, began seriously to dread Buonaparte's ascendency in Italy, and the totally independent attitude he had assumed since the preliminaries at Leoben, and was therefore not unwilling to create difficulties for him. During this conflict, a twofold impulse was given to affairs ; one, public and patent to all, by Buonaparte ; the other, secret and disguised, by a party in the Directory and its obscure co-operators.

This state of things subsisted until the 18th Fructidor. Then Buonaparte, obliged to declare himself, supported the extreme party (in the revolutionary sense) in the Directory, so as to avoid supporting that party no less extreme in ideas, but much more timid in action, who desired the return of the Bourbons. It is not yet time for me to speak in detail of this event, and of its influence on the fate of Piedmont and of Italy. I have said enough to show that I took up my residence in Turin at a moment of difficulty, the greater because I could not know the real intentions of the Executive Directory, divided, as it was, into two factions, nor could I guess which of those factions would triumph. But being incapable by nature of dissimulation, and ignorant of the art of adroitly contriving a way out of the dilemma, whichever should be the triumphant party, I unhesitatingly adopted the line of conduct that seemed to accord best with the honour of the French name, that of proving my fidelity to the treaties, of refusing all countenance to agitators, whatever the mask of patriotism they might assume, and holding myself altogether aloof from them.

Acting on these principles, I conformed at once to the customs of the country and of the Court to which I was accredited, however they might differ from those which the Revolution had introduced among ourselves. I carefully avoided any affectation of republican austerity in my manners or mode of life which might have been a cause of offence. It was at Turin that two Princesses, related by ties of blood to the King who had just ascended the throne, had sought a refuge.* I allayed the fears which my arrival at Turin had excited in his mind; their place of exile was respected, and I supported the request that Mademoiselle de Condé had made to the Directory, to be allowed to take up her abode in Piedmont. The line of conduct that I adopted was one—as may be imagined—far from likely to win the confidence of the secret agents in the employ of the Directory. One of these, a certain Edward Maurin, represented the conduct of the Court of Turin in the most unfavourable light, and sought by every possible imputation to damage it with the French Government. Nor did he spare me either, but I must do the Minister of Exterior Relations the justice of saying that the tale-bearing of this person did not outweigh in his estimation those documents which he received from a purer source. In his report to the Executive Directory, dated 1st Germinal, year V., he declared that since the new King's accession the conduct of the Turin Cabinet had been frank and irreproachable.

Meanwhile, my endeavours to maintain tranquillity in the country by refusing all countenance to those who were incessantly seeking to promote revolution were powerless to arrest the evil. Secret machinations, directed from Paris, exposed the public peace to constant danger, and the alarm of the Piedmontese Government increased daily, especially as it could not conceal from itself that the middle classes inclined towards a change of political system which would, at the least, have converted the absolute into a constitutional monarchy. In Buonaparte alone, up to this time, had the Court of Turin felt any confidence; but, notwithstanding the assurances which he continued to give, the changes that had taken place at Genoa, and the establishment of the Cisalpine Republic, whose constitution was at this very moment being discussed under the eyes of the General, rendered the position of a monarchical State very precarious, surrounded, as it soon would be, by Governments acting on opposite principles, and animated by ill-concealed zeal for proselytism. The King, hoping to escape from so critical a position, had despatched M. de Saint-Marsan to General

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* The two daughters of Victor-Amadeus; one of whom had married the Comte de Provence (Louis XVIII.), and the other the Comte d'Artois (Charles X.).

Buonaparte, and the former, by prudent conduct and very distinguished talent, inspired the General with confidence and regard, which Buonaparte, when he had become Emperor, felt for him to the last. M. de Saint-Marsan, in describing the position of the Turin Court, had little difficulty in convincing Buonaparte of the dangerous consequences to the French army, of an insurrection in Piedmont, and the General, who had not concluded with Austria, and had not as yet declared himself for either of the two parties in the Directory, perceived them at once. For whichever party he might decide, it was necessary that access to Piedmont and the passage of the Alps should be free and secure for the army, with which he must, in all cases, be in a position to threaten Paris. Therefore he had no hesitation in giving to M. de Saint-Marsan the strongest assurances of his friendly disposition towards the Court of Turin, and his satisfaction with the conduct of the Sardinian Government. At the same time he announced that he had caused to be arrested several individuals, who, after preaching insurrection in Piedmont, had taken refuge in the Milanese territory. These assurances of friendship and, if we may say so, of avowed protection are to be found in a despatch of the 20th Messidor (July 8), addressed to M. de Saint-Marsan. The General sent me a copy of this despatch. The letter which he wrote to me, and which accompanied the despatch, ends with these words : "I own, my dear ambassador, that this letter (one which M. de Saint-Marsan had taken to him) has opened my eyes as to the affairs of Piedmont. Since they are so apprehensive, something must be going on that we do not know. I beg you to inform me precisely of the state of things and of the tone of popular feeling. You will understand that it is of the greatest importance that Piedmont should be tranquil, in order that my line of communication and the rear of my army may be secure."

The following is an extract from my reply, dated the 24th Messidor.

"It is certain that M. de Prioca's fears are, at any rate for the moment, exaggerated. But it is true, nevertheless, that the political changes which have taken place in the neighbouring States have revived the hopes of all who wish for a change particularly desired by the middle and best-educated class in Piedmont ; but equally deprecated by the two extreme classes—the higher nobility and the clergy, on one hand, and the populace on the other. So long as we do not favour the Revolutionary party, there will be no revolution in Piedmont ; at least, a singular and hitherto improbable concourse of events would be required to produce one spontaneously. It is then for you, General, to declare your mind strongly, because it is always you whom the Revolutionists put forward. But, above all, insist on the ratification of the treaty of alliance. That will be the best means of tranquillising the Cabinet of Turin."

However, neither the line taken by General Buonaparte, nor the pains I took to second it, had sufficient influence to arrest movements which received their impetus from another centre of action quite independent of us. Disturbances, instead of diminishing, increased with redoubled violence during the summer of 1797, notwithstanding the concessions which the Court of Turin had made to public opinion in the hope of preventing them, by abolishing feudal prerogatives by an edict of July 29 (11th Thermidor), which suppressed both entails and trusts.*

The Sardinian Government, however, being assured beforehand that the agitators had no support to expect from General Buonaparte, proceeded with great energy to put down partial insurrections in various places, and succeeded in doing so. But, like all weak Governments, which are always the most violent, it afterwards inflicted such severe, I may even say atrocious, punishments upon the insurgents, that I could not refrain from making some representations, upon the score of common humanity, in the hope of checking the course of the horrible executions that were daily taking place. This proceeding of mine was not well received by M. de Prioca, who complained of it in Paris, through the medium of M. de Balbi, as an interference with the internal administration of the kingdom, and it was equally disapproved by M. de Talleyrand, who had just entered the Ministry of Exterior Relations. Both these personages were perhaps formally in the right; but I the less regretted the step I had taken, because I understood that my representations did in the end convince the Sardinian Government of the need of greater moderation and a different course of action; and on the 24th of August, a general amnesty was published. Buonaparte had written on the 15th Thermidor (August 2) to M. de Prioca, congratulating him on the fortunate issue to the crisis into which the last disturbances had thrown the Piedmontese Government. The Directory of the Cisalpine Republic, newly established at Milan, had formally informed the King of Sardinia of its installation, and the King recognized that Government and received an ambassador from the new Republic.

Thus the suppression of revolutionary movements in the interior of the country, the neutrality observed by France during these disturbances, the congratulations of General Buonaparte on the success just achieved by the Sardinian Government, and the renewal of friendly relations between the Cisalpine Directory and the King of

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* "Les substitutions, et les fidéi-commis."

Sardinia, had all contributed to render the position of the Court of Turin better than it had been since the peace of the 26th Prairial, year IV. Quiet was restored for a time ; there was, so to speak, a truce between the parties. But this state of things did not last long. A fresh storm, far more serious than any that had yet broken out, was gathering on the political horizon, and finally led rapidly to the ruin of the King of Sardinia. I will endeavour to narrate its causes and its various phases, such as they appeared to me from my point of view.

M. de Talleyrand, having been appointed by the Executive Directory to the Ministry of Exterior Relations, had entered on his office in the month of Thermidor, year V., and I received on the 12th of that month (July 30, 1797) an official intimation of his appointment. The reputation which the new Minister had acquired at different epochs of the Revolution and the fame of his diplomatic ability had preceded him to the post he was about to occupy. Thus I naturally expected that my new chief would maintain a correspondence with me at once more regular and more statesmanlike than that which his predecessor had kept up. I hastened to lay the situation of the country before him, hoping to receive instructions for my guidance in the conduct of affairs, which would enable me to take a firmer attitude. But these hopes were disappointed ; I received no answer to my communication, and in fact it soon became evident to me that M. de Talleyrand, observing the agitation in the Directory and Councils, and still uncertain which side he should take, hesitated to commit himself to any pronounced opinion in his political correspondence. Meanwhile, events were hastening on. The Cabinet of Turin, better informed than I as to what was taking place in Paris, began to flatter itself that the Royalist party of the Rue de Clichy was getting the upper hand, and would accomplish the restoration of the Bourbons. The hopes to which the possibility of such an event gave birth increased every day, and the Sardinian Government was already taking a tone of self-assertion in its dealings with us which it had not hitherto adopted.

From these various indications I foreboded an approaching crisis, but of what character I was unable to divine. As, however, I was persuaded that whatever its nature might be, Buonaparte would inevitably lay hold of it and up to a certain point direct it, because one of the two parties must necessarily turn to him to obtain his support, which neither could do without, I resolved to go to him at Milan. I therefore accepted an invitation to visit him, which he made me before his departure for Udine, where the Conference for the peace with Austria was to be held. MM. de Meerfeld, de Gallo, and Clarke had already arrived there, and were awaiting the arrival of General Buonaparte. But he would not start until he had made certain arrangements at Milan, rendered necessary by coming events in Paris.

I left Turin on the 24th Thermidor (August 11), and reached Milan on the following day. I found Buonaparte established in the Serbelloni* Palace, and more occupied with Paris affairs than with the negotiations. During the week which I passed at Milan, I had frequent conversations with him, and I will here summarise their principal results.

The Executive Directory and the Legislative Councils were divided ; a numerous section wished to restore the Bourbons ; but this party was unsupported alike by public opinion and public sentiment. It was not even unanimous in its views ; several members of the Clichy clique merely desired the overthrow of that portion of the Directory which had sprung from the Convention, but did not desire the restoration of the ancient dynasty. Among those who went farther, some would only consent to a restoration under constitutional conditions ; others wanted a conditional restoration, and aspired, therefore, to a complete counter-revolution. The opposite side, which was composed of the former members of the Convention, and all those who had taken an active part in the events of the Revolution, had the advantage over its adversaries of being perfectly agreed upon its aim—the destruction by violent measures of the Royalist party ; postponing all dispute as to the distribution of authority until it should be reconquered. The people, tired of coups d'état, and of the frequent alternations of power, which for four years had been seized upon by opposite parties in turn, were not only neutral, but indifferent as to the result, and would be mere spectators of the new scenes that were being secretly arranged. Thus neither party could rely on the people, and consequently neither attempted to stir them up to action.

This, however, was not the case with the troops. Their influence must inevitably insure the success of the party for which they should pronounce, and therefore both parties sought their support. The Clichy party had intrigued with Pichegru and Moreau ; but although those generals, as subsequent events have sufficiently proved, declared themselves in its favour, they acted, there is no doubt, against the feeling of the soldiery, which at this time was distinctly republican, and it was only by underhand means that they could hope, not indeed to bring them over to the side of the party they wished to serve, but, at best, to mislead and render them inactive during the struggle.

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* Serbelloni, at that time President of the Directory of the Cisalpine Republic, resided in the Palace of the Government.

It was not thus with Buonaparte and the army of Italy, and on them the democratic party built all its hopes. Success was assured if those troops and their chiefs declared themselves in its favour, and nothing ought to be neglected to secure their support.

Talleyrand was the principal intermediary in the commmunications which were now established between this party and Buonaparte, and I found myself at Milan at the very moment when those communications were most active. The General had just formed his decision, for the following reasons, as I heard from his own lips.

Nothing could be more opposed to the projects he entertained than the recall of the Bourbons. That would ruin all the ambitious hopes, which he afterwards realised, and, judging from some documents found in a portfolio belonging to the Count d'Entraigues at the time of his arrest in Venice, no doubt could exist that their recall was the real object of the majority of the Clichy party.* Talleyrand also, who from personal motives was equally averse to the return of the ancient dynasty, strongly urged him to a course opposed to its recall. Other motives also, of a secondary nature, which were not, however, without influence on such a mind as his, contributed to inflame him. He would endure no military renown but his own; all other annoyed him. Carnot in the Directory was an offence. The reputation he had acquired during the Convention by the ability he had displayed and the direction he had given to the war, he retained as a member of the Government. That which Moreau had made for himself with the army of the Rhine was no less repugnant to Buonaparte, who encouraged an angry rivalry between that army and the army of Italy, based chiefly upon the outward forms adopted in each. The army of Italy glorified in being a revolutionary and citizen body, while that of the Rhine passed for an army of *Messieurs*, as it was called at Milan. One division, brought by Bernadotte from Germany to Italy, and which was distinguished by more polished manners and by the denomination of *Messieurs*, at that time considered to be an aristocratic form, had become a subject of sharp jesting, often degenerating into serious quarrels between the officers and men of the two armies. Buonaparte encouraged these dissensions by constant sarcasms pointed at Bernadotte and Moreau. In fact, he flattered himself that the party to which he should secure the victory would remain entirely dependent upon him, and that he should govern in its name. He was mistaken in this, and he soon discovered that to have bestowed power is not a reason for being admitted to share it. His Minister, Talleyrand, was also obliged to acknowledge the truth of this maxim after the Restoration.

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* This portfolio was opened at Montebello, 5th Prairial, year V. (May 24, 1797), by Berthier, in the presence of Buonaparte and Clarke. I do not know whether its contents were immediately forwarded to Paris, or whether Buonaparte held them in reserve. It is certain, however, that they were not published until the 18th Fructidor (see the "Moniteur" of the 23d of that month). I only heard of these documents on the occasion of my journey to Milan, through the conversations of which I give a summary. But it is evident that Buonaparte had alluded to them in the interview which took place in Prairial between himself, M. de Melzi and me, and this may be an explanation of certain things which he said on that occaions.

To resume. Buonaparte had no sooner made up his mind, from the motives I have just enumerated, to back the Revolutionary party in the Directory, than he began to act on his decision with all the vigour and activity of his impetuous character. Availing himself as a pretext of the anniversary of the 14th of July, 1789, he organized a military fête at Milan on the 1st Thermidor (July 19). Five divisions of the army were brought together to solemnize the occasion, and each of them published addresses vying with the other in threats and insults directed against the Government of the Republic, and the Monarchical faction. The divisions commanded by Augereau and by Masséna were especially remarkable for the violence of their language. "Are there more obstacles on the road to Paris than on that to Vienna?"* "Tremble! from the Adige to the Rhine and to the Seine there is but a step."† Such was the text more or less enlarged on in these diatribes. The toasts at the banquet were all conceived in the same spirit, and announced similar intentions. The address of Bernadotte's division only is in less highly colored language, and is indeed remarkable for moderation,‡ a circumstance which did not tend to restore harmony between that division, which had been only lately incorporated with the army of Italy, and its original regiments.

After this demonstration, which left no doubt of Buonaparte's intentions and created a profound impression in Paris, he had no longer any appearances to keep up; moreover, it was not in his nature to shrink from consequences, whatever they might be, when once he had made up his mind to a course of action. He therefore kept a body of troops in readiness to enter France, if that which Hoche was already leading on Paris should not be sufficient, and he had already sent forward Augereau to command it. Augereau was a brave and daring leader, but impulsive, and without any intellectual capacity. He had also sent Bernadotte to Paris, the bearer of twenty-one flags taken at the battle of Rivoli, and in a letter to the Directory announcing their despatch he had highly praised that General. But his chief object was to get rid of a man with whom he was already not on good terms, and whose influence he wanted to weaken.

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* Address of Masséna's division ("Moniteur" of the 26th Thermidor, year V.).

† Address of Augereau's division (Ibid.).

‡ See "Moniteur" of same date.

He was now master of the field, at the head of a triumphant and devoted army, whose patriotism and unreasoning love of liberty he had just roused to an enthusiastic pitch ; he reckoned on unfailing success, and even flattered himself that he might at once make use of it to further the designs he had formed, and which he realised two years later. He appeared to me to reckon especially on the effect which the publication of the papers found in D'Entraigues' portfolio would produce ; this led me to presume that he had not laid them before the Directory until after he had resolved on supporting the Revolutionary party. As he had still, however, to wait, before his departure for Udine, for some letters from Paris, which did not arrive until two or three days later, he profited by the kind of inaction which always supervenes between great resolutions and their execution, to make an excursion to Lake Maggiore ; and he invited me to accompany him. My desire to see that celebrated lake, and at the same time to prolong my stay with so extraordinary a man, whom I should have an opportunity of knowing and appreciating better in the course of this little excursion, made me accept so agreeable a proposal with readiness.

We left Milan on the 1st Fructidor (August 18). I had a place in Buonaparte's carriage with his wife and Berthier. During the drive, he was gay and animated, told us several anecdotes of his youth, and said that he had just completed his twenty-ninth year. He was extremely attentive to his wife, frequently taking little conjugal liberties that rather embarrassed Berthier and me ; but his free and easy manners were so full of affection and tenderness towards a woman as lovable as she was good, that they might easily be excused. Although the conversation occasionally turned on grave matters, he did not betray the subject that was engrossing his thoughts. He avoided talking politics before Berthier, whom he valued only for his usefulness as chief of the staff, the duties of which post he fulfilled with marvellous activity—no one could surpass him in that quality.

In speaking of Talleyrand, Buonaparte took occasion to praise him, his humour, and his ability, and in this the General's wife agreed. The conversation turned also on other personages who might play a part in public affairs in Paris, and among these, I named Roederer, dwelling on his penetration, his ability as a writer and his extensive knowledge. Buonaparte, however, expressed an extreme aversion to him. He severely censured his conduct toward Louis XVI. and the Royal Family on the 10th of August, declaring that it combined both treason and duplicity, and adding that he could never feel confidence in a man who had laid himself open to such a reproach. I did my best to defend him, but Madame Buonaparte did not support me ; she, like Berthier, kept silence. The sequel has shown that Roederer succeeded in overcoming Buonaparte's aversion ; probably his services on the 18th Brumaire blotted out the recollection of the 10th of August.

After a journey which the heat of the season made rather fatiguing, although we did most of our travelling during the night, we arrived at the shore of Lake Maggiore, and took up our abode at the magnificent palace erected in the centre of Isola Bella, the most beautiful of the islands which rise from the bosom of the lake. I will not enter here into a description of these lovely scenes. Art is unfortunately sometimes too conspicuous in them ; but the charms which they owe to Nature solely made an uneffaceable impression on my mind. The snow-capped summits of St. Gothard and the Simplon reflected in the clear and tranquil waters of the lake ; the Ticino rushing in torrents from the mountain heights, and mingling its waters with those of that vast reservoir, whence it afterwards escapes to fertilise the plains of Lombardy by countless streams ; the smiling hill-sides dotted with dwellings which bound the lake on the north, and the rich harvest covering the plains bathed by its waters on the south, all contributed at this period of the year to render the panorama which passed before our eyes more splendid than at any other season, and at the same time more enchanting on account of its perfect tranquillity. We enjoyed the delicious calm ; it contrasted with the terrible scenes of war so close to us, and calmed the agitation into which the presentiment of an uncertain Future had thrown us.

Those two days at Isola Bella were most agreeable. Walking, bathing, and the pleasures of the table filled up our every moment, and it was with regret that we quitted the delightful scene to return to Milan. There we would have to re-enter the vortex from which it had been delightful to me to escape, though for so brief an interval.

After our return from the Borromean Islands, I remained only a few days at Milan. Buonaparte at last started for Udine, and I set out in order to resume the duties of my post at Turin. Before we parted, we had settled upon the line of conduct which I was to pursue in the critical circumstances which impending events in Paris would probably bring about. The following was the plan adopted :

1. Not only was I to take no part in any political troubles which

might break out in Piedmont, but to tender an assurance that our troops should even be employed to disperse any gatherings of people which might take place on the territory of the Cisalpine Republics or of Genoa, the centres of insurrection in the States of the King of Sardinia.

2. I was to demand of the Sardinian Government that, in order to carry out the treaty of alliance, the ten thousand men to be supplied by Piedmont be again assembled at Novara in readiness to march, if fresh hostilities with Austria should break out.

3. At the same time that I should require this movement of the troops, in order to support the negotiations in progress at Udine, I was to press for the ratification of the treaty of alliance by the Legislative Council in Paris, as the best guarantee to the Cabinet of Turin of the real intentions of the Executive Directory.

4. I was to insist, however, since quiet had been restored in Piedmont, on the cessation of severe measures which were keeping up a feeling of irritation injurious to the real interests of the King of Sardinia.

Furnished with these instructions, on the 7th Fructidor I reached Turin (August 22), where I had left M. Jacob as Chargé d'Affaires. His correspondence with the Sardinian Government during my absence had been principally on the subject of an unfriendly discussion which had arisen between the Minister and me respecting the steps I had taken to put an end to the excessive severity of the Cabinet of Turin toward those persons who had taken part in the last insurrection. M. de Prioca had complained bitterly at Paris of my conduct in this respect, and I was not unaware of the fact. In an interview with him a few days after my return, during which I again insisted on the necessity of more moderate measures, advancing General Buonaparte's opinion in support of my demands, M. de Prioca replied that the French Government took no interest in the fate of the condemned, and had, on the contrary, highly approved of the conduct of the Piedmontese Ministry; and in truth, M. de Talleyrand, as I have said before, had disapproved of my interference, without, however, owning that he had used the words attributed to him by M. de Balbi, and which M. de Prioca had repeated to me. It was plain, from these facts, that the Cabinet of Turin, in the constant persuasion that a coming crisis would restore a Monarchical Government in France, with which it would be better able to agree, was using its influence at Paris to get me recalled. I do not know whether in so doing it acted wisely; it is certain that my successors consummated the ruin of the Monarchy; and that I, on the contrary, so far as it lay in my power, had contributed to its preservation. Nevertheless, I endeavoured with no less zeal to obtain the ratification of the treaty, to which the Sardinian Government attached great importance at that time. But nothing decisive was done, and the daily expectation of a crisis, which it was thought must occur, kept all business in suspense.

The catastrophe was not long delayed. The 18th Fructidor brought about the ruin of the Royalist party, but the Constitution of the year III. fell with it. That day dealt it a blow from which it never entirely recovered; the 18th Brumaire completed the work, and on both the one and the other occasion Buonaparte was the agent of its destruction. It had not been in existence two years when it received this first great check. Afterwards it declined away, and until its final overthrow was a Revolutionary rather than a regular Government.

A few days after the 18th Fructidor, I received a letter from M. de Talleyrand, probably a copy of a circular letter addressed to all the diplomatic agents containing a complete *Apologia* of that day. I communicated this document to the Sardinian Government, which being forced to renounce the imperious attitude it had hitherto taken, and more alarmed than ever for its own existence, now openly threatened by the triumph of the democratic party in France, showed itself better disposed and amenable than before. Fresh requests were made to me to obtain the ratification of the treaty of alliance; but the shape that Buonaparte was giving to the peace-negotiations at Udine made the aid that had been asked of Piedmont less necessary, and the expectation of this always-deferred ratification prolonged the suspense of the Turin Cabinet from day to day. At last the ardently-desired instrument arrived. Although M. de Talleyrand had written to me on the 14th Vendémiaire, year IV. (October 5, 1797), that circumstances would no longer permit us to contemplate this alliance, the Directory, probably urged by Buonaparte, suddenly changed front, and two or three days afterwards sent the treaty to the two Councils for ratification. But the alliance was effected too late to save Piedmont; moreover, Royalty was about to lose its only support in Italy. Buonaparte was to remain there no longer, and his influence on the fate of Italy was on the point of ceasing. In order to make these matters plain, I must go back a little.

I have sufficiently explained Buonaparte's motives for supporting the democratic party in the Directory, and his adhesion secured its triumph on the 18th Fructidor. It was sufficiently clear that the principles professed by this party were not those which the General wished to defend, and that he had in no wise adopted them; but he was obliged to choose between two parties, of which one, had it carried the day, would necessarily have brought back the Bourbons and ruined forever his ulterior designs, so he decided in favour of that party which some day he might more easily overthrow, and on whose ruins he might establish his own power. Perhaps he even believed the catastrophe to be then at hand, and it was only on examining the situation more closely that he was convinced the moment had not yet arrived. In any case, it was needful that Peace should be the first gift of the new Government that owed its birth to the 18th Fructidor, in order to compensate for the alarm which that day had caused every sincere friend of liberty. The Directory felt this, and no longer opposed any measure which might bring about that result. On the other hand, Buonaparte, observing the eagerness of the Directory, justly feared that the matter might be concluded without him; and this would indeed have been easily done, either by carrying the negotiations on in France, or by entrusting them to Augereau, who had just been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army in Germany. Finally, he could cede to no other the credit of making peace, for he intended to assume that France and the Directory itself were beholden to him for it. He therefore hastened on the end. The negotiations, which had dragged along for more than six months, were now carried on with despatch, and peace was concluded at Campo-Formio (near Udine) on the 26th Vendémiaire, year IV. (October 17, 1797), one month and twelve days after the 18th Fructidor. The treaty is signed by Buonaparte alone, in the name of the French Government. Clarke was not admitted to the honour of signing, although he had gone to Udine as one of the Plenipotentiaries. Buonaparte suffered no other name beside his, that the gratitude on which he relied might not be divided.

But this gratitude weighed especially on the Directory, which soon showed how heavy a burden it was. Buonaparte had sent Berthier and Monge to the Directory as bearers of the treaty of Campo-Formio. They reached Paris on the 4th Brumaire (October 25). The Directory ratified the treaty on the 5th, and on the same day appointed Buonaparte Commander-in-Chief of an army which was to be assembled on the coast, and to which was given the pompous name of the Army of England.

By this appointment Buonaparte was snatched from the scenes of his conquests, and separated from the army he had so often led to victory, and which was entirely devoted to him. The ties which had been formed between the illustrious Captain and his soldiers were broken, and the Directory hoped to escape from all the attempts upon which an ambitious mind, relying on so many glorious deeds and on the devotion of the troops, might venture against a power still dazzled by an unexpected elevation, a power, nevertheless, supported neither by public opinion nor by renown, and which the least shock might overthrow.

Although the appointment of Buonaparte to the command of the new army was accompanied by the most flattering expressions of esteem, and the Directory added a striking mark of confidence by entrusting the political conduct of the negotiations about to be opened at Rastadt for treating for peace with the German Empire,* to the Conqueror and Peacemaker, Buonaparte could not mistake the real meaning of the Directory. From that moment he formed a resolution to remain in France only if he could in one way or another place himself at the head of affairs, but if he should find that the times were not yet ripe to afford him the position he aimed at, as the only one suited to his genius, to absent himself on some extraordinary expedition which would add to his fame.

The news of the recall of General Buonaparte, and the absolute silence of the Campo-Formio Treaty as to Piedmont, threw the Turin Cabinet into the greatest ferment. It addressed itself once more to me, but I could serve it but little. I foresaw already that immediately on Buonaparte's departure from Italy, the Revolutionary party would again get the upper hand; that I should be by no means favourably regarded by that party, which, as M. Botta wrote,† looked upon me as a lukewarm republican, and that it would very soon be powerful enough to remove me. I could therefore neither sway the action of the Directory, nor tranquillise the uneasiness of the Court of Turin on this subject. M. de Talleyrand, moreover, instructed me to avoid entering on any explanation respecting the consequences of the treaty with Austria; so that the reserve that I was compelled to adopt increased the alarm of the Government, which perceived that it was in more danger than ever at the very time when it had reckoned on a greater security. My relations with it dwindled day by day, until our interviews were restricted to discussions relating to the execution of the secret convention annexed to the treaty of alliance of the 20th Germinal, year V., by which the island of Sardinia was ceded to us; discussions which resulted in nothing, and to a rather troublesome correspondence on the *émigrés* in Nice and Savoy, to whom the Directory, which had become more suspicious, now wanted to forbid asylum there. It was at this time that, having been again questioned respecting the residence of the Comtesse d'Artois at Turin, I succeeded in procuring the exemption of that Princess from the laws against emigration, which were then being rigorously enforced.

Such was the state of affairs in Piedmont, and such were the causes that had brought it about, when Berthier, after he had presented the treaty of Campo-Formio at a solemn audience on the 10th Brumaire, year VI. (October 31, 1797),* returned to Milan and took command of the army of Italy, which Buonaparte, who was preparing for departure, had handed over to him. Joseph Buonaparte had already parted with his brother and gone, as ambassador, to Rome. He was accompanied by his wife, his youngest brother, Jerome Buonaparte, and his sister Caroline.

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* This Congress was to take place in virtue of one of the articles of the treaty of Campo-Formio.

† In his "Histoire des Guerres d'Italie."

Buonaparte left Milan on the 26th Brumaire, and arrived at Turin on the morning of the 28th. His wife had preceded him by a few days, on her way to Paris. She dined at my house, and brought with her a casket containing some valuable trinkets, from which she could not bear to be separated for a moment.

Buonaparte had sent me word that he would be at Turin on the morning of the 27th Brumaire; but he did not leave Milan until the night of the 26th, too late to keep his promise. I waited for him in vain until midnight, and then withdrew.

I was aroused at half-past two in the morning of the 28th. Buonaparte had just arrived, and while the dinner that had been prepared for the preceding evening was being got ready, I remained for an hour by the fireside alone with the General. From notes I made at the time, I will now give an exact account of our interview.

He took up the conversation almost where he had dropped it on the occasion of our last interviews at Milan. He defended the resolution he had taken to support the 18th Fructidor, by arguments which I have already recorded. "But do not imagine," continued he, "that I resolved on so doing because of any conformity of ideas with those of the men whom I supported. I did not choose that the Bourbons should return, especially if brought back by Moreau's army and by Pichegru. The papers found in D'Entraigues' portfolio had sufficiently enlightened me as to the projects of those two Generals. I do not care to play the part of Monk; I will not play it myself, and I do not choose that others shall do so. But those Paris lawyers who have got into the Directory* understand nothing of government. They are poor creatures. I am going to see what they want to do at Rastadt; but I doubt much that we shall understand each other, or long agree together. They are jealous of me, I know, and notwithstanding all their flattery, I am not their dupe; they fear more than they love me. They were in a great hurry to make me General of the army of England, so that they might get me out of Italy, where I am the master, and am more of a sovereign than commander of an army. They will see how things go on when I am not there. I am leaving Berthier, but he is not fit for the chief command, and, I predict, will only make blunders. As for myself, my dear Miot, I may inform you, I can no longer obey; I have tasted command, and I cannot give it up. I have made up my mind, if I cannot be master I shall leave France; I do not choose to have done so much for her and then hand her over to lawyers. As for this country" (speaking of Piedmont), "it will not be at rest for long. I have done all in my power to secure the tranquillity of the King, but the Directory is surrounded by a set of patriots and idealists who understand nothing of politics. They will set Italy in flames, and get us driven out some day."

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* See "Moniteur" of 12th Brumaire, for the details of this ceremony, and for the curious speeches delivered by Berthier and Monge.

Bernadotte, who had returned to Milan about a month previously, and had resumed the command of his division, expected to succeed Buonaparte, but, probably because the Directory had already formed the hostile views with regard to Italy, which were afterwards made manifest, and which Bernadotte would not perhaps have zealously seconded, he was appointed to the Embassy of Vienna, and left Milan for Paris towards the middle of Brumaire. I saw him on his way through Turin, when he informed me of his appointment, which was not as yet officially known. He did not proceed to Vienna until the beginning of Ventôse, year VI. (end of February, 1798).

"In that case," I replied, "I do not think they will leave me here. I am far from sharing their exaggerated ideas. I have got on well with you, but I do not think I could get on with others. Will you ask for an appointment in Germany for me?"

Buonaparte promised that he would do so. I spoke to him next of the Court of Turin. "I will not go to it," he answered; "I want no fêtes, no attentions. I do not choose to deceive, and my presence at Court or an interview with the King would raise hopes which I could not realise; he would believe himself to be secure if I accepted distinctions and favours from him; and he would find out his mistake."

Accordingly, during the thirteen hours that he passed at Turin he did not leave my house. When our conversation was over, we sat down to table. It was then four in the morning.

Day had hardly dawned when a crowd, attracted by curiosity and the desire of seeing so famous a General, assembled before my house. The King sent one of his principal officers with compliments on the part of his Majesty. Buonaparte afterwards received the Ministers, and welcomed M. de Saint-Marsan with special favour. He also received the generals and superior officers who were in Turin, as well as some private individuals who tried to induce him to favour a revolution in Piedmont. But he gave no heed to these suggestions. In the course of the morning the King sent him a very fine Sardinian horse. The Queen* had hung on the animal's neck a necklace of precious stones, the last of her jewels; she had sacrificed all the others to the needs of the State. Buonaparte could not venture to refuse either the horse or the necklace, but he seemed moved by this pathetic gift and the circumstances under which it was offered. To the King's officers who had brought it he presented snuff-boxes set in diamonds, and valuable rings, and made presents to the royal household greatly exceeding in value those which he had accepted.

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* Merlin (of Douai) and François de Neufchâteau. who had been elected in place of Barthélemy and Carnot.

He drove away in his carriage at four in the afternoon, crossed Mont Cenis the next day, and passing through Switzerland arrived at Bâle on the 5th Frimaire (Nov. 25). He proceeded thence to Rastadt, where he remained only a short time, and finally reached Paris on the 16th Frimaire (December 6).

At the time of Buonaparte's departure the Cabinet of Turin, becoming more and more uneasy, had caused some suggestions to be made to him by M. de Saint-Marsan, to the effect that Sardinia should be represented at the Congress of Rastadt; but they were evaded. I, however, consented to grant an ordinary traveller's passport for Germany to the Cavaliere Napioni, by means of which he proceeded to Rastadt. The Court of Turin, coldly treated by France, was trying at that time to ally itself with Austria, which just then was re-entering Italy by the cession of Venice, as stipulated in the treaty of peace at Campo-Formio. But all these endeavours, all these expedients of a constrained policy, were destined to failure, from the force of circumstances, and the new departure which affairs had taken in France since the 18th Fructidor. In virtue of the first treaty of the 26th Floreal, year IV. (May 15, 1796), we held several fortified places in Piedmont;† and so long as Buonaparte remained at the head of the army of Italy, the commandants of the French troops in these places exercised military authority only. But hardly had he crossed the Alps, than those commandants began to assume a political attitude, assisted instead of restraining the enterprise of agitators, and promulgated orders for the expulsion of *émigrés* from Nice and Savoy, before the question of right of asylum had been decided between the French and Sardinian Governments. General Casabianca, renowned for his military feats, and especially for the defence of Calvi in 1794, but in other respects a passionate and reckless man, particularly distinguished himself by every kind of violence. I sent complaints of his conduct to Paris, but was not listened to.

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* Madame Clotilde of France, sister to Louis XVI.

† Coni, Ceva, Tortona, Exilles, la Brunette, Alexandria, &c. See Article 12 of treaty ("Moniteur" of 4th Prairial, year IV.).

Casabianca kept up a correspondence with Barras, in which I was not spared by a man who had much to do with the overthrow of the throne of the kings of Sardinia. It would, however, be giving him too much credit to suppose that he acted thus either through conviction or from principle ; he was merely an instrument in the hands of the secret agents employed by the Directory in Italy.

CHAPTER VII.

The Author is recalled from the Embassy at Turin, and is succeeded by Ginguéné—Joseph Buonaparte, having left Rome after the assassination of General Duphot, stays with the Author at Turin, on his way to Paris—Berthier marches on Rome, overthrows the Pope's Government and proclaims the Roman Republic—Monge and Dannou, being sent by the Directory to organize the new Republic, pass through Turin—The hostile dispositions of the Directory towards the King of Sardinia are more and more openly displayed—Ginguéné, accompanied by Garat, arrives at Turin on his way to Naples as Ambassador there—The Author presents his letters of recall to the King of Sardinia, and takes advantage of his leisure to make an excursion in the Alps—On returning, he leaves for Paris—Sketch of the state of Italy at the beginning of 1798, and of the events that took place after the departure of the Author.

Towards the end of 1797, when the storm that hung over Piedmont was gathering volume from every quarter, I learned from a letter written by the Minister of Exterior Relations, on the 5th Nivôse, year XI. (December 25, 1797), that the Directory had thought proper to recall me, and to appoint M. Ginguéné as my successor. As, however, this letter did not assign any motive for my recall, I remained officially ignorant of the reasons for that step, but I have said enough to make them intelligible to the reader. From the moment that I was apprised of my recall, I began to long ardently for the arrival of my successor. The Sardinian Government, which was probably informed that I had been recalled before I knew the fact, considered itself dispensed from any consideration for me. The disturbances which were breaking out in every direction, and by which the safety of the French soldiers who passed through Piedmont was frequently endangered, gave rise to a disagreeable and fruitless correspondence. I received no directions from my Government, and I was ignorant of the instructions that had been given to my successor. The latter unfortunately had resolved on converting a diplomatic journey into one of self-improvement, and after having taken two months to make up his mind to leave Paris, he turned his steps towards Switzerland, and did not arrive in Turin until more than three months after his nomination.

Those three months of suspense were very painful to me, for I found myself deprived of all moral influence, and I had become, as it were, a stranger to our diplomacy, which the Directory had almost entirely remodelled since the 18th Fructidor.* Evidently the project of revolutionising Italy was beginning to preponderate. Every man appointed, that was made in Paris, among whom I hasten to acknowledge that there were men of real merit and incorruptible honesty, such as Garat and Ginguéné, owed his promotion more or less to the dogmatic and proselytising spirit which was for awhile triumphant, but which, lacking the support of either military success or civic worth, raised up for us implacable enemies in Italy, and ultimately drove us out of that country.

In this state of things, I was endeavouring still to hold my position with dignity, when, on the 25th Nivôse (January 14, 1798), Joseph Buonaparte and his family arrived unexpectedly. He had left Rome abruptly, after the events which took place there on the 6th of the same month (December 26), and resulted in the assassination of General Duphot. Rumours of these events had already reached us, but I knew none of the details. Joseph passed one day at my house in Turin, and then immediately resumed his journey to Paris. From the particulars which he gave me, I foresaw that the legitimate pretext for seizing upon Rome which such excesses would furnish to the Directory, would be eagerly embraced, and that a Revolution which would shortly spread all over Italy must ensue. We congratulated each other on our not being obliged to witness that revolution, and we agreed to meet in Paris, where I hoped he would precede me by a few days only. I have already said that the delay in the arrival of Ginguéné detained me at Turin much longer than I then expected.

Only a short time elapsed ere the consequences of the events at Rome became manifest. Berthier, whom Buonaparte had left at Milan, received orders towards the end of Nivôse to march on Rome. He arrived there on the 27th Pluviôse (February 13), drove out the Pope, proclaimed the restoration of the Roman Republic, made a ridiculous speech at the Capitol, and despatched to Paris as a trophy—the Pope's walking-stick! But he did not make a long stay at Rome. Buonaparte, who was then planning the expedition to Egypt, recalled him to Paris, and he was succeeded in the command of the army of Rome by Masséna, who was appointed on 6th Ventôse (February 24). General Brune had already succeeded Berthier in the command of the army of Italy—its headquarters were still at Milan.

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* Guillemardet was appointed, at this period, ambassador to Spain, Garat to Naples, Sotin to Genoa, Ginguéné to Turin, and Trouvé to the Cisalpine Republic at Milan. Everything in our Exterior Relations was assuming a new complexion, and the whole system established by Buonaparte in Italy was overturned by these appointments.

Before receiving information that the French troops had reached Rome, the Executive Directory which, reasonably enough, entertained no doubt of the success of that expedition, had hastened to appoint Commissioners to organise the future Republic. Monge and Dannou were chosen for the task, both men of great worth, but more given to political theories than distinguished for knowledge of the world, and consequently little fitted for the management of men. I saw them at the end of Pluviôse (towards the middle of February) on their way through Turin, when they paid me a visit, accompanied by M. de St. Martin, who was formerly almoner to the Paris National Guard, and at present Secretary to the Commission. The visit was a purely formal one. They said very little of the object of their mission, sought for no information from me upon the present state of Italy, and would not even accept the dinner to which I invited them. They were going to make a revolution, to restore the former Roman Republic, and those things were miracles in which I did not believe. They discovered afterwards which of us had judged rightly. I was sooner undeceived than they, and had over them the melancholy advantage of foreseeing that, with the instruments of which we were obliged to make use, with generals and agents equally corrupt and greedy of gain, it was perfectly visionary to attempt the regeneration of an ignorant and fanatical populace.

But I must do both Monge and Dannou the justice to say that they were actuated by the purest motives and uninfluenced by any desire of personal gain. Dannou's high-mindedness never varied for a single instant; and if Monge, his colleague, displayed less firmness of principle, the immense services he has rendered to science, and especially to its diffusion, will cause some little weakness of character to be forgotten, and posterity, remembering his merits only, will hold his name in undying honour.

While Monge and Dannou, full of hopes that were not to be realised, were hastening towards Rome, the Cabinet of Turin, aware of their mission, of the Directory's projects against the authority of the Pope, and of the revolution which was brewing in the centre of Italy, was much cast down, and now dreaded the arrival of Ginguéné as much as it had recently desired my recall. Meanwhile, it sought to avert the undeniably imminent danger, by renewing the negotiations for the accomplishment of the convention annexed to the treaty of alliance of 26th Germinal, year V., and M. de Balbi had presented on 16th Ventôse, year VI. (March 6, 1798), the outline of a treaty for the exchange of the island of Sardinia, against the States of the Infant of Parma, annexing to it the title of King. But the coldness with which this proposition was received, served only to confirm the fears with which the hostile attitude of the Executive Power inspired the Sardinian Government. For my own part, as all my efforts on behalf of this proposition, and also those which I made to obtain an exact explanation with respect to Piedmont, were equally fruitless, I was convinced that the final intention of the Directory was to abandon that unhappy country to its fate ; and so I left off all political correspondence, deeming it henceforth superfluous, and confined myself to the formal business of the embassy. I observed this attitude of reserve while expecting from day to day the arrival of my successor, who was to bring with him fresh instructions, and probably the sentence of the Directory upon Sardinia.

Ginguéné arrived at Turin on the 3d Germinal, year VI. (March 23, 1798). He had travelled with Garat, who was going as ambassador to Naples. They were both very clever men, but in proportion as I took pleasure in conversing with them on literary and philosophical subjects, I was surprised at their diplomatic language, and their strange ideas of the functions which they were about to fulfil. They were quite in the clouds ; they were preceptors of kings, and not ambassadors. As they had never had any experience of the difficulties which the habits and prejudices of peoples oppose to innovators, they seemed to be unaware that time only wears out errors, that they must be sapped at their bases by the patient spread of instruction in the lower classes of society, and that to attack prejudices in the front is to give them new strength. Not such were the means which these gentlemen proposed to employ. They were resolved to respect neither public nor private manners or customs, to conform to no usages, and, above all, to withstand the etiquette of courts. They intended to be as inflexible in outward forms as in principles, and brought philosophical intolerance to the overthrow of religious intolerance. I soon perceived that I could not attain to their height, and that they pitied my simplicity and the timid course I had observed.

At our first meeting, Ginguéné assured me that his wife, the French ambassadress,* would never submit to the ridiculous costume of the Turin Court, but would go to Court in a white gown, a bonnet, and white cotton stockings. I replied that I had thought it well to act in a contrary manner ; that on principle I would never offend against established usage, especially in such trifles as the shape of a gown, or a head-dress ; that my wife had conformed to the customs of the country, without incurring blame from any quarter whatsoever ; but that probably he had very good reasons for not imitating my conduct. He next asked me if I had made any speech to the King on presenting my letters of credit. I replied that I had not, and that having been received, as he himself would be, at a private audience, nothing would have seemed to me more inappropriate than to deliver a speech, either from writing, or from memory, to a man with whom I was tête-à-tête, so that there could be no one present to testify to what I had said. He answered that he should nevertheless make his speech, and that, moreover, he should have it published. I returned, that undoubtedly he must have reasons for acting thus, and that no doubt they were excellent ones. Garat, who was present at our conversation, strongly approved the intentions of Ginguéné, which I indeed in no wise controverted. Nor had we any other discussion, and I feel bound to say that, with the exception of these little differences of opinion, there was a similarity in our principles conducive to mutual esteem.

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* This title is given by courtesy only. The wife of an ambassador is not an ambassadress. M. de Talleyrand ridiculed Ginguéné, in his correspondence, for giving the title of ambassadress to his wife.

Ginguéné brought me my letters of recall. On 5th Germinal (March 25) I presented them to the King, who was good enough to express some regret at losing me ; and if he already felt a presentiment of the misfortunes which soon were to overwhelm him, I must believe his regret to have been sincere. Ginguéné had an audience on the 11th of the same month, made his speech, and took the direction of affairs, which I gladly handed over to him.

Free, as I now was, from all official cares, I wished before returning to my own country, from which I had been absent more than three years, to profit by a few weeks of pleasant leisure to make an excursion in the Alps.

I left Turin on 15th Germinal (April 4), and passed the night at the house of the Count de Brusasco, with whom I had become intimate during my residence in Piedmont, and who resided on the pretty estate of the same name, at a short distance from Crescentino on the banks of the Po. I spent two very pleasant days there, in the company of my host, a man of remarkable talents and a good musician. From thence, I resumed my journey, in company with the venerable Molineri, an excellent botanist,* one of the fellow-workers of the famous Allioni, in the classification of the Flora of Piedmont. Notwithstanding his age, he consented to accompany me on my excursion, and his knowledge of natural history, and his familiarity with the mountains I was about to visit, and which he had already explored several times, were of infinite service to me.

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* He was attached as head gardener to the Valentino Botanical Gardens, near Turin.

We went first up the valley of the Doira-Baltea,* from Ivréa to Aosta, where we arrived on 19th Germinal (April 8), and though it was as yet very early in the season, my companion remarked and pointed out to me a number of rare plants, which we gathered. The road, running along the valley, was at that time a fine one, well kept, and offering delightful variety of view. At Aosta we hired mules, to take us to Cormayeur, a large district situated at the foot of the eastern and southern slopes of Mont Blanc, and celebrated for its mineral springs. We continued to ascend the valley of the Doira, passing through Villeneuve d'Aosta, Avisa, Lasalle and Storges.†

Cormayeur, according to the calculation of M. de Saussure, is 625 fathoms above the level of the Mediterranean, that is to say, about a quarter of the height of Mont Blanc. I took up my quarters there for four days, and employed my time in making excursions in the neighbourhood. J. L. Jordany, called "Patience," an inhabitant of Cormayeur, accompanied me—he had also served as guide to M. de Saussure during his expeditions in these parts of the Alps. Under his guidance we explored the valley of Cormayeur, the Allée Blanche, the Valley of Ferret and the Breuva Glacier, one of the finest in the Alps. This glacier is reached by crossing a beautiful forest of larches, which bounds it on the lower side. After passing the moraine,‡ which is very lofty, we climbed to a considerable height, crossing, with the help of our guide, the numerous and profound crevasses that intersect it. Mont Blanc towered above our heads to the north, but the aiguilles, especially the Giant, at whose foot we were, hid its summit from our sight. Our curiosity not being completely satisfied, we resolved on climbing, as a last expedition, a mountain, to which our guide gave the name of Chicouri, situated on the northwest of Cormayeur, and from whose summit Mont Blanc and its aiguilles are all visible. We started on 24th Germinal, an hour before sunrise, and by steep pathways, every turn of which was known to our guide, we succeeded in reaching the summit of the mountain. The sun, which had just risen, cast a bright radiance on the magnificent landscape that surrounded us. The rose-coloured summit of Mont Blanc was scarcely distinguishable among the nearest aiguilles.

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* In Piedmont the name of *Doira* is given to all streams descending from the Col de la Seigne and the Col de Ferret, where the watershed of the Adriatic commences.

† This village is known in the country under the name of the Capital of the Cretins (or idiots), from the great number of these unfortunate beings among its inhabitants.

‡ A *moraine* is a heap of stones which generally forms the exterior boundary of a glacier.

Across the valley of Cormayeur and the Allée Blanche, we saw the Breuva and Miège glaciers reflecting back the sunlight in a thousand glittering peaks. Never had I beheld so grand a spectacle.

Our guide had arranged our day's journey so that we should return to Cormayeur by the opposite slope of Chicouri from that which we had taken in ascending, and reach the extreme end of the Allée Blanche and the valley which terminates it. We were preparing to commence the descent, when the wind, rising from the depths of the valley and heaping up the clouds, hid all the landscape beneath us by degrees, while the sky overhead remained blue and serene. But the clouds continuing to rise, surrounded us on all sides, and bore with them the storm they carried in their bosom. In one instant the ground on which we were walking was covered with snow as fine, powdery, and penetrating as dust. Our footmarks on the former snows were effaced, and a north-east wind, which took away our breath, began to blow with violence, causing us intolerable discomfort. At last all unevenness in the ground disappeared, and we could no longer distinguish any of the landmarks. In spite of his great experience, our guide seemed anxious. He at once abandoned his intention of taking us back by the northern slope of the mountain, and set about returning by the same way we had come. His thorough acquaintance with the mountains and a kind of instinct guided him in the right direction, and we were advancing with confidence, when all of a sudden he disappeared in a chasm that had been filled up by snow, but was not sufficiently firm to bear the weight of a man. We ran to his assistance, and succeeded with some trouble in dragging him out of the crevasse, which happily was not deep.* We set off again, using our alpenstocks for the steepest descents. At last the storm, after having lasted more than two hours, died away; imperceptibly the rocky points, the mountain-tops, the summits of the trees in the valley reappeared, and, without incurring fresh dangers, we accomplished the rest of the distance to Cormayeur.

The time at my disposal did not permit me to renew the attempt that had just failed. I left Cormayeur the next day, 25th Germinal (April 14), to return to Aosta. There I took a day's rest, and started on the 27th for the Great St. Bernard.

On leaving Aosta the traveller still sees vines and cultivated fields; but, in proportion as he ascends, the temperature becomes colder. We were very glad to reach St. Remy,† where we found an excellent inn and well-supplied stoves. We hired guides for the ascent of Mount St. Bernard by the path which leads to the monastery. The time of year was not favourable for this ascent; the snow had disappeared in the valley, but that which during the winter had been heaped up on the steep mountain-sides now threatened to descend in avalanches. It was the time of year when avalanches occur most frequently, and the route is consequently dangerous. Nevertheless, the fear of so formidable an accident did not deter us, but following the advice of our guides, we left the mules at St. Remy and performed the journey on foot. They also advised us to maintain perfect silence, and we followed the narrow mountain-path in single file. The distance from St. Remy to the monastery* of the Great St. Bernard is about six or seven miles, and we accomplished it in three hours. At a mile and a quarter's distance from the last chalets on the road we began to distinguish the monastery buildings, and to the west of these and on our right we perceived the lake, which was still frozen over in many places. The landscape here is both melancholy and imposing. Not a tree, not a trace of vegetation is seen on the rocks rising on every side, and whose black peaks detach themselves from the almost eternal snows that fill up the interval and which had not yet begun to melt. A small garden, lying to the south and sheltered by the monastery wall, is with difficulty made to yield a few vegetables during the summer. They are of indifferent quality.

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* Our little party was composed of five persons: Molineri, Patience the guide, a porter loaded with provisions, a servant and myself.

† St. Remy, situated at 1604 yards above the level of the sea, is the last village of Piedmont; but the territorial limit of the States of the King of Sardinia and of the Republic of Valais, is higher up on the mountain.

Every kind of provision, even the wood for fuel, is carried to the hospice on the backs of mules from Valais and Piedmont.

I was extremely well received by the hospitable monks. In the room in which we dined, the barometer was a few lines above twelve inches, an observation which agrees pretty well with those that have been taken with greater exactitude in order to ascertain the height of the pass of the Great St. Bernard. According to the calculation of M. de Saussure, the convent is at a height of 1257 fathoms, and the pass at its highest points, according to the "Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes," is 2491 yards above the level of the sea.

I went over every part of the hospice, a wise and humane foundation, and I spent the night there. On the following morning, we returned in the same order and with the same precautions as before to the village of St. Remy. In the evening of the 23d Germinal I was back at Aosta, well pleased to have so happily accomplished a journey whose difficulty and danger was even at that period exaggerated. No one then could imagine that, four years later, the road which was considered barely practicable for mules would be traversed by a powerful army ; that a large body of artillery would be transported along the narrow pathway hanging over a precipice, and that Italy's most formidable barrier would thus sink before the genius of the greatest captain of modern times, and the dauntless heroism of the French soldiery.

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* The monastery of St. Bernard is situated on the verge of the perpetual snow-line; this line in the Alps is between 1300 and 1400 fathoms above the level of the sea.

I purposed returning immediately to Turin ; but I was prevailed upon by the Intendant of the Province of Aosta, who had received me with the greatest courtesy, and had given me every assistance towards the success of my expedition, to make a three days' excursion with him into the valley of Cognes, to visit the iron mines situated on a slope of Mount Iseran which closes in that valley.

Although less frequented by travellers than the other valleys of the Alps, Cognes is one of the most picturesque. We ascended towards its source the course of a torrent which descends from Mount Iseran and falls into the Doira near Aosta. The banks of this stream are wooded, and display rich and beautiful Alpine vegetation. At every step we beheld the rarest plants ; my companion Molineri gathered the *Linnæa borealis*, the *Rhododendron ferrugineum*, the *Artemisia glacialis* and others—which my taste for botany made me regard as very precious.

We thus made our way along a road, made delightful by charming views and interesting conversation, to the village of Cognes, where we passed the night. Early on the following morning we proceeded to the iron-mines. These mines are worked in the open air, and consist of a group of rocks entirely composed of carbonate of iron, which is broken off in large blocks. These blocks are rolled down the mountain to the site upon which the factories are built, over the torrent which waters the valley of Cognes. The entire mass of the mountain consists of the mineral itself, and is of such extent that if worked it would afford an enormous supply. But the great elevation of the site, which may be reckoned at more than a thousand fathoms above the level of the sea, and the impossibility of working it during the greater part of the year, considerably lessen its produce. From Cognes to the mines, the road is very steep and vegetation gradually dwindles away. A few dry plants and stunted birch-trees are still to be seen here and there, but at length even the *Arenaria biflora*, which Molineri considers as the last plant which flourishes on the heights of the Alps below the line of everlasting snow, disappears.

After this excursion we returned to Cognes, thence I made my way to Aosta ; and immediately afterwards left for Turin, where I arrived on 2d Floréal (April 20). I remained there a few hours only, and set out at once for Paris.

I must not, however, take leave of Italy without giving some idea of the condition of that beautiful country at the time of my departure, and a sketch of the events which took place immediately afterwards. Although I no longer held an official position, the notes I had taken, a few confidential correspondences which outlived my public duties, the abiding interest I felt in a country to which I was so warmly attached, and, finally, the desire to justify my own conduct there, led me to amass an amount of information which enables me to throw some light on the causes of the disasters that so soon succeeded to our triumphs, and I will take the present opportunity of pointing them out.

I will begin with Piedmont. The first steps taken by Ginguéné had alarmed the Cabinet of Turin, and dealings with him had been difficult. An argument which, to say the least, was inexpedient, had arisen on the subject of Madame Ginguéné's presentation. She had, as I have already said, refused to wear the conventional Court dress, and yet insisted on being received at Court. Ginguéné, however, had prevailed ; the presentation had taken place, and when I saw him on my way through Turin after my Alpine excursion, he was delighted with and proud of his triumph. But these feelings were greatly qualified by the difficulties of his position. Disturbances were breaking out in all parts of Piedmont, and Brune, who for two months had had the command of the army of Italy, far from acting on Buonaparte's principles, seemed to have no intention of opposing any effectual resistance to those disturbances. The seat of the insurrection was at first at Carosio, a small province belonging to Piedmont, but enclosed within the territory of the new Ligurian Republic, which had just risen from the ruins of the ancient oligarchy of Genoa. The revolt was headed by a man named Trombetta, a Piedmontese by birth, but who wore the French uniform, and even described himself as an agent of the French Republic. Notwithstanding the protestations of the Cisalpine and Ligurian Directories, it was evident that neither one nor the other observed a strict neutrality, and that the spirit of proselytism, which made further progress every day, inclined both these Governments to encourage disturbances which must bring about the destruction of a monarchical State, whose existence in the midst of so many republics seemed to them a political paradox. M. de Balbi made serious complaints in Paris of the hostile feeling against Piedmont openly displayed both at Milan and Genoa, and he certainly was not wrong in regarding those two Governments as the greatest enemies of his country. But his complaints were unheeded. The Directory of the French Republic, far from disapproving of the disturbances, was waiting impatiently for the results that must needs follow, and was preparing to profit by them.

Meanwhile the first attempts of the insurgents were repulsed by the troops which were sent against them by the Piedmontese Government. But after some few checks, they were renewed with greater force, and the insurgents contrived to establish and maintain a position in the village of Casosio, whence they traversed the Ligurian territory, which was free to them, but on which the King's troops might not follow them, and carried the signal of revolt to other points of Piedmont. At the same time gatherings of the people at Milan were causing alarm on the frontiers on the side of Lake Maggiore. These insurrectionary movements were fomented by outrageous libels on the King of Sardinia, and by proclamations which clearly conveyed that their authors were under the protection of France.

The following is a rather curious extract from one of the latter :

"The French Government, in order to promote peace and the triumph of the Grand Army, has been forced for the time being to look upon kings as the representatives of their subjects. This supposition, though unlawful, was necessary for the opening of negotiations, but it is at the present time, circumscribed and limited. To protect the weak, is it not a means of exhausting them? The alliance of the King of Sardinia with the French Republic was really an act by which he morally abdicated his sovereignty."

It must be admitted that the authors of these writings reasoned well. They expressed the real feeling of the Executive Directory, as elected on the 18th Fructidor.

All the grievances of the Turin Court, of which these details will give a sufficient idea, were laid open in Paris by the Sardinian ambassador, and in his notes to the French Government he made no mention of Ginguéné. Certainly the latter seemed to exercise little influence on the Generals of the army of Italy, who every day showed themselves more favourable to the insurgents, and openly supported them in every place. These grievances were for a long time unnoticed. At last, on the 1st Prairial, year VI. (May 20, 1798), M. de Talleyrand wrote a reply to the pressing notes of M. de Balbi.

The Minister begins by disavowing all participation in the disturbances then taking place in Piedmont, and protests that the French have no share in them. But at the same time he declares his conviction that those Piedmontese who have joined the insurrection have been misled, and that immediately on being warned that they are the unconscious instruments of crime, they will hasten to return to their allegiance. "Consequently," he adds, "the ambassador of France at the Sardinian Court is instructed, first, to ask for an immediate and entire amnesty in favour of the Piedmontese insurgents who have taken up arms. He will afterwards press the Sardinian Government to use its strength against any gatherings of *berbets** which may still exist in the country.

"On these conditions the French Government promises to use all its influence with the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, to maintain them in tranquillity and within the territorial limits assigned to them."

It will be recollected that this almost derisive letter, and which advances so curious a doctrine, is written by the same Minister who, four months previously, had blamed me for my endeavours to check the unheard-of cruelties that were perpetrated upon Sardinian subjects, far less guilty than the insurgents in Piedmont.

The Court of Turin, driven to extremity, ordered its ambassador in Paris to sign any kind of convention, in order to put an end to the insurrection. But the French Government refused to treat directly, and referred the negotiation to Ginguéné, notwithstanding the dislike to treat with that ambassador, which was manifested by the Sardinian Minister.

Ginguéné, having been authorised to begin the negotiation, went first to Milan to consult with General Brune, and on the 5th Prairial (May 24) handed a note to M. de Prioca, which, both in style and in arrogant requirements, far exceeded the instructions sent from Paris. Its language is that of a man who cannot conceal his satisfaction at being authorised to indulge his feelings of enmity against the Cabinet of Turin; and, with a singular disregard of diplomatic customs, Ginguéné hastened to despatch a copy of his note to the French ambassadors at Naples, Milan and Genoa. He even wrote privately to M. de Talleyrand, to urge him to have this note published in the French newspapers—so greatly did he think his literary and republican reputation interested in it.

The Sardinian Government, justly offended by the tone of this communication, despatched a courier to Paris to renew the request that the negotiation should be carried on in that city, but the application had no success. In proportion as the internal situation of Piedmont became more critical, by reason of the insurrections which broke out in all parts, so did the Executive Directory become more exacting. Finally, on obtaining the amnesty, it required that the citadel of Turin should be garrisoned by French troops, and this demand, repeated in a series of diplomatic notes, each more imperious than the preceding, was acceded to at a Conference which took place on 8th Messidor (June 25) between Ginguéné and M. de Prioca. The treaty regulating the conditions of this garrison was signed, not at Turin but at Milan, by General Brune and M. de St. Marsan.*

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* These *berbets* were brigands, no doubt, but at that time they were supporting the King's cause.

The political existence of the King of Sardinia was virtually at an end; by giving up his capital he ceased to reign.

The occupation of the citadel of Turin inflamed to the highest degree the enmity of the Piedmontese towards the French, and the patriotic party instead of being strengthened by this circumstance was weakened. All the men of generous and elevated minds whom it had comprised felt that their national honour had been wounded, and withdrew, so that it soon consisted only of intriguing malcontents, who hoped to enrich themselves by the misfortunes and humiliations of their country. These sentiments of enmity, so deep and so well-founded, could not remain concealed; they showed themselves in innumerable ways, and were the cause of desperate encounters in which the lives of Frenchmen travelling alone through Piedmont were sacrificed. Ginguéné, on this, recommenced writing his threatening notes, he insisted that the Sardinian Government should put an end to these hostile demonstrations, that the officials should exhibit good-will towards the French, and in order to attain this end he asked for the dismissal of many of them. Lastly, he wanted the Archbishop of Turin to publish a pastoral letter, recommending his flock to live on good terms with the French. How was it that a man of good sense did not see the absurdity of such a proceeding? Have governments the power of suddenly changing the minds and opinions of the people? Could the violation of every principle involved in the occupation of an ally's capital during perfect peace, could the arrogant and irreligious conduct of the French in the midst of a population attached to the forms of their religion, have any other result than the hatred of the Piedmontese? If that violation was a political necessity, if the occupation of the citadel of Turin was an unavoidable military measure, we should have been ready to stand by its consequences, to look upon the enmity incurred as a necessary evil, to have been on our guard against it and tried to avert its effects; but to request an insulted Government to put an end to it, was folly.

However, it would seem that the Executive Directory, though approving in the main what was taking place in Piedmont, would have preferred more suavity and dissimulation on the part of Ginguéné. Their confidence was withdrawn from him by degrees, and an event happened which, although he was not concerned in it, completed its withdrawal.

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* The French troops entered Turin, 15th Messidor, year IV. (July 3, 1798).

The Feast of the Virgin, which falls on the 8th of September, has been from time immemorial celebrated at Turin with great solemnity. It is ushered in by numerous salvos of artillery ; a grand procession winds through the streets ; the feast is always looked forward to with eagerness, and the people take the largest share in it. It was therefore feared, with reason, that the presence of French soldiers in the town and the disrespect they might show for the ceremony would occasion affrays and bloodshed. The General commanding the citadel, having taken counsel with the French ambassador, confined the garrison to their barracks, and on the 8th of September not a French soldier was to be seen in the streets of Turin.

But a week later, on Sunday, September the 16th (30th Fructidor), a number of French officers and soldiers, in masks, some dressed as women, or in caricatured costumes of the Court or town, others as jockeys, drove out in the evening from the citadel, and paraded through the town. This scandalous masquerade, intended to ridicule the ceremonies which had taken place on the Feast of the Virgin, proceeded to the public promenades, to the vicinity of the churches, disturbed Divine worship and gravely endangered the tranquillity of the town. The Piedmontese garrison took up arms, and for a few moments it was feared that a bloody conflict would ensue. The disgraceful farce was disavowed by the General and the ambassador, but its effect was not less fatal. It completed the alienation of the people, it embittered the already existing enmity, and it placed the Sardinian Government at an advantage.

It will always remain inexplicable that the French Generals at Turin, and especially the Commandant of the citadel, should have been ignorant of a project whose execution involved a great deal of preparation ; and the blame of acceding to it, or at least of wilfully closing their eyes, will be justly imputed to them in perpetuity.

These events made a gloomy ending to Ginguené's mission. He was recalled on the 2d Vendémiaire, year VII. (September 23, 1798)

Shortly before his departure, the Comtesse d'Artois, who had until then resided unmolested at Turin, was ordered to leave that city.

Such are the principal events which took place in Piedmont from the time of my departure until the beginning of year VII. Those which followed, and which completely ended the drama by the expulsion of the King, and his exile in Sardinia, belong to another series of circumstances with which I am not concerned.

As to the rest of Italy ; on the departure of Buonaparte, the political conduct of the Generals and diplomatic agents everywhere assumed an aspect which closely resembled their policy in Piedmont. Masséna, who having succeeded Berthier in the command of the army occupying Rome, so misconducted himself that the French troops, deprived of their pay while he was appropriating enormous wealth, revolted, and refused to recognise him any longer as their commander. His extortion, his plunder, his shameless rapacity, dishonoured the laurels he had won, at the very moment that the departure of Buonaparte left the field open for him to eclipse the fame of his illustrious rival, and to bear away the palm from the only General who could vie with him in military talent.

The new Roman Republic, established under these melancholy auspices, had only an ephemeral existence.

At Naples, where Garat had acted on the same principles, and made use of the same forms of diplomatic communications as Ginguéné at Turin, there was a commencement of disturbance, in anticipation of the revolution that broke out shortly afterwards, flourished for a while and then came to an end on the bloody scaffolds erected by Cardinal Ruffo, and amid the tragic scenes of an angry Queen's vengeance, which Nelson carried out in order to please Lady Hamilton.

At Milan, Trouvé, a turbulent patriot, with an unsatiable desire for innovation, but weak and without talent ; at Genoa, Belleville, no less extravagant, but superior in nobility of character, and solidity of principle, encouraged and infused life into the revolutionary movement, loosened all social ties and forced the people into republicanism, just as violent fanatics had formerly forced nations into Catholicism. But as none of these innovations were founded either on a change of customs or on newly-acquired and strongly-held opinions, the whole fabric was shattered in a moment, when fortune turned against us, and by all our triumphs, all our brilliant victories, we gained only the enmity and aversion of the peoples. Our glorious conquest slipped from our hands in less time than we had taken to accomplish it, and the first conqueror of Italy had to come back from the banks of the Nile to replace her under the yoke ; as if it were the fate of that beautiful land to submit herself to him only.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Author arrives in Paris—He finds certain changes in the manners and habits of Parisian society—He is received coldly by the Members of the Directory, and by the persons who frequent their *salons*—He sees Bonaparte—The General's motives for undertaking the expedition to Egypt—Popular rising at Vienna, in consequence of which the French Legation leaves that city—The Directory, fearing that war with Austria will break out afresh, decides on sending General Bonaparte to Rastadt—The dangers with which the Directory would be threatened by the ambitious projects of the General, cause them to rescind this decision, and Bonaparte leaves at once, to embark at Toulon—The Author is summoned to join a Council called together on account of disputes in the Department of the Interior—Failures of the Directory in the management of public affairs—Reverses of the French arms—Partial overthrow of the Directory, and Ministerial changes—The Author goes to Holland with Deforgues, who is appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Batavian Republic—In passing through Morfontaine he hears that Bonaparte's brothers had sent a communication to the General which may induce him to return to France—Deforgues and the Author travel by way of Lille, Bruges, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Harlem, and arrive at Alkmaer, the headquarters of Brune—Situation of military affairs in Holland—The travellers proceed to the Hague—Political state of the country—Capitulation of the Duke of York, and evacuation of the territory of the Batavian Republic by the Anglo-Russian army.

Notwithstanding the melancholy presentiments which had filled my mind, and been only too speedily verified, I left Italy with regret, and it was not without pain that, from the heights of Mount Cenis, I gazed for the last time at the plains of Piedmont, and gradually lost sight of the beautiful country which at that time I had no hopes of revisiting. I reached Paris on the 6th Floréal, year VI. (April 25, 1798.) What a change had taken place during my three years' absence! To the too-simple manners, to the coarse language of the Republic under the Convention, had succeeded politeness in speech, and elegance in manners and dress. *Thee* and *thou* were no longer used; "Carmagnoles" were no longer worn; the women, especially, had returned with eagerness to their former tastes; fashion had resumed her sway, and a passion for the antique regulated her decrees, to the detriment of decency. Not that the luxury and magnificence of a Court had as yet been restored ; we had still some steps to take before returning to those. Our habits were still tinged with the roughness we were leaving behind us, and with the contempt for the "convenances" that we had so long professed. Society was not yet formed ; there was no division between its various classes. All was confusion, and the *salons* were crowded indifferently with Contractors and Generals, with women of easy virtue and ladies of the ancient nobility, with patriots and returned *émigrés*. One only thought, common to all, occupied and drew together this crowd of beings differing so widely by birth and education, the desire to acquire money ; and all means were good which led to that end. A woman dressed with the greatest elegance, did not disdain the "transaction" of a contract, and would even exhibit specimens of the goods in which she or her *protégé* had speculated. At that time patronage was only to be obtained by a division of profits. Each of the five members of the Executive Directory held a separate Court at the Luxembourg. They had their respective reception days, their own particular circles, their courtiers. But among them all, he who imitated the ways of the nobles of the ancient régime most closely was Barras. He kept horses, dogs, mistresses ; his manners were haughty and abrupt ; and it was marvellous to see the proud Republicans, the Aristides and Brutus of the Convention, bow down before their new idol and adore his tastes.

I went with the rest of the world, to pay my court at the Luxembourg, but I had little cause to boast of my reception there. Merlin, in whose department the "Exterior Relations" were included, and from whom I endeavoured to learn the cause of my recall, made me a diplomatic answer, and referred me to his Minister, Talleyrand. With the exception of François de Neufchâteau, who received me kindly and invited me to dinner, the Directors either did not speak to me, or barely condescended to look at me. So soon as it was perceived that I was out of favour, all those in the rooms with whom I had formerly been acquainted turned their backs on me also. I became convinced that I was altogether in disgrace, and thenceforth I gave up those fatiguing and useless visits. I merely went, as Merlin had advised me, to call upon Talleyrand. He received me with urbanity, but I could not obtain from him any more light on my destiny than from his Director. He asked me, for form's sake, for a memorandum of my mission and of the state of the country I had just left. I promised to draw it up ; but convinced, as I was, that he would not read it, and that it would be pains wasted, I spared myself the task, and I did well, for I heard nothing more either of the Minister or the memorandum.

When I arrived in Paris, Bonaparte* was still there. I saw him several times before his departure, and he continued very friendly towards me. He treated me with the same confidence as in Italy, and in our conversations he threw some light on the circumstances that had led him to undertake the expedition to Egypt. I shall narrate them here.

Bonaparte had left Italy, dissatisfied with the Treaty of Campo-Formio, which was signed by him in a fit of vexation at Augereau's appointment to the command of the army of Germany. The conditions of this peace were—and he knew it—altogether impolitic ; extremely unfavourable in the present, and still more unfavourable for the future.

In pursuance of what he had told me at Turin, he had gone to Rastadt in hopes of amending his work ; but his dislike to Treilhard and Bonnier, the Plenipotentiaries, whom he met at the Congress, and still more, perhaps, the scandalous disunion between those two negotiators, prevented his success, and he returned to Paris entirely absorbed in the idea of a descent upon England.

The survey which he made of the channel and ocean coasts, and the remarks of some able men whom he met on his way,† induced him to abandon this project, whose execution seemed to him, at any rate for the time, impossible. But, having given it up, his impatience of his position, the risks to which he believed himself exposed in Paris, his dissatisfaction with the Directory, whose members dreaded the pretensions of the favourite of Fortune, confirmed him in his resolution to play an isolated part, and to seek at the head of an army that independence which the absolute power he had wielded in Italy had made both a habit and a necessity to him. The world too must be dazzled by fresh exploits, and France prepared for what was to come by the glory of the nation being raised to the highest attainable point. Thus the project of an expedition to Egypt, of which Monge had conceived the first idea during his stay at Passeriano,‡ assumed consistency, and measures were taken to carry it out. Bonaparte ardently entered into it. He carried away the Government by his fiery speeches and the ascendency of his reputation, and they on their side were glad to get him out of France, at any price. It was still easier for him to influence men who were greedy of glory, and lovers of daring enterprise. Every preliminary was dictated by him, the decrees of the Directory were minuted by his own hand, and copied out by François de Neufchâteau, the youngest of the Directors, who took the place of Lagarde, the secretary ; for the latter was not admitted to the secret. In fact, everything was his doing, and it would be unfair to accuse the Government of the day of an enterprise which had such fatal results. Plans, projects, political and military combinations, all were Bonaparte's ; the Directory is to be reproached only with having consented to them.

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* After the Italian campaign the General discarded the "u" in the spelling of his name, and adopted the French form, "Bonaparte."

† On his way through Calais he closely interrogated M. Gallois, who was returning from England. That gentleman's replies contributed not a little to dissuade Bonaparte from an attempt, which, had it failed, would have fatally injured his reputation.

‡ Near Udine, where Monge and Bonaparte were during the negotiations of the treaty of Campo-Formio.

While all was in preparation, rather with affected mystery than really in secret, the unfortunate incident took place in consequence of which Bernadotte and the French Legation left Vienna after a residence there of two months.* Scarcely was this occurrence known in Paris, than the Directory, fearing that it might entail further hostilities, and feeling that Bonaparte would be infinitely useful to them in such a conjuncture, threw themselves completely upon him for aid. By a spontaneous decree, full powers were granted to the General, on whom the task of repairing the mischief devolved.

It was just at this crisis that I arrived in Paris from Turin.

I found Bonaparte pleased both with himself and with his position. He complained bitterly of what he called Bernadotte's mistakes. "See," he said to me, "what they cost us : I must give up the greatest expedition I have as yet planned, in order to return to Rastadt, and I must renounce a project whose execution might change the political face of Europe." But behind this feigned resentment I could easily perceive that his satisfaction was greater than the regrets he expressed ; for, by entrusting him with the negotiations occasioned by the Vienna affair, the Directory replaced him in the position he coveted ; once more the fate of France and of her Government was in his hands. He was the arbiter of peace and war, he commanded the one or made the other, according as his interest rendered peace or war necessary. Lastly, either as the conqueror of Austria for the second time, or as a worshipped peacemaker, he would return to Paris with his power increased by all the moral influence either title would have given him over the nation, and he would then carry out what, in fact, he did afterwards put in execution on the 18th Brumaire.

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* Bernadotte, having, as ambassador of France, hoisted the tricolor flag over the door of the Embassy, the populace of Vienna made a disturbance which endangered the safety of the ambassador and the other French there. This led to the withdrawal of the Legation. It is said that Bernadotte hoisted the national colours only in consequence of a reprimand addressed to him on the subject by the Directory.

But either because he did not conceal his intentions and hopes with sufficient care, so that the Directory perceived some of the dangers it was amassing about itself, or because a letter written by Bonaparte to M. de Cobentzel * had enlightened the members of the Directory as to the part which the protector, whose support they wished to obtain, intended to play, the Government changed its mind. It was decided that Bonaparte should not go to Rastadt, but that François de Neufchâteau, who was to go out of the Directory in a month, † should undertake the negotiations. Barras was selected to inform Bonaparte of the change, and the manner in which he acquitted himself of his task was, no doubt, one of the causes of the dislike with which Bonaparte regarded him from that time forth.

I am ignorant of the particulars of that interview, but I was a witness to what followed.

I was with Bonaparte on the evening of the 16th Floréal. He had been talking to me a great deal about his journey to Rastadt; the expedition to Egypt seemed quite forgotten. He was even telling us of the kind of life he meant to adopt on his return from Germany. Just at that moment Barras entered the room, looking extremely gloomy. He took little part in the conversation, and after a few moments' silence, he and Bonaparte went into an adjoining cabinet.

The interview lasted barely a quarter of an hour. Barras came out first, and passed through the drawing-room, scarcely exchanging a word with Madame Bonaparte. The General next made his appearance, spoke to nobody, and returned to his cabinet, slamming the door behind him. During the night he started for Toulon, and I saw him no more until after the 18th Brumaire.

This anecdote seems to me to explain everything; and when I reflect on what took place before my eyes, I can only see in the expedition to Egypt, which in the end was so disastrous and so fatal to our navy—sacrificed by the Directory to their desire to rid themselves of a man they dared not openly attack—a fresh proof of the incalculable evils which are inflicted on nations by the private dislikes or the exaggerated pretensions of the men who are placed at their head either by chance or by a fatal celebrity.

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* This letter was written unknown to the Directory. Bernadotte's affair was little touched upon, but great stress was laid on the necessity of a new arrangement which would end the difficulties caused by the treaty of Campo-Formio. Thus the question of peace or war was reopened, and the aim of Bonaparte was accomplished.

† During the first five years of the Constitution of year III., these changes were to be decided by drawing lots, but it had been agreed upon beforehand that the lot should fall to François de Neufchâteau, who was appointed to the Ministry of the Interior as a compensation.

Bonaparte, for whom there remained no alternative but that of undertaking this expedition or of losing his position altogether, did not disguise from himself the risks he was about to run, although at the time of his departure he hoped that the steps taken at Constantinople might obviate some of these risks, and that the Porte would be induced to consent to the occupation of Egypt by France. This, no doubt, was a great delusion, and I shall never believe that Talleyrand, who encouraged Bonaparte on this point more than any one, can have sincerely shared it. Meanwhile Bonaparte, who generally endeavoured to implicate those men whose advice he had followed in any risk that might arise from acting on it, thus obtaining a guarantee against treachery or desertion, had not forgotten to insist that Talleyrand should be sent as ambassador to Constantinople, and when he left Paris he was convinced that Talleyrand would be installed in his new post before his own arrival in Egypt. But this time he was dealing with a man who was more subtle than himself. Talleyrand let him depart, and, foreseeing the issue of the expedition, remained quietly in Paris, where he continued to abet the passions and the policy of the Directors, until the hour when the mistakes of that Government and its consequent reverses dragged down the Minister in the fall of the Directory. It was thus that Talleyrand got the better of Bonaparte, whom he supported neither in Paris nor at Constantinople, and also of François de Neufchâteau, who had consented to go out of the Directory only on condition of succeeding Talleyrand, but had to content himself with the Ministry of the Interior.

Bonaparte's departure left me in Paris quite isolated from public affairs. I neither saw the Directors nor the Ministers, who distrusted me on account of my intimate relations with the General. I then attached myself more closely to Joseph Bonaparte; but he had little influence. Perhaps the friendship he evinced for me was one reason why the Government gave me no further employment. However, François de Neufchâteau, the Minister of the Interior, having appointed a Council to advise him on the affairs of his department, I was named one of its members. But events were hurrying on, and I was destined shortly to return to the stormy career of politics.

The Executive Directory, having vanquished the National Representation, which was decimated on the 18th Fructidor, and having rid itself of Bonaparte, who had so powerfully contributed to the success of that fatal day, had failed to profit by its victory—had indeed made one blunder after another from that moment. The Administration of the Interior, the general policy and management of the war, were all marked at the end of year VI., and during the first nine months of year VII., by total incapacity. Victory had altogether forsaken the French flag, and notwithstanding some partial successes obtained by Generals Championnet and Joubert, the arrival of Suwarrow's army, the surrender of Mantua, and the defeat of Macdonald on the Trebia, had caused our loss of Italy. War was again declared with Austria ;* the Congress of Rastadt was broken up, its last sittings being marked by the assassination of the French Ministers, Bonnier, Roberjot and Jean Debry ; a terrible event whose causes have not been completely ascertained even yet. The opening of the campaign against Austria had been unfortunate, and the retreat of General Jourdan before the superior forces of the Archduke Charles, which, although admired by military men, was fatal to France, had reduced us to a perilously defensive attitude. Switzerland was invaded by the Russians and the Austrians, who were restrained with difficulty by Masséna and Lecourbe. The ancient frontiers of France were already endangered, and insurrection was again raising its head in La Vendée and the other Western Departments. So many reverses, misfortunes and ill-advised combinations had exasperated the public mind, and the Directory, assailed by reproaches and clamour on all sides, was unable to withstand the storm. The Legislative Body, supported by public opinion and by a new Jacobin Club, which held its meetings in the Riding-School of the Tuileries,† could now retaliate on the 18th Fructidor, and in its turn dismissed three Directors. By these fresh attacks on the Constitution of year III., the way was prepared for its complete destruction.

The three dismissed Directors, Merlin, Lareveillère-Lepaux and Treilhard, were replaced by Gohier, Roger-Ducos and General Moulin, three men hitherto unknown. Barras and Sièyes remained. The overthrow of the Directory involved that of a portion of the Ministry. Cambacérès was made Minister of Justice ; Quinette, Minister of the Interior ; Reinhart, formerly my colleague at the Foreign Office, succeeded Talleyrand in the same office ; and Bernadotte was made Minister of War.‡

The departure of François de Neufchâteau was soon followed by the suppression of the Council of which I was a member. However, as Bernadotte was brother-in-law to Joseph Bonaparte, with whom I had continued on friendly terms, the latter thought I should do well to return to the War Department, and proposed me to the Minister as Secretary-General. But Bernadotte, who was just then completely devoted to the new Jacobins, and surrounded by the most violent members of the Riding-School Club, on whom he bestowed every vacant place in his department, did not consider me sufficiently patriotic, and declined to accede to Joseph Bonaparte's request.

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* On the 2d Ventôse, year VII. (March 12, 1799).

† On account of its meeting in this place, the Club was known, during its existence of seven or eight months, as the "Club du Manège."

‡ This little political revolution occurred on the 27th to 30th Prairial, year VII. (June 15 to 18, 1799).

This annoying state of things had lasted for four months, when an accidental circumstance came to my aid, and caused me once more to leave Paris.

Deforgues, of whom I had occasion to speak in the second chapter of these Memoirs, and to whom I owed my entry into a diplomatic career, was appointed in Vendémiaire, year VIII., as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Batavian Republic, where he was at first to be associated with, and afterwards to succeed, Florent-Guyot, then at the Hague. Deforgues, with the consent of the Directory, made me an offer to accompany him, but without an ostensible position. A letter from the Minister of Exterior Relations entrusted me only with a financial negotiation at Amsterdam, for the purpose of claiming for France the Batavian scrip that belonged to us, as payment of the contributions agreed upon between the two States, and which had been deposited in that city.

I eagerly embraced this opportunity of escaping from the trying position in which I found myself, and I accepted both Deforgues' proposition and the mission offered me by the Minister of Exterior Relations. Bernadotte, who had not been able to agree with the Executive Directory, had already left the War Office. He was succeeded by Dubois-Crancé, a still more ardent patriot than he, but who did not entertain a similar prejudice against me.

I left Paris on the 13th Vendémiaire, year VIII. (October 5, 1799), just as the news was arriving of the victory, or rather the succession of victories, gained by Masséna over the Russians in his fourteen days' fighting before Zurich ; memorable days during which Masséna displayed the highest military talent.

Never was victory so disputed, never was victory more necessary. France would have been invaded had Masséna been defeated.

In passing through Morfontaine, I stayed with Joseph Bonaparte. He approved my reasons for leaving Paris ; but at the same time let me see that he hoped my absence would not be long, and that the return of his brother would bring it to an end. On this occasion he told me that means had been found of informing the General of the situation in France, and even of sending him an order of recall, to which the signatures of the members of the Directory had been obtained from them unawares, while they were signing other papers. Bourbaki, a Greek, long attached to the Bonaparte family, had undertaken to convey the message and the order to Egypt, for the sum of 24,000 francs (£960), which had been handed over to him. The two brothers, Lucien and Joseph Bonaparte, the contrivers of this clever device, were waiting impatiently for news of the result. The only return I could make for their confidence was by earnest wishes for their success. At that time I regarded Bonaparte's return as the happiest event that could befall my country. He, alone, seemed to me able to save her from the ruin now impending ; and on resuming my journey I carried with me at least a glimmer of hope which consoled me for the necessity I was under of separating myself from my family and of leaving France.

We journeyed through Lille, Menin, and Bruges, whence we intended to go on to Zealand ; but Deforgues, who was in haste to reach Holland, having relinquished that idea, we crossed the Scheldt, and proceeded to Antwerp, where we stayed one day. In spite of the preparations for commerce made at the mouth of the Scheldt, the city remained deserted and without trade. There were no signs that she would ever recover her ancient splendour.

We left Antwerp for Helvoetsluys on the 13th Vendémiaire (October 9), and arrived there, after a most fatiguing day, at ten in the evening. Helvoetsluys is situated on the Bies Bosch, and both wind and tide being favourable, we embarked at night on a decked vessel, which brought us to Rotterdam in six hours. I had already (in 1788) made a pleasure trip to Holland, but the pleasure with which I contemplated the aspect of that city when approached from the Meuse was quite new. The approach to Venice by the lagoons has been greatly admired ; I was now enabled to compare the two points of view, which in some respects are much alike, and I do not hesitate to give the preference to Rotterdam.

At Rotterdam we were but a few leagues from the Hague. Deforgues, however, thought it of great importance to see General Brune, before making his mission officially known, and the General was just then at the extremity of North Holland. We therefore avoided the Hague, and travelled by land to Gouda, and thence to Amsterdam. It is when journeying along this route that a fair idea of Holland may be gained. Nothing can equal the charm of the landscape ; the eye dwells with delight on the emerald-green pastures, with their herds of cattle, on the innumerable winding canals covered with constantly moving vessels. While the heart is gladdened by this rich and smiling panorama of peace and plenty, which, in spite of its monotony, is always fascinating, the imagination is struck with amazement by the works that have been undertaken, by the victories won over Nature, in order to wrest these half-submerged lands from the waters, and to turn pestilential and uninhabitable marshes into delightful gardens and fertile pasturage. These miracles of art, these noble results of liberty, rank in the estimation of a friend of humanity far above all the marvels of antiquity.

We slept at Amsterdam, and on the next day, the 20th Vendémiaire (October 12), we started very early in the morning to make our way through Haarlem to Alkmaer, the headquarters of the French army in North Holland.

The road alongside the canal from Amsterdam to Haarlem is a very fine one. Half way between the two towns are the sluices which preserve communication between the Lake of Haarlem and the gulf called Het Y.* The waters of this gulf are, at high tides, higher than the surrounding land, and in the construction of the dykes every means has been resorted to, to restrain this mass of water, which would inundate all Holland. The dykes present the appearance of a wide belt, following and marking out the outline of the gulf. They are closed at the lower end by a wattle-fence, against which is an embankment of earth supported by strong piles, in close proximity to each other. There are four sluices, placed two by two, in parallel lines. Two of them open on to Het Y and two on to Lake Haarlem. The sea beats unceasingly against this barrier, and its waves, which seem to threaten destruction to the low-lying land, have for three centuries broken against it in vain, nor succeeded in breaking it down. At low tide the level of the waters of Het Y becomes lower than that of Lake Haarlem, and the sluices can then be opened to let out the overflow of the lake into the sea, and thus diminish the volume of its waters.

After admiring these daring and splendid works, we continued our way by Haarlem, Beverwick, and Castricum, traversing the battle-field where, a few days before, the French had gained a decisive victory over the united forces of the English and Russians. We at last reached Alkmaer on the evening of the 20th Vendémiaire.

The following is a sketch of the military situation at that time :

The English had appeared on the Dutch coasts, near the Helder foreland, in the middle of August 1799, and had seized on the Batavian fleet stationed at Texel. The crews of these vessels, having been previously bribed, had mutinied. The English had, at the same time, effected a landing, and notwithstanding some opposition offered by General Daendels at the head of the Batavian troops, they had taken up a position in the Zype.* Meanwhile, General Brune, having been despatched by the Directory to command the French and Batavian troops, had arrived at Alkmaer, on the 17th Fructidor, year VII. (September 3, 1799). But the divisions which were to form his army not having come up, he had not been able to act on the offensive, and had restricted himself to checking the enemy. The English army in the meantime, having been reinforced towards the middle of September by the first division of the Russian troops, comprising from twelve to thirteen thousand men, mustered from thirty to thirty-five thousand. This force was commanded by the Duke of York, who resolved on attacking General Brune before he should have been joined by the troops he was expecting from Belgium. The engagement took place on the third complementary day of year VII. (September 19, 1799), in the neighbourhood of Bergen. The victory was undecided, and after the battle the two armies again took up the positions they had held on the previous day. The English once more intrenched themselves in the Zype where they awaited the coming of the second Russian division. General Brune, on his side, fortified his position, and held himself on the defensive.

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* Het Y, properly the Greek I, on account of its shape, is a mass of water which issues from the Zuyderzee, and is connected with it by the Strait of Pampus and by the canal on which Amsterdam is built. The canal bears the same name as the river. Het Y spreads far over the country, where it takes the name of *Breite Wasser*, Wide Water.

The two armies remained thus until the 11th Vendémiaire (October 3), on which day the Duke of York led a general attack on the French and Batavians. General Brune evacuated Alkmaer, and fell back on an excellent position, fixing his headquarters at Beverwick, about seven miles from Haarlem, where, having received considerable reinforcements between the 12th and 13th Vendémiaire, he maintained his defensive attitude. Lastly, on the 14th Vendémiaire, the Duke of York, unable to draw the enemy out of his position, made a desperate attack along the whole line of the Gallo-Batavian army. This affair, which took place between Beverwick and Castricum, was very bloody and undecisive from daybreak till nightfall, when Brune himself, charging at the head of his column, forced the English to relinquish the battlefield. All the advantages gained on that day were, however, by no means fully known. The first despatches of the General confined themselves to announcing his repulse of the enemy, and the capture of fifteen hundred prisoners.

It was not until the next day that the brilliant results of the victory were properly appreciated. The English abandoned all the positions they had held a few days before, and returned once more to the shelter of the entrenchments of the Zype, after evacuating Alkmaer, and all the towns of North Holland. The French and the Batavians re-entered these towns on the 16th Vendémiaire, and even took possession of several places they had not occupied before their retreat, and which enabled them to press the enemy still more closely.

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* A large tract of land in North Holland, formerly uncultivated, but which had been tilled by the labours of the Dutch. The canals and roads which bound or traverse this island, as it may be called, are natural entrenchments, rendering it almost impregnable.

Such was the position of the armies when we saw General Brune at Alkmaer. He was full of hope and confidence as to the issues of the campaign, and did not for one instant doubt the success of our arms. He only hesitated to attack the enemy in his formidable entrenchments, because an attempt to force them would entail great bloodshed. On this account he thought it well to examine whether it would not be wiser to wait until the difficulty of obtaining supplies, and the approach of the winter, which would soon prevent an embarkation, should determine the Duke of York to capitulate.

The General was ill-disposed towards the Batavian Government. He seemed to have no doubt that some of its members had come to an understanding with the English, and as a proof of this, he cited the confidence displayed by the Duke of York in the goodwill of those magistrates which, according to him, had induced the English to undertake the expedition.

We left Alkmaer on the 21st Vendémiaire, and the following day we arrived at the Hague.

For the clear comprehension of the events that took place during my stay in that city, and which I shall have to narrate, a succinct account of the political state of the country is necessary.

Holland had been conquered by the French in the middle of the winter 1794, 1795. Pichegru had entered Amsterdam the 21st Nivôse, year III. (January 10, 1795). The Stadtholder had fled; the English had re-embarked, and the whole of Holland, left to herself, had imitated France and adopted a Republican Constitution. But this Constitution had been of slow growth. The habits of the Dutch, who are more phlegmatic than we are, the obstacles raised by the numerous and powerful partisans of the House of Orange and of the feudal system, had prolonged the debates on the form of the Constitution for more than two years. Two National Assemblies had met successively in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797, and the result of their labours, on being submitted to the approval of the Batavian people, had been rejected. The Public Administration, existing provisionally under the name of States-General or National Assembly, was almost paralysed, and this state of things, sedulously fostered by the enemies of France, laid the country open to foreign invasion at a time when the fear of renewed hostilities in Germany prevented our retaining sufficient troops in Holland for the defence of that country.

In this dangerous conjuncture the Executive Directory in Paris, which never acted except in an irregular manner, could find no other expedient than a Coup d'État, whose result, being similar to that of the 18th Fructidor in France, would overthrow the Stadtholder's party and the Federals, and would throw the direction of affairs into the hands of the Patriots, as they were called at that time.

This Coup d'État was effected on January 22, 1798 (3d Pluviôse, year VI.). A kind of popular insurrection having occurred, the principal members of the Provisional Government and twenty-two deputies of the National Assembly were arrested, the acts of the last States-General were annulled, the unity and indivisibility of the Batavian Republic were proclaimed, and the National Assembly took the name of Constituent Assembly. Following the example of the capital, the provincial administrations and the municipalities were changed, the Federalists were exiled, and the party of the Patriots was everywhere triumphant. The new Constituent Assembly acted with as much celerity as the preceding Assemblies had acted with procrastination. An Executive Directory was appointed, and in two months a new Constitution was drawn up.

This was adopted on March 17 (27th Ventôse), and was submitted for the sanction of the Batavian people, who, being gathered together in primary assemblies on April 23d (4th Floréal), bestowed their approval on it. The Constitution was an exact reproduction of that of France; there was a Legislative Body divided into two Chambers, and consisting, when first formed, of two-thirds of the members of the Constituent Assembly; an Executive Directory, Ministers, &c. A general fête, held on May 19, 1798 (30th Floréal, year VI.), inaugurated the new Institutions. But, notwithstanding this outward demonstration of universal satisfaction, the various parties were by no means reconciled. The so-called Patriots, so soon as they had seized on power, abused it, removing from their places and prosecuting all those who were not exclusively of their opinion, and arousing discontent that was justified by their conduct. They estranged, in particular, General Daendels, a man of an enterprising spirit, and of justly deserved military reputation acquired under Pichegru and Moreau. The General seemed first to approve of the events of January 22, but when he perceived that authority was falling into the hands of men whose fanatical republicanism he was far from sharing, he became the enemy of the Government, and assumed so threatening an attitude that the Batavian Directory resolved to have him arrested. On being informed of this intention, Daendels fled to Paris. Once there, he curried favour with the Directors, decried the Government of his country to them, and obtained their approval of a project he had conceived for its overthrow, and for the substitution of one more in accordance with his own views.

Armed with an assurance that he would not be disowned by France, the General returned to the Hague, gained over to his party five of the Ministers of the Directory, and, at the head of a few grenadiers, he invested the Directory in broad day and arrested the members. The result of this daring deed was an entire change of the Government and the Administration. A new Directory was formed ; Daendels was placed at the head of the Batavian army, and the extreme Patriot party was checked. Thus the supreme power passed into the hands of less fanatical men, better qualified to manage public affairs, but who, like their predecessors, found themselves forced to adopt violent measures for the maintenance of their authority.

More than a year had elapsed since this last revolution, when the English carried out their project of invading Holland. So soon as it was known that they had appeared on the coast, the Patriot party failed not to spread the report that this attempt was made in consequence of an understanding between the English and the members of the Government, and that the former expected to find the interior of the country favourable to them. Nor indeed can it be doubted that the English really reckoned on this. Their own conduct, as well as the mutiny of the crews of the Dutch fleet which surrendered to them without having fired a gun, prove that they had made use of means of persuasion, and that they counted on their effect.

We must, however, do justice to the Batavian authorities, who showed more firmness and decision in these critical circumstances than might have been expected ; General Daendels, especially, whom the Patriot party had formerly accused of having ungarrisoned the Helder in order to deliver up the fleet to the English, acted with great resolution and courage in the first engagements with the enemy. He was unable to repel them, but he kept them in check until the arrival of General Brune. Shortly afterwards the victory of Beverwick, by dispelling the fears or the hopes which were aroused by the presence of the English, according to the various interests by which men's minds were moved, had strengthened the Government and united the parties, at least in appearance. The Directory had acquired some confidence, but it was beginning to perceive the advantages that his military successes secured to the French General, and felt more than ever its dependence on France. On the other hand, General Daendels, although this Directory was his own work, became day by day more formidable to it, on account of his overweening pretensions, and gratitude for his services became very burdensome to the Government.

Such was the position of affairs when we arrived at the Hague. The aim of the mission confided to Deforgues was not clearly defined. At the time of the landing of the English in Holland the French Directory, ill at ease as to the consequences of that aggression, and with little reliance in the talents or trustworthiness of Florent-Guyot, whom, nevertheless, they had appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at the Hague a few months before, conceived the idea of giving him a colleague on whom they could more confidently reckon, and who, bearing the same title and invested with the same attributes, would direct affairs in conformity with the views of the French Government. Nothing more wildly extravagant can be conceived. It was evident that the two could not agree, and that the Minister who until now had exercised his functions independently, would never consent to submit to the instructions of the new comer. I was therefore not at all surprised at the failure of this plan. Florent-Guyot received us very coldly ; a long discussion arose between him and Deforgues, in the course of which Florent-Guyot made bitter complaints of the insult inflicted on him, declined to come to any kind of terms, and made us feel that our position was an embarrassing one. On the very next day, therefore, after our arrival at the Hague, I wrote to Reinhart that it was imperatively necessary one of the two Ministers should be recalled. While awaiting a reply to that letter, we could not remain inactive. Deforgues presented his letters of credit, and saw the members of the Dutch Directory, who, being unable to understand this diplomatic anomaly, knew not with which of the two Ministers they ought to deal. Fortunately, circumstances had changed, and fear of the progress of the English arms was nearly at an end. Our mission was therefore almost objectless ; only its absurdity remained.

Very soon, in fact, all danger completely disappeared. General Brune had just concluded the terms of a capitulation with the Duke of York, in virtue of which the Anglo-Russian army was to re-embark and evacuate the lands, coasts, islands and seas of the Dutch Republic within fifteen days.* Brune had demanded the restitution of the Dutch fleet as one of the conditions ; but the Duke of York did not hold himself authorized to agree to the restitution, and had confined himself to promising his good offices with the English Government; an intervention from which nothing was to be expected.

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* This capitulation was signed at Alkmaer, 26th Vendémiaire, year VIII. (October 18, 1799), between Brigadier-General Rostolan and Major-General Knox. The text will be found in the *Moniteur* of 5th Brumaire, year VIII.

The capitulation was, however, advantageous on every point; it put an end to the war, freed the Dutch territory from a formidable enemy, and inflicted disgrace upon the English, while it ruined their credit in the country. These were considerable results, and nothing was wanting to the glory of the French General.

He hastened to the Hague in order to enjoy his triumph.

The flags taken at the battle of Beverwick were presented with great pomp to the Dutch Directory; public fêtes were given, Brune was received with great magnificence by the Dutch Government and was loaded with honours and flattering distinctions. But, in escaping from the English and Russian armies, the Dutch Republic fell under another yoke, no less heavy. Victory had made the French absolute masters of the country; the victorious General demanded large sums of money and constantly complained of not receiving enough. He imperiously dictated laws which had to be obeyed, and, notwithstanding the deference shown to his wishes, his dissatisfaction with the Directory increased in the measure of his exactions. In the course of several conversations with President Van Hoff, I was enabled to perceive how intolerable this state of dependence had become, and that it still further estranged the inhabitants, who were already so ill-disposed towards us. However, far from incurring blame in Paris, the General was encouraged rather to multiply his exactions than to restrict them. He had induced the French Directory to adopt his prejudices against some of the members of the Dutch Government, and particularly against Van der Goes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Reinhart, who by having Florent-Guyot recalled, had made our position more tenable and augmented our influence, wrote to us in a more pacific sense; but Brune paid no attention to our information and laughed at our moderation. In short, he completely carried his point, and on the 11th Brumaire (Nov. 10) we received orders from the Directory to demand the dismissal of the four Ministers: Van der Goes, from "External Relations," Pyman, from War; Spoores, from the Navy; and Gogel, from Finance. All four were disliked by the Patriot party, who could not forgive them the part they had taken in the Revolution of the 12th of June, 1798. Yet they were men of worth; Gogel, especially, was distinguished as a financier, and was believed to be perfectly conversant with the resources of Holland. It was easy to see by this action on the part of the Executive Directory in Paris that, since the 30th Prairial, and the expulsion of Merlin, Treilhard and Lareveillère-Lepaux, the Government, led by the new Jacobins of the Riding-School Club, leaned exclusively on the extreme Patriot party, and wished to establish it also in the Dutch Republic, by undoing what had been accomplished on the 12th of June, 1798. Daendels, who at this period was at the Hague, had lost all his influence, and Brune gave him no chance of regaining it.

Thus everything announced a fresh political crisis in Holland ; and this would inevitably have occurred, with the help of Brune, if the events then taking place in Paris, which were far from being suspected at the Hague, had not forestalled a third revolution.

CHAPTER IX.

The news of the Revolution of 18th and 19th Brumaire reaches the Hague—The Author, who is summoned to Paris to fill the office of Secretary-General to the Ministry of War, leaves the Hague—The physiognomy of Paris—Narrative of the events of Brumaire—Interview of the Author with Bonaparte—Siéyès' plan for a Constitution is rejected—The Constitution of year VIII. is adopted—The Author is appointed a member of the Tribunate—The nature of that Institution—A spirit of opposition within it is developed at an inopportune moment—Rapid increase of the authority and power of the First Consul, who adopts monarchical forms more and more decidedly—Rumours of conspiracies serve as a pretext for arbitrary measures—Fouché and Lucien Bonaparte quarrel violently in the presence of the First Consul—The system of fusion of parties carried out with success by the First Consul.

On the 25th Vendémiaire (October 15) we learned that Bonaparte had landed on the 16th of the same month. From what I knew of the proceedings of his brothers the news did not surprise me. I was calculating the chances that this unexpected event might bring about a great change for the nation. Neither news nor letter, however, came from Paris to enlighten us, and the Dutch Directory was, or at least appeared to be, in a similar state of ignorance. Brune only had received a letter from Bonaparte, which he showed us. In that letter the General congratulated himself on having "again found *one of his lieutenants* at the head of a victorious army." This expression had greatly incensed Brune; and indeed what more could Cæsar have said? If we had already a Cæsar in our Republic, it was in a bad way. Nothing, however, had yet transpired, and every day I became more astonished at the inexplicable calm. At last, on the 22d Brumaire (November 13), at seven o'clock in the morning, we received a visit from the President of the Dutch Directory. A courier had arrived during the night, bringing him the news of the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire. But the slight information that the newspapers afforded us, being only up to the date of the 19th Brumaire, the reserve of the President, who was afraid of committing himself, prevented us from forming an opinion as to the nature of these events, and we did not know whether to rejoice or fear. All I could perceive clearly was that Bonaparte was becoming the arbiter of the destiny of France, and that if he rescued her from the anarchy and degradation into which the Directory and the Legislative Councils had plunged her, it was to be feared, judging from what I knew of him, that he would make her pay for that service at the price of her liberty.

The President who brought us this news, was, it was easy to see, notwithstanding all his caution, well satisfied with a movement which, by placing Bonaparte at the head of the French Government, saved the Dutch Republic from danger. Brune, on the contrary, whom we saw afterwards, was evidently uneasy ; and in the uncertainty as to which party would triumph, he thought it well to be prepared to join one side or the other with his army, and gave immediate orders to stop the march of some demi-brigades which, as they were no longer necessary since the embarkation of the English, were about to return to France. But this notion of opposition to Bonaparte did not last long. A revolution which placed political power in the hands of the military suited the Generals too well to be opposed by them ;—a few days later Brune wisely declared his adherence to Bonaparte, and thenceforth served him honestly.

We passed the 23d Brumaire in great anxiety. At last, in the evening, full particulars arrived, and the first impression I received from them was, I admit, a very painful one. The Legislative Body had been ignominiously dismissed, the Constitution of year III. completely upset, and liberty seriously imperilled. The names of those who had been actors in this Revolution, or who had been privy to it, and whose principles were known to me, were, however, reassuring ; I could not believe that such men would lend their aid to one who avowed himself inimical to those principles. I was therefore in the state of restlessness which is always produced by events not thoroughly understood, when I received despatches from General Berthier, who had just been appointed Minister of War, and who sent for me to fill the very place of Secretary-General which the Patriot Bernadotte had refused to give me a few months previously. I soon made up my mind to accept the offer, although as yet I was unable to form an exact idea of what had taken place, or to judge of it with coolness. Brune gave me a letter for Berthier, and said sufficient to let me see that he had relinquished his warlike projects. I saw M. Van Hoff, the President of the Dutch Directory. He had great hopes in the new order of things now in preparation, and flattered himself that he should be rid both of Brune and Deforgues, whom he disliked equally. I also paid a visit to M. Van der Goes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, against whom the French Government was strongly prejudiced, and on whose dismissal it imperatively insisted. Van der Goes complained with great moderation of the unjust persecution he had suffered, and at the same time showed no anxiety respecting its result. Nothing could have happened more opportunely for the Dutch Government than the 18th Brumaire,* and he was quite aware of this. Deforgues, on the contrary, was grieved at my departure, and very anxious about his own future prospects. His anxiety was not unfounded, for shortly afterwards he was recalled from the Hague, and succeeded by Sémonville.

I began my homeward journey on the 26th Brumaire (November 17), and left Holland regretting that I had been unable to acquire a more thorough knowledge of the country. The short term of my second stay in Holland had confirmed me in the opinion I had formed of the moral excellence of its inhabitants, and of the domestic virtues generally prevailing there. I had beheld with regret the conduct of the French Government towards a nation which offered it such valuable resources, and whose good-will it would have been quite possible to gain. But we had delivered it over to schemers, harshly subjected it to military authority, and had made ourselves hated. It was only force that held Holland to France, no other point of contact had been touched. The Paris Directory, which had despotically oppressed Holland, was no longer in existence, and her greatest enemy was overthrown ; was she destined to be happier and more independent under the new power which had just arisen in France? The lapse of time has answered that question in the negative.

I was impatient for fuller information, and I hastened on to Paris as quickly as possible. I arrived there on the 1st Frimaire (November 22). The capital seemed very quiet ; satisfaction and hope were expressed in every countenance ; great things were expected of the newly-accomplished Revolution. But I was surprised to find that very different versions were given, not only of the causes of that revolution, but even of its events. I made great efforts to solve the mystery that seemed to envelope the facts. A knowledge of these things was indispensable, both to put an end to my state of uncertainty and for the ordering of my own conduct. My friend Gallois rendered me a great service in this uncertainty. He was an eye-witness of the events, and being a profound and unprejudiced observer, he was peculiarly fitted to appreciate them. I will therefore give his own narrative, which is indisputably accurate and perfectly impartial.

On Bonaparte's arrival in France, he desired to protect himself from the risks of a state of inaction such as had subsisted during his former stay in Paris, before his departure for Egypt. He found the conjuncture favourable to his wishes. The Directory, so to speak, no longer existed. The unfit and unknown men who had been appointed to it after the 30th Prairial inspired neither respect nor fear. Barras, who was now irretrievably discredited, was concluding a reign usurped too long. Siéyès, only, had still a party, but he was eager to secure the adoption of his own plan of a Constitution, and ardently desired a revolution which would allow him to bring his composition to light. Talleyrand undertook to bring together the two men, who, with very different ends in view, were yet agreed on that one point, the overthrow of the existing order of things. To Bonaparte he said, "You want power, and Siéyès wants a new Constitution; unite together to destroy that which now exists, since it is an obstacle to both of you." He said to Siéyès, "You wish to put your theories in practice, and all that Bonaparte wants is a guarantee against the Jacobins, and a post in which he will be safe from their attacks. Join him then; he will give you the practical means you require, and you will ensure him the place he is seeking."

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* The 19th Brumaire, rather, for it was on that day only that the Revolution took place. Nothing decisive occurred on the previous day.

The ice being broken, a Committee was formed, consisting of Bonaparte, Siéyès, Talleyrand, Rœderer, Cabanis, Lucien Bonaparte, and Regnier of the Council of the Ancients. In this Committee the elements of the Revolution of Brumaire were discussed and arranged. When the first steps had been agreed upon, a few persons were admitted to confidence; among these were Volney and Boulay (de la Meurthe). It was decided next, that the Commission of Inspectors of the Council of the Ancients should be informed of the resolutions that had been come to. But it is to be noted that the latter were not entrusted with the secret of the plan in its entirety; they were spoken to only of the necessity of crushing the Jacobins, who were becoming more dangerous every day, and that they consented solely in view of this, to the project of removing the Legislative Body out of Paris. The same motive acted on the Commission of Inspectors of the Council of the Five Hundred. The real aim, change of Constitution, was concealed from all those who were not comprised in the Committee.

Every one knows perfectly well what took place on the 18th Brumaire. The proposal to transfer the Legislative Body to St. Cloud was made at the Council of the Ancients, and was adopted. The command of the Armed Force was given to Bonaparte. General Moreau consented to serve under him. Other steps were taken, but that day was, so to speak, one of preparation only. The following day, the 19th Brumaire, was decisive and much more important. Its particulars are less well known, because it was the interest of the victorious party to conceal many of them.

In accordance with a resolution taken on the 18th Brumaire, the Council of the Five Hundred was convoked at St. Cloud on the 19th. The hour of meeting was nine in the morning. If the Deputies, who arrived in the hired conveyances of the suburbs of Paris, had found the place in readiness and the sitting begun at that hour, there is no doubt that, having had no opportunity of consulting together, they would have agreed without difficulty to the measures proposed to them. The chiefs and leaders of the Assembly would only have had to act on isolated individuals, who, being ignorant of the extent to which measures had been taken for forcing their consent from them, would have been alive only to the danger and uselessness of resistance. But it was otherwise, and through an unaccountable negligence nothing was ready at the appointed hour. The Deputies therefore dispersed into the gardens, where groups soon gathered together; questions were asked reciprocally; it was asked what could be the motive of this extraordinary removal, and a report soon spread that the hidden purpose of the step was to effect a change in the Constitution. From that moment every one was alive to the consequences of so great a convulsion, and the fear of losing an easy position, which would be the inevitable result of such a movement, and which a great number of Deputies contemplated with dismay, made all those not in the secret cast in their lot with the Jacobin minority of the Council of the Five Hundred.

In such a disposition of men's minds, the aspect of the Assembly at the opening of the sitting was altogether different from what had been expected. Emile Gaudin, who appeared first at the Tribune, was hooted, and cries of "Long live the Constitution of year III." interrupted his speech. Grandmaison, one of the most extreme members of the Council, turned this movement to account, and proposed to verify the sentiment spontaneously manifested by the Assembly by an oath administered to each member. The oath was taken by every one of the members, including Lucien Bonaparte himself,* to the great surprise of those who, being in the secret of the plan, beheld all the hopes they had indulged vanish in a moment. It was easy to detect astonishment and dismay in the altered countenances of Maret, De Laborie,† and others who had hastened to St. Cloud.

But it was precisely the time required for the "nominal appeal" necessary to the taking of the oath, that gave the authors of the scheme an opportunity of rallying their forces. Under such circumstances a delay of two hours was a great chance for them, and they took advantage of it. Bonaparte determined to enter the

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* He was President of the Council of the Five Hundred.

† One of Talleyrand's confidants.

Assembly ; but scarcely had he appeared, when furious cries of "*Hors la loi!*" were heard. "What does this man want?" was shouted on all sides ; "by what right does he enter here?" These cries, and especially the words "*Hors la loi!*" seemed to affect Bonaparte deeply ; he withdrew, pale and downcast. His retreat increased the boldness of the opposite party, which then found itself in a large majority, and the minority, trembling and discouraged, gave up the contest. The most violent motions were made in succession and instantly carried. Lucien Bonaparte, who was obliged to apologise for his brother, and to excuse him on the ground of the importance of his past services, was without strength or ability to stem the torrent by which the Assembly was carried away. He was withdrawn from this critical position by a picket of grenadiers, who took him from a committee-room and escorted him to beyond the Hall of Assembly.

When Lucien reached the outer court of the Palace, where the troops were assembled and under arms, he declared that force alone could complete what had been begun, and that they must either perish or employ that last resource. He mounted his horse, and vehemently harangued the soldiers, denouncing angrily "the daggers lifted against his brother,"* then, taking advantage of the momentary enthusiasm he had kindled, he ordered a battalion of grenadiers to follow Murat into the Assembly. The soldiers charged, dispersed the Assembly in an instant, and drove out the Deputies. Incommoded by their "togas," and holding their classic headgear in their hand, the discomfited Deputies dispersed into the woods, where many of them, in order to escape the pursuit of the soldiers, left behind them those melancholy symbols of departed dignity. The spectacle was at once painful and ridiculous, an indelible affront which was a signal for a long-lasting annihilation of any true representation of the nation.

The troops who had been engaged in these proceedings left a picket of fifty men in the interior of the Hall, and returned to the courtyard, where they were received with applause. The approbation was, however, not unanimous ; many of the spectators regretted that applause should be bestowed upon a deed which, while perhaps necessary to prevent greater evils, was repugnant to every lover of liberty. Some field-officers even expressed their displeasure, and shortly afterwards the soldiers would have refused to obey.

The victory was now won, and the business of the moment was to profit by it. The mistake of supposing that by the consent of the majority of the Council of the Five Hundred an appearance of legality could be given to the purposed changes, and the errors of detail that had been committed, had thrown everything out of gear, by rendering the substitution of force for the ordinary progress of a debate necessary. In truth, there existed now only a usurper, and that usurper was Bonaparte. How would he be looked upon by France? To what danger would he not be exposed by that odious appellation?

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* This was a figure of speech. It has since been represented as a reality, and an assertion has been made that a Corsican who happened to be at St. Cloud turned aside the stroke intended for Bonaparte.

In the midst of the general confusion and uncertainty, it occurred to Joseph Bonaparte to assemble the remains of the Council of the Five Hundred, and, with the aid of that mutilated body, to carry out the measures which they had intended to adopt in the complete Assembly in the morning. At nine in the evening about fifty members of the Five Hundred assembled; this fraction was called the majority of the Council. The same thing was done with respect to the Council of Ancients, and that mutilated Assembly passed the decrees, that were published the next day, for the suppression of the Councils, the abolition of the Directory, and the creation of three Consuls.

When we compare this account with those contained in the *Moniteur* and the newspapers of the day, we see how the truth was distorted in official publications, and we also understand the motives of that distortion. We are struck, above all, with the small share taken by Bonaparte in the events of a day which founded his immense power. Although the truth was known to numerous eye-witnesses, and suspected by many others, by the time of my arrival in Paris success had justified the means. The contempt into which the Directory had sunk, the fear of falling once more under the rule of the Jacobins, the hopes awakened by Bonaparte's talents and the fame he had acquired, rendered the Parisians very indulgent to the means which had brought about a result from which increased happiness and increased glory were alike expected. Thus I found all the lovers of their country rallying round Bonaparte; crowds flocked to the Luxembourg where he resided; he was looked upon as the well-spring of wealth and honours, and every one tried to approach him.

I saw Bonaparte on 4th Frimaire (Nov. 25). He embraced me cordially, and received me with the same affection he had formerly shown me. I thought his tone in conversation firmer and fuller than before. His naturally strong mind had gained in vigour under the strain of the perilous expedition to Egypt, and he was full of courage. As he knew my opinions, he expressed a firm determination to respect public liberty, but at the same time he insisted on the necessity of creating a stronger magistracy than that which had just been overthrown, and inclined towards all that tended to centralise authority. His manners were less abrupt, and he cultivated a more graceful method of speech, but his impatient nature still made itself felt throughout.

Our conversation turned almost wholly on the new scheme of a Constitution then occupying the Commission, which consisted of a certain number of the members of the Council of the Five Hundred and of the Ancients. It seemed to me that he was far from satisfied with the progress of the deliberations. He considered that the part assigned to him in the Government was not adequate, and he had resolved to impart another direction to the labours of the Commission.

I heard a few days afterwards that the scheme of a Constitution as evolved by Siéyès had not met with the success expected by its author. But this check to his vanity received ample compensation in the riches with which he was loaded. In the distribution of a sum of 600,000 francs (£24,000) that was found in the treasury of the Directory at the moment of its overthrow, Siéyès received 350,000* (£14,000), and Bonaparte, in addition, made him a present of the estate of Crône.† He found consolation in the price paid him for the mutilation of his scheme, of which, nevertheless, I will here subjoin a sketch, procured for me at the time by Regnault de St. Jean-d'Angely. It contains some ideas worth noting.

Five authorities govern the Republic :—

1. The Legislative Authority,
2. The Governing Authority,
3. The Executive Authority,
4. The Administrative Authority, and
5. The Judicial Authority.

I. *The Legislative Authority.*

To compose the Legislative Authority, the territory of the Republic is supposed to be divided into large Communes.‡ One-tenth of their population forms the body of Communal Notables. From among these the Communal Administrators are chosen.

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* This sum was distributed as follows : To Siéyès, 350,000 francs ; to Roger Ducos, 150,000 francs ; and to Lagarde, Secretary-General, 100,000 francs.

† On this subject the poet Lebrun made the following epigram :

> "Siéyès à Bonaparte avait promis un trône,
> Sous ses débris brillants voulant l'ensevelir ;
> Bonaparte à Siéyès a fait présent de Crône
> Pour le payer et l'avilir."

‡ These Communes were much the same as the Sub-Prefectures have since been.

Four of these Communes form a Department. The tenth of the Notables of four united Communes form the Notables of the Department. From among these the Administrators of the Department are taken. Lastly, the Notables of the Departments, gathered together and reduced to a tenth, furnish the Notables of the nation. They elect the Legislative Power from among the Notables only.

The Legislative Power is composed of two Chambers, one called the Senate, the other the Tribunate.

Neither of the two Chambers debates. When the Consuls propose a law, they may send to the Tribunate three of their State Councillors, who discuss the project in presence of the Assembly, with three Tribunes previously appointed by the Assembly. After the discussion, the Tribunate pronounces. The law is then sent up to the Senate, before whom it is again discussed by the three Councillors of State and the three Tribunes. The Senate by secret ballot accepts or rejects the proposed law.

II. *The Governing Authority.*

The Governing Authority is composed of two Consuls, one for the Interior, the other for the Exterior. They have a Council of State, whose members they appoint.

The Interior comprises everything connected with the administration of the country ; finance, taxes, trade, public instruction, economy, &c.

The Exterior comprises the army, the navy, and political matters.

The Consuls are appointed by a Magistrate called the Grand Elector, who may dismiss them at pleasure.

The Grand Elector has no other action upon the Government than the appointment and dismissal of the Consuls. But he is surrounded with great splendour. He is the head of a body of magistrates known by the name of Conservators, and is appointed by them, as will be seen hereafter.

These Conservators, a hundred in number, are chosen from the wealthiest classes of society. Each must have an income of 100,000 francs (£4000) drawn from a landed estate. They have a guard and great honorary rights.

Among the hundred Conservators, twenty places are to be kept vacant. They are intended as the means of withdrawing from the Tribunate and the Senate any individual who either by his ambition or his talent might be dangerous to liberty, and likely to overthrow the order of things. Those members of the two Chambers, who might thus by a kind of ostracism be called into the body of Conservators may refuse to join it, but they are allowed no other alternative; from that moment their legislative functions have ceased.

The Grand Elector is appointed for life. He is balloted for by the Conservators.

Six ballots are taken during the first year, independently of that one which will have brought about the first nomination. These six ballots are secret, and deposited in a closed urn. Every year the body of Conservators will hold a fresh ballot, and one of the former ballots will be annulled, so that there will never be more than six. These six ballots in constant existence serve for the nomination of a new Grand Elector in case of death, or in case he should be recalled to the rank of a simple Conservator, by the joint will of the body of Conservators.

III. *The Executive Authority.*

The Executive Authority is entrusted to the Ministers of the Interior and of the Exterior, dependent on the Consuls of the Interior and of the Exterior.

There are six Ministers of the Interior and four of the Exterior.

For the Interior: Ministers of Justice, of Police, of Finance, of the Public Treasury, of Internal Administration and Public Works, and of Commerce.

For the Exterior: Ministers of War, of the Navy, of Exterior Relations, and of the Colonies. Under the latter heading are comprised not only the Colonies properly so called, but conquered territories, and the Departments as a whole. Each Minister has a special delegate in each Department.

IV. *The Administrative Authority.*

The Administrative Authority comprises the administration of the Departments, the Communes, and the Municipalities. It regulates the distribution and the collection of the public taxes.

V. *The Judicial Authority.*

The Tribunals and Courts of Justice . . . .

Such was the scheme presented by Siéyès to the Commission entrusted with the task of drawing up a new Constitution. It was easy to predict its fate. It is a metaphysical day-dream, a sort of machine ready wound up, which supposes in mankind an entire absence of passions and will. How can we conceive of a Grand Elector contenting himself with the simple part assigned to him, concerning himself not at all in public administration, and of two Consuls who might be dismissed by a magistrate necessarily incapable of judging of their conduct and their intentions, since he was never to be allowed to know them? The six urns containing the votes, of which a portion was each year to be annulled and renewed in order to avoid the introduction of the hereditary principle or the intrigues of an election, were but a way of evading the difficulty without solving it, and had, moreover, the grave disadvantage of being open to ridicule—and in France nothing can stand against ridicule.

The practical impossibility of this scheme struck every one. Bonaparte, who was destined for the post of Grand Elector, was not the man to content himself with such a part. That of Consul would have suited him no better. Never would he have consented to depend on the will or the caprice of another. He craved for real power, not its outward show; he knew well that were authority once in his hands, the outward show would not long be wanting.

So soon as the rejection of Siéyès' plan was decided upon, it became necessary to substitute another in its place, and the Constitution of the year VIII., as it was called, was adopted. But it was unfortunate that the Commissioners worked on the canvas of Siéyès. Their labours bore in every part the impress of the original design and of the influence exercised over them by the victor of the 18th Brumaire. A First Consul was substituted for the Grand Elector, a Senate for the Body of Conservators, and the worst part of the scheme, that which condemned the Legislative Body to absolute silence, was retained. From this fatal device may be dated the overthrow of those barriers which might have saved France from invasion by despotism.

The shallowness of the French character on the one hand, and on the other the fear of again falling under the yoke of the Jacobins, from which the new "social act" and the well-known character of Bonaparte guaranteed the nation, caused this Constitution, however imperfect and however dangerous to public liberty, to be adopted with joyful eagerness. It was debated, resolved on, and presented for the sanction of the people in less than six weeks, and in Nivôse, year VIII. (January 1800), all the new institutions were at work. Bonaparte, First Consul, was residing with Lebrun, Third Consul, at the Tuileries; and Cambacérès, Second Consul, was occupying a house on the Place du Carrousel.

The establishment of the Constitution of year VIII. opened a new career to me. After having for two months filled the place of

Secretary-General for War, I was appointed a member of the Tribunate, and was present at the first sitting of that body, which took place on the 11th Nivôse (January 1).

The Tribunate was the sole guarantee of public liberty, and it had escaped almost miraculously from the sweeping reduction of the representative system. It was the organised opposition, and the lawful adversary of the Government. But the more this opposition might, in time, become tutelary, the more did it need prudence and moderation to gain the public confidence. Now, at the time of the establishment of the Tribunate, the nation was weary of deliberative assemblies, of tribunal discourses and discussions, and eager for a strong government. A powerful one was indeed necessary to hold in check the monarchical party, which had not been entirely destroyed by the 18th Fructidor, and the Jacobin party, which had revived a few months before under the auspices of the Riding-School Club, and those of Bernadotte and Jourdan.* Public opinion was then clearly in favour of the Government; the Opposition would at first be looked upon as serving the one or the other of these two parties, and not as a wholesome tempering of the governing power and its excesses. But the Tribunate, although it comprised many very enlightened and well-meaning men, had not been so composed that it could adopt that prudent and premeditated course of action which alone could lead to this desirable end. The greater number of the members had been taken from the Councils of the Ancients and of the Five Hundred,† and the remembrance of the day of Saint-Cloud, and of the injury sustained by the national representatives, was still fresh in their minds, and turned them naturally against the author of those insults. Among the new members (and I designate under that name those who, like myself, had not belonged to any Legislative Assembly) there was a desire for distinction and fame, and this led some of them astray; nevertheless, moderate ideas generally prevailed, and wise men recognised the danger of beginning by a contest with the Government, in which the public would have sided with the latter. They felt that time alone could strengthen the Tribunate, and that it was only by remaining silent for the present that they could one day acquire the right to speak, and to make themselves heard.

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* General Jourdan, as a member of the Council of the Five Hundred, had taken a very active part on the 13th Prairial, when three members of the Directory had been set aside, and he had also opposed the 18th Brumaire. He was among those members of the Council struck out on the 19th Brumaire.

† Out of one hundred members of the Tribunal, no less than sixty-nine had belonged to one or the other of these two Councils.

No efforts of the moderate party of the Tribunate could, however, prevent the blunders which signalised the opening of its political career. At the first sitting, Duveyrier made a speech in which he invited the Assembly to remember the locality in which it was sitting,* and reminded it that within those very walls the Revolution had first seen the light; he besought it to draw from that recollection the energy requisite to oppose Tyranny, should it again raise its head. This invocation, which seemed to justify the excesses of 1789, and to forebode others, was ill-received, and excited suspicions as to the spirit which the Tribunate might develop; and the attack, which was inconsiderate rather than dangerous, was speedily followed by a more serious one, by which the Government seemed to be much more alarmed. The Consuls had just sent up to the Tribunate the project of law for the regulation of the relations between them and the Legislative Body, with regard to the mode of presentation of projects of law, and the time to be accorded to the Tribunate for pronouncing its rejection or adoption of them.

The Commissioners to whom the enquiry into this proposition had been entrusted, and of whom I was one, were in favour of its adoption, although we had perceived that the Government reserved to itself certain advantages which tended to augment its own influence. But, on the one hand, the objection to conferring on the Tribunate the monstrous privilege of paralysing every political measure, by allowing it to defer deliberation on projects of law at its pleasure, and on the other, the necessity of deciding as soon as possible a difficult point which ought to be regulated before any other, had prevailed with the Commissioners, and a favourable report was presented.

A debate had begun on this report, when, in the sitting of 15th Nivôse (January 5), Benjamin Constant made a speech, in which he pointed out all the defects of the project, did not spare the Government with whom it originated, and cast a portion of the blame upon its head.

The next day Riouffe replied to Benjamin Constant, and went to the opposite extreme. His speech contained a pompous panegyric of the First Consul, couched in language so exaggerated that the orator was interrupted and recalled to the question. Benjamin Constant's attack and Riouffe's clumsy defence greatly displeased the First Consul, and when I saw him, on business, a few days later, I found him very angry. I tried in vain to allay his irritation by apologizing for Benjamin Constant, whose remarkable abilities, which might be so useful in public affairs and also to the

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* The Palais Royal, which then took the name of Palais du Tribunal.

Government, deserved consideration. He would not listen to me. "My enemies," he repeated several times, "my enemies deserve nothing from me but steel." And in fact from that moment he took a dislike to the celebrated orator, whose fame was but increased by persecution, and was not reconciled with him until fifteen years later, on returning from Elba. But Riouffe's mishap did not injure him, and the First Consul, by appointing him to one of the best Prefectures in France, that of Dijon, proved that in the matter of praise, excess, even when clumsy, is never an unpardonable offence in the eyes of a great man.

Thus from the very beginning of the Constitution of year VIII. germs of dissension between the two powers which were intended to balance each other betrayed themselves. The Tribunate, by its premature attack on the Government, lost at the onset the favour of the public, who looked upon it only as the remnant of the former Legislative Assemblies, inheriting some of the same spirit which had so often misled those Assemblies, and threatening the continuation of a revolution of which every one was sick. The Government, on the contrary, gained in authority all that its opponent lost. The farther it diverged from democratic practices, the nearer it approached to those of a monarchy, so much the better did it please the people, and so much the greater was the influence it acquired. The First Consul, actuated by his secret views and his love of power, was perfectly ready to take advantage of the popular tendency. He diverged from Republican manners by small degrees, imperceptible at first, but becoming every day more marked. From the first, he had held himself apart from the other Consuls. Many of the acts of the Government bore his name only. Very soon the palace in which he dwelt assumed a different aspect. It had been open at first to all the great public officials ; but afterwards access was denied them ; formalities were required to obtain an audience ; a ceremonious etiquette was introduced ; and if there were any murmurs at this, the desire to gain access to a magistrate who was the source of all favour, and whose power increased daily, made people submit to it with a tolerably good grace. And then, no sooner had the men who lie in wait for the weaknesses of governments, to turn them to profit, perceived the First Consul's taste for show and the pleasures of vanity, than they hastened to applaud and encourage that taste. "Nothing," they told him, "is more congenial to the tastes of the French, who always like the governing power to be surrounded with pomp and splendour. The Revolution did violence to those tastes, but it has not eradicated them, and they will revive naturally on all sides." Bonaparte therefore found us ready to submit to these innovations ; we anticipated his wishes, and so soon as he desired to have a Court, courtiers were forthcoming.

For my own part, I perceived, even at the commencement of the new order of things, that the scene was being shifted. I had hitherto been on those familiar terms with the First Consul which were kept up by the remembrance of our former association in Italy. But this state of things did not last long. I only saw Bonaparte, thenceforth, at long intervals, and the sort of familiarity that had subsisted between us gradually subsided.

It must not, however, be supposed that, absorbed in the delights which the flexibility of the French character so easily accorded to him, he neglected public business. His indefatigable activity was more than ever apparent. He obtained nearly every law he asked for, from the Legislative Body, and the most important one of all, that which abolished the administration of Departments, and substituted the establishment of Prefectures, was adopted on the report of Dannou.* This law, by concentrating the administrative authority in the hands of Prefects and Sub-Prefects appointed by the Head of the Government, in reality destroyed the Republican system. Police, Finance, and Administration passed away from the delegates of the people, to agents appointed by the Government, and who might be dismissed at pleasure. The Government must henceforth be served in all things, by all who desired to retain brilliant or lucrative posts. So well has the institution of Prefectures served the reigning power that it has outlived all others and held its place in every Government that has subsisted since that time.

The triumphs of the First Consul were, however, occasionally disturbed by difficulties at home and abroad, by rumours of conspiracy and the fear of fresh outbreaks of war. The apprehension caused by the rumours of conspiracy was more affected than real; yet it is difficult to believe that those rumours were entirely unfounded. Bernadotte and even Lucien Bonaparte were said to be at the head of the alleged conspiracy. The inordinate self-love of the former, who through Joseph Bonaparte's influence had been appointed Councillor of State, although he had openly proclaimed himself against the 18th Brumaire, rendered it not unlikely that he would yield to the persuasions of the Jacobins, who always regarded him as their staunchest supporter. He was not dangerous in himself, but he might become so during a disturbance, as the instrument of others. As for Lucien Bonaparte, who was Minister of the Interior, it is true that his immoral policy, the absence of public honesty in his administration, the shameful extortions and insatiable cupidity of his officials, did much injury to his brother's government, but is the story of his projects and his desire to put himself at the head of the malcontents credible? At that time he had nothing more to wish for than what he had already obtained, and he greatly deceived himself if he imagined that his name alone would carry sufficient weight to enable him to play an isolated part.

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* This law dates from 28th Pluviôse, year VIII. (February 17, 1800). It was partly the work of Roederer.

The rumours of conspiracy, although there was but slight foundation for them, were used as a pretext for various arbitrary measures. Several newspapers, whose too liberal tone was displeasing the Government, were suppressed.* Exile and banishment were said to be destined for such men as Raisson, Vatar, and others, who during the Revolution had been remarkable for their opinions, and who were regarded as the leaders of the Jacobin party. They were ordered to leave Paris. Madame de Stael also was threatened. She was the patron of Benjamin Constant, who had declared himself so openly against the First Consul as to involve his friend in his disgrace. Fouché, at the head of the Police, seconded with marvellous zeal and sagacity the tendencies of the Chief of the Government, for whom he professed at that time indefatigable and boundless devotion; and his former friends, although he privately protected them, were not apparently spared more than the rest. An angry scene took place at this time (18th Germinal) between Fouché and Lucien Bonaparte, in the presence of the First Consul. The quarrel began by an allusion to the alleged conspiracy, sharp words were exchanged, and Fouché went so far as to say: "I would arrest the Minister of the Interior himself, if I knew that he was conspiring." In consequence of this altercation, which increased the First Consul's confidence in Fouché, the question of removing Lucien from the Ministry was mooted, and his dismissal was talked of publicly. But the services he had rendered on the 19th Brumaire were still too recent for this extreme step to be ventured on. The First Consul would have been thought ungrateful, and the matter was adjourned. Nevertheless, the differences between the two brothers, which soon afterwards became manifest, date from that period, and ended in enmity which kept them long apart, and which was scarcely extinguished even by the reverses which afterwards befell the Bonaparte family.

It was at this epoch also that Bonaparte established that system of fusion among the various parties of which he availed himself so skilfully, and which became the foundation stone of his power. With the utmost sagacity he sought out men of talent, whom he employed wheresoever he found them. Equally inimical to the partisans of the ancient dynasty, to the Jacobins, and even to those who afterwards bore the name of *Liberals*, he took all his agents indifferently from among those three classes. Prefects, judges, administrators, and financiers, were all drawn from them. There was great discontent. The authors of, and actors in, the events of the 18th Brumaire, who thought they had an exclusive right to those appointments, felt injured at having to divide them with men whom they had beaten. It was therefore with extreme disgust that they saw M. Dufrêne, an avowed Royalist, entrusted with the Public Treasury, although his honesty and ability justified the selection, Carnot placed at the head of the War Office, and Merlin (of Douai) appointed Assistant to the Government Commissioner in the Court of Appeal. The two first appointments were indeed approved by all impartial men ; but the last excited universal discontent. The appointment of the framer of "the law of the Suspected" to functions so high, and which might so greatly influence the honour and the fortunes, nay, even the lives of citizens, justly alarmed the whole community.* Other nominations, to less important posts, gave as little satisfaction, and, to use the expression of M. de Ségur, it was hard to reconcile oneself to the Government's "sprinkling Jacobins all over the public service." But the First Consul soared above these timid scruples, and the sequel has shown he was right, so long at least as Fortune was favourable to him. He thus smoothed down all the political asperities of France, rendered those whom he selected from each class "suspect" by it, and so weakened them all. Lastly, by, as it were, casting into the same mould all the men whom he called to the conduct of affairs, he made them willing subordinates, vying with each other in devotion to himself, and ready to execute, without discussion, all he might require of them ; but at the same time he fitted them for the service of his own power only. When authority passed into other hands they followed it, and became the most docile instruments of the ruin of him who had indeed elevated, but had then so trained them as to destroy every noble sentiment.

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* The newspapers suppressed on 18th Germinal (April 7), and re-established since then, were three in number—the "Journal des Hommes libres," the "Bien Informe," and the "Journal des Défenseurs de la Patrie."

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* It would seem that gratitude had something to do with this appointment. It was Merlin, a member of the Directory, who, on 30th Prairial, year VII., proposed the recall of Bonaparte, then in Egypt. A decree sanctioning the proposition had even been passed, but it was not sent. The Bonaparte family contrived to procure a duplicate of this decree, and despatched it to Egypt, as I have related above.

CHAPTER X.

The peace negotiations with Austria are broken off, and a renewal of hostilities is decided upon—The First Consul endeavours to make the people believe in his attachment to the Constitution and to reassure the friends of Liberty—He leaves Paris, to take command of the Army—His victories—The state of feeling in Paris after the departure of the First Consul—Rumours of changes to be made in the Constitution in favour of the power of the First Consul, and for the purpose of introducing the principle of hereditary succession—Discussion on the consequences of the possible death of the First Consul—The news of the victory of Marengo cuts this short, and throws Paris into transports of joy—Great position of the First Consul—His return to Paris—Negotiations for peace are opened with Austria—The dispositions of the belligerent parties—The real designs of the First Consul more and more clearly revealed—His solicitude to gain the affection of the army—Arbitrary condemnation of General Latour-Foissac—Modification of laws concerning the "*émigrés*"—Manifestation of the sentiments of the First Consul on religious matters—Steps are taken to bring about an understanding with the Pope—The hereditary idea makes progress in the public mind—The palace of Saint-Cloud is placed at the disposal of the Government—Great influence of Cambacérès and Talleyrand over the First Consul—The Author is named Councillor of State.

The establishment of the system adopted by the Government did not depend entirely on its adroitness or on our weakness—fresh victories were necessary to restore to Bonaparte the éclat which had been dimmed rather than increased by the expedition to Egypt, and to the national glory, which only could blind it and conceal the fetters that were being forged for it to wear. War had become necessary, and its success was imperative. By means of war, good fortune and his ability would combine to establish the authority of the conqueror, and the last of our liberties might be buried under his laurels.

Up to the present month of Germinal, year VIII. (April 1800), negotiations for peace had been carried on with Austria, less in the hope of coming to a satisfactory conclusion, than with a view to gaining time for the preparation of another campaign.

At the epoch to which I am now referring, these negotiations had been broken off, and war resolved upon. Berthier had left the ministry and joined the army assembling in the neighbourhood of Dijon, then modestly called the Reserve Army. Bonaparte hesitated, or rather pretended to hesitate, about leaving Paris. In a conversation which I had with him on the 6th Germinal, he assured me he had no intention of going far from Paris, and that if he left the capital for the moment, it would be merely to hold a review, after which he would return. "I don't mean," he said, "to act the General." I said all I could to confirm him in that resolution; but I soon perceived it to be a feigned one, and that he had really determined upon an opposite course. The First Consul felt his own presence necessary to ensure the success of a difficult campaign, and, above all, he would not leave its laurels to be reaped by any other person. In this conversation, as well as in two other interviews that I had with him, on the 8th and 29th Germinal respectively, he was emphatic in asserting his adherence to the new institutions, and said all he could to reassure me respecting the plans which he had disclosed to me in Italy, and which he now wished me to believe he had abandoned. And, in fact, he almost persuaded me. Besides, how could I imagine his ambition unsatisfied, with the power he had already attained, and which was guaranteed to him by a Constitution cut out, so to speak, by himself.

"There are only three ways," he said, "of placing oneself at the head of a nation: by birth, by right of conquest, and by an avowed and recognised government. It is not to birth that I owe the place I occupy; I would not wish to appear to owe it to conquest; a Constitution, only, can secure it to me; and I am nothing if that Constitution which has given me my place be not maintained. It can never be for my interest, then, that it should be altered, or that its course should not have all possible liberty. Let the Tribunate continue to sit, otherwise it will be thought that the Government dreads its permanency, or that its existence is immaterial to the actual order of things: this belief would undermine the foundation of the Constitution that rules us, and which alone can maintain me in my position."*

He still held these sentiments, or at least chose to renew the expression of them, in an interview with me which took place on the 26th Germinal. Our conversation turned particularly upon the selection to be made of members for the Tribunate, to replace those who had accepted prefectures. He seemed desirous that choice should be made of persons with oratorical pretensions rather than men of ordinary abilities, who would be merely useful in the discussion of laws, and committee work. Considering the annoyance he had felt at the speeches of Duveyrier and Benjamin Constant from the very first sittings of the Tribunate, I was astonished to hear him express such an opinion, and I reminded him how, at the time, he and all right-thinking men had disapproved of the Tribunate's falling into the ways of preceding Legislative Assemblies, and letting itself be carried away by declamation. "You are right," he replied, "as regards ordinary times. But circumstances may arise, in which it is absolutely necessary, to save the *res publicæ,* that the Tribunal should be enabled to display energy and vigour which can only be manifested by men who are in the habit of speaking from the Tribune, although those qualities themselves may be possessed by many of its members. Besides," added he gravely, "as a Republican, one ought to foresee everything; the case, for instance, of my own death." This reflection, uttered either spontaneously, or with design, made a strong impression on me, and the dark uncertain future that would follow such an event struck me very forcibly. "I have not dared," I replied, "to contemplate for a moment such a situation, and cannot therefore tell what I should think it expedient to do in such a case, nor how we ought to act." "It is nevertheless necessary," said the First Consul, smiling, "to think seriously about it."

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* There had been some talk of adjourning the Tribunate after the session of the Legislative Body, but I, with many of my colleagues, had been of opinion that it ought to continue to exercise its functions, even during the vacations of the Legislative Body.

By talking in this style to all who approached him, he endeavoured to reassure the numerous friends of liberty who had begun to grow alarmed, and also to create a sombre idea of the danger France would incur in the event of his death. It pleased him to attribute his success to his good fortune. The ideas of fatalism and predestination that he had introduced into his proclamations in Egypt, he now endeavoured to spread around him in France, and, believing in them himself, he wanted to make others believe in them. "Cæsar," he said to some persons who were with him on the 9th Floréal (April 29), "was right to cite his good fortune, and to appear to believe in it. That is a means of acting on the imagination of others without offending anyone's self-love." On the same day he said, speaking to Gallois and Volney, "Why should France fear my ambition? I am but a Magistrate of the Republic. I merely act upon the imagination of the nation; when that fails me, I shall be nothing, and another will succeed me."

In the meantime the army collected under the walls of Dijon began to march, and advanced by the Rhone Valley. Every preparation was made for the campaign; only the chief who was to lead it was wanting, and he did not tarry long. Bonaparte left Paris on the morning of the 16th Floréal (May 6).

I will not follow him through this extraordinary campaign, which for boldness and success surpasses all that imagination can picture, and which has been described and commented upon a hundred times. As I was not an eye-witness, and as I desire in these memoirs to speak only of what I have myself seen and heard, I shall simply relate what was taking place in Paris, while the most audacious of military enterprises was deciding our destinies.

The departure of the First Consul, which produced a general sensation in Paris, was regarded in different lights, according to various opinions. His enemies—their number increased every day—hoped he might meet with reverses, and flattered themselves that defeat would wrest his power from him ; but they kept silence while awaiting the issue of the campaign. His partisans, who were confident of success, did not doubt but that victory would increase his authority, and thinking already to share it, or turn it to the profit of their ambition and their vanity, they openly announced a project for changing the Constitution in favour of more personal power, and introducing the Hereditary Principle. These rumours at first seemed to have been purposely spread from mere malevolence, and I wrote of them in my notes of the 23d Floréal (May 13), only eight days after the departure of the First Consul for the army, as follows :

"No one seems to doubt that the sole object of these rumours is to bring disfavour and cast ridicule on Bonaparte and his family ; but I, who know the man and his projects ; I, who know that no name would frighten him, attach more importance to them, and I think the question merits serious discussion in our Society.* On discussing it, we were led to the conclusion that, considering the actual state of public opinion, it would not be surprising were such an innovation attempted with success, and that if the idea had originated with Bonaparte—as I was inclined to believe—it would immediately be well received, and neither devisers nor makers of Constitutions, who would undertake to demonstrate that it is compatible with a system of democratic government, would be wanting ; for it is marvellous, now-a-days, how we contrive to change things while still retaining their former names.

"I think it well, therefore, for the guidance of my memory, to note down in this place the fundamental points of the plan as it has been expounded to me. In them there will be found a tolerably exact imitation of the English svstem of government. They include :

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* This Society, which met on the 3d of each decade, was composed of the Senators Cabanis, Lenoir-Laroche, and Garat, and of the Tribunes Adet, Girardin Béranger, Lebreton, Gallois, and myself.

"A First Magistrate, who is to retain the title of Consul, or will take another. This is of no importance. The dignity to be hereditary in his family.

"A Senate, or Upper Chamber, composed of the present Senators, and in part of some members of the minority of the nobles at the States-General. Their dignity to be likewise for life and hereditary.

"A Legislative Body, or Chamber of Commons, in which the Tribunate and the existing Legislative Body will be merged, but whose members shall be elective and removable.

"Such are the materials of the fifth Constitution which awaits us. And who shall venture to say that all this will not take place? Not I, for one. I have become credulous in the matter of Constitutions, and, in truth, the distance is less between that of to-day and the proposed change, than between the Government in existence before the 18th Brumaire and that which succeeded it?"

It is, then, evident that the plans which have since been realised date much farther back than the epoch at which they were openly proclaimed; and the first glimpses of those plans afforded to the public, far from being the result of malice, were, on the contrary, a skilful move in the game: the rumours were set afloat to accustom Republican ears in good time to the detested word "heredity." But, although the moment to establish this new system had not yet arrived, and in 1800 it might still be looked upon as purely speculative, there was connected with it another question far more pressing, and of the actual hour. This question had been raised by the First Consul himself, a few days before leaving Paris, and it occupied every mind. "What is to be done in the event of Bonaparte's death? Who is to succeed him?"

The solution of this question could not be a matter of indifference to any party. Friends and enemies of Bonaparte, Republicans and Royalists, all were concerned in it, and all those who possessed any influence discussed it urgently. I myself did not abstain from the general topic. My association with Joseph Bonaparte had become more and more intimate. The gentleness of his nature, his kind heart, the value he placed upon true friendship, had gained him my affection at a moment when I little suspected the influence which that feeling was destined to exercise over my future life. I had left Paris on the 29th Floréal (May 19), to pass a few days on the beautiful estate of Morfontaine, where Joseph Bonaparte then lived, and which he was occupied in improving. There our conversations turned most frequently on the political situation. Joseph had just been named Councillor of State, and I had imagined that the principal object of this nomination was to secure greater influence over the deliberations of that body to the First Consul. "You are mistaken," said Joseph; "my brother had no need to place me in the State Council for any such purpose; the devotion of all its members to him is so thorough, that there is nothing more to be desired in that respect. But I am obliged to look to the future, and calculate on the possible misfortune of the General's death. Since I am no longer allowed to be 'nobody,' since, on account of the name I bear, I may not live in the retirement which I should have greatly preferred, I have thought it well to become 'somebody' in case so great a misfortune should befall us, and to secure beforehand that influence of which I and my family will have so much need."

This led us to speak of the consequences that might ensue on the event in question: "My brother," continued Joseph Bonaparte, "thinks he ought not to be succeeded by a soldier. 'It requires, as it is,' he says, 'very great tact to control the crowd of generals, full of impatience and overweening pride, who aspire to the brilliant post that I occupy. Where is the man, who, if I were gone, could keep down all these conflicting passions? Mind, I tell you, if I die before the actual order of things has been consolidated by a two years' existence, you will have another Convention after my death.'"

This statement, while giving me much to think of, was but a prelude to the following, made to me during an interview, in which we entered more at length into this question.

Girardin, my colleague in the Tribunate, was also at Morfontaine, and a discussion on the subject which so deeply interested us, took place between him, Joseph Bonaparte and myself, on the 11th Prairial (May 31).

Joseph Bonaparte began by asking us whether we knew that a meeting of the partisans of Siéyès had taken place.

On our reply in the negative, he gave us the following details:

"The members of the two Legislative Commissions which succeeded the national representation, broken up by the events of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, reassembled a few days ago, with the exception of Boulay (of the Meurthe), Lucien Bonaparte, and several other members who were not summoned. The question for discussion was: What should be done if Bonaparte were to fall at the head of the army he commands, and which from the moment it crosses the Alps is in reality in the field?

"In order to define the situation in which they would then be placed, the meeting assumed the event to have actually taken place, and the news to have just reached them. What course was to be taken?

"All began by agreeing that the Constitution ought to be upheld; and as the maintenance of the actual order of things gave to every one of them a position of prosperity such as they could not reasonably hope for from a change, they took that as the basis of the discussion. The ground was therefore narrowed to the choice of a successor to Bonaparte.

"Several candidates were proposed in turn. Moreau was the first mentioned, but his name was not favourably received. He had, it is true, great military ability in his favour. At that moment he was victorious, and could perhaps as easily as Bonaparte command peace by his victories; but what guarantee did he offer to those who had composed the Convention and voted the death of the King? He was a patriot of more than dubious principles and conduct: he was suspected of connivance with Pichegru on the 18th Brumaire; he might, at the first shock of events, betray the interests confided to him, treat with Foreign Powers, or even play the part of Monk, a sufficiently tempting *rôle* to a man of his character, and one which seemed to accord better than any other with the vacillation of opinion he had hitherto manifested.

"Brune was next named; but a multitude of objections of an opposite nature were raised against him. As an accomplice of the revolutionary excesses he could only rally round him the remains of a party which had become odious to the sounder sense of the nation.

"Both one and the other were therefore set aside by motives which, though differing in origin, had the same cause; the fear of a disadvantageous result for those who were discussing the matter.

"Finally, Carnot was proposed, and it seems that every one was already so well disposed in his favour that the proposition was not so much debated as supported by every argument that the meeting could adduce in his favour. Carnot, they said, had voted the death of the King; in that vote the partisans of Siéyès possessed a sufficient safeguard for themselves. He had been deported on the 18th Fructidor; therefore all the moderate party rallied round him. He enjoyed a great reputation for military capacity; the army would be glad that he should be at the head of the Government. Moreau, whose friend he was, whom he had called the Fabius of France, would answer for the troops under his command, and would counterbalance the wrath of the army of Italy and of the Bonapartists. Lastly, he had supported the Jacobins after the 9th Thermidor, and made common cause with Barrère Collot, and Billaud-Varennes; thus their partisans would attach themselves to him. So much reciprocal suitability, so many pledges given to all parties, placed Carnot in a unique position. His elevation to power would be a security for all, without being alarming to any.

"Echasseriaux,* in particular, supported this proposal. Others spoke at greater or less length, and finally the opinions of all, doubtless formed before the meeting, were brought into unanimity, It was agreed that another meeting should be held, and it was even proposed that Lucien Bonaparte should be invited to the second conference. They owed him great obligations ; he alone, in the new order of things, had upheld the Patriotic party ; it was he who by his influence had placed its members in the posts attached to the Ministry of the Interior, and who defended them daily against reiterated attacks. He was not like his brother Joseph, who under a feigned moderation, an apparent incapacity, hid a fiery soul and a boundless ambition. It seems, however, that the meeting broke up without any decision on this last point having been come to."

Such was the account Joseph Bonaparte gave us, and on its conclusion he seemed to expect that we should express our opinions respecting it. Girardin and I were little prepared for such a confidence. As, however, we were agreed in principle, we jointly endeavoured to show Joseph Bonaparte how greatly that proposal, which, according to the account he had given us of the meeting, had been the most favourably received there, was opposed to his own interests ; especially as it had been made unknown to him, and apparently without any apprehension that his family might oppose it, or any idea that his consent was needful to ensure its success.

"Carnot," we said, "was indeed the enemy of Siéyès, and in that respect offered some advantage to the Bonapartes, but was it to be supposed that he would not conceal or even renounce that enmity from the moment that so brilliant an inheritance was in question ? was it, above all, to be believed, that, having attained such an elevation, Carnot would permit the inheritors of the name of Bonaparte, the only men whom he had cause to fear in the career open to him, to retain influence ? Moreover, the differences which existed between Carnot and the Constitutional party were only individual ; one common principle, the fear of one common danger, united them, and the party of the Convention knew this perfectly well. The Committee of Public Safety was naturally reconstructing itself ; and while doing Carnot the justice to separate him from that Committee in so far as the crimes with which it was reproached under the rule of Robespierre were concerned, it would be going too far to believe that he was a total stranger to them.

"His conduct in the affairs of Billaud and Barrère proved clearly that if he was not bloodthirsty like them, he was at least the apologist of their actions and had tried to justify them by specious arguments. It might, therefore, be feared that if Carnot were in power, he would, perhaps, in spite of himself, bring back the men of the Convention with their principles, an act which would be fatal both to liberty and to the repose of France, just now beginning to breathe freely, relieved from the yoke she had borne too long."

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* A former member of the Council of Five Hundred, now a Tribune.

Objections were indeed plentiful ; but while making them, we knew not whom to propose. The great defect in the Constitution of year VIII. was that it made no provision for replacing the First Magistrates of the Republic, and confined itself to enacting that they should be chosen from the list of Notables of the nation, without indicating either how this list was to be drawn up, nor in what manner the election was to take place. In proportion as we became more and more strongly convinced that our governing institutions offered no possible means of security against the consequences which would follow Bonaparte's death, the future of our country presented itself to our imagination in darker colours.

Our first reflections led us to believe that this defect had been intentional, so designed that the necessity of remedying it must one day be recognised, but that great care would be taken not to remedy it until men's minds had been insensibly led to tolerate, first, Power for Life, a temporary means of putting aside the chances of election, and secondly, Hereditary Power, the simplest means of avoiding danger, and to which the first steps would infallibly lead. We perceived so clearly that this was the end towards which we had travelled without being aware of it, that before the conclusion of the interview, whose principal circumstances I record in this place, we came to the conclusion that the choice of the successor to the First Consul must lie between Moreau, Carnot, and the brothers Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte.

Now it was evident that the two last candidates could only be proposed on account of their name ; this therefore was to acknowledge a privileged family. From that acknowledgment to Hereditary Right was but a step. And yet, at what a moment were these novel ideas put forward ! The younger of the two brothers who were in a position to aspire to this great inheritance, had the greater force of character and political ability, and had already made himself a name in the Revolution, but he had inspired aversion by his immorality ; while the elder was of far superior character, but almost unknown, and had not as yet any hold on public favour. Yet we had to submit to the drawbacks of a system of government vicious in its very essence, and which, being neither a monarchy nor a republic, combined the faults of both, without possessing the decided advantages of either.

Thus all that remained to Girardin and me after our discussion, and the details given us by Joseph Bonaparte, was the certainty that, should the death of the First Consul occur while we were still engaged on these questions, no one could foresee the results of that event, and that it would be impossible to escape from the internal divisions and misfortunes which it would occasion ; but if, on the contrary, Bonaparte returned victorious, and his life was prolonged, the Constitution would be remodelled, and, it was greatly to be feared, not in a sense favourable to liberty.

We did not remain long in doubt. While in Paris all parties were engaged in calculations and projects respecting the entire or divided inheritance of Bonaparte, he was striding on from victory to victory, and the news of the glorious battle of Marengo, which reached Paris on the 2d Messidor (June 20), put all these ideas to flight, and left in their place only a universal sentiment of astonishment and admiration. Never had the national pride been more flattered, never had the hope of national prosperity risen so high, and never was the nation more disposed to gratitude towards the man from whom it then expected to receive the greatest of all benefits, a lasting peace, the fruit of his victories. For two whole days Paris was drunk with joy. The illuminations were general and spontaneous. The Senate and the Tribunate held an extraordinary sitting to receive the messages sent to them from the Consuls officially announcing the great victory, and those messages were welcomed with shouts of applause. Political enmities and discords seemed to be extinguished, and were at least suspended. Every apprehension was allayed, and no one regretted any longer that so much power had been entrusted to a man who used it so nobly. So great, so unexpected a triumph justified everything.

The victory of Marengo placed France in a more favourable position than she had occupied for a long time. Abroad, she had regained her military glory. The Austrian army had demanded and obtained an armistice. Negotiations for a definitive peace were about to open, and if we did not abuse our victory by exaggerated pretensions, a Continental peace was certain. At home, Jacobinism was destroyed, the partisans of the ancient dynasty were overthrown ; liberal ideas began to display themselves openly, and notwithstanding some attempts on the liberty of the press by Lucien Bonaparte, that tutelary guarantee of popular institutions was enabled to hold its own against attack. The public profession of irreligion, and the affectation of a shocking cynicism had disappeared, but the priests, while they were free to exercise their functions, had not yet regained a dangerous influence. No sect had obtained the preference or received a salary from the State. The necessity for a strong government had been felt, but we had not as yet had to blush for a humiliating servitude. Returning confidence had everywhere brought about a revival of credit. Military glory did not as yet weigh upon the citizens, because soldiers and officers were taken indifferently from all the ranks of society, and returned to them without effort. The army belonged to the country, and had to all appearance victoriously served it only ; it had not as yet become the property of the Chief of the State. Science, arts, and letters, began to flourish again, and needed only the establishment of peace to acquire fresh lustre. Public education was based on excellent principles, and, keeping clear of subjects of contention, confined itself to providing the country with enlightened and well-informed citizens. The institution of the Polytechnic School had attained a high degree of perfection. Pupils formed by such men as Monge, Laplace, Lacroix, Fourcroy, and many other celebrated professors, were ready each year for the Artillery, the Engineers, or the Sappers and Miners ; and young *savants*, after a few years of instruction from their masters, took their places by their side as Professors in their turn.

What then was wanting to confirm this prosperity and to afford Europe the spectacle and example of a great regenerated people, enjoying liberty without falling into license, triumphantly led by capable chiefs, but not becoming the slave of those chiefs :—what was wanting for this ? a Washington. If Bonaparte on his victorious return from the field of Marengo had taken that illustrious citizen as his model, what might he not have done for the happiness of France, for his own true glory, and even for the duration of his authority ! No resistance was opposed to him—he could do all he wished. The storm of the revolution had swept his way clear, and violently overthrown every obstacle, the ground was levelled and ready to sustain a solid edifice. All the evil was already done ; and now all that remained was to consign it to oblivion, by the reparation of private misfortunes through the action of wise and humane laws.

But instead of seconding this great impulse, the man on whom our destinies began to depend arrested it. He preferred to lead us back upon the traces of the Past, and, unhappily for France and for himself, he was but too successful, and too well served in that endeavour.

The First Consul reached Paris on the night of the 12th Messidor (June 30), eighteen days after the battle of Marengo. The political bodies of the State, the magistrates, the administrators, in short, all that Paris contained of men distinguished by office or personal position, hastened to congratulate him, and the crowd filled even the vast apartments of the Tuileries. Adulation, praise, and flattery of all sorts were rife; never before in France had a conqueror enjoyed so great a triumph.*

Each tried to outdo his fellow in exalting the man whom he had come to adulate, and in finding obsequious and emphatic expression for the public gratitude; so that the nation, whom these flatterers pretended to represent, seemed to be courting the yoke. Besides, however, the great admiration which so brilliant a victory inspired, it was intolerable that all this rapturous praise should be lavished on the Chief alone, without any mention being made of the army which had so gloriously seconded him.

Amid the torrent of adulation, hardly a word was said of our grief for the blood which the victory had cost us, and for the loss of that brave soldier, General Desaix, called the *Just Sultan* by the Arabs in Egypt, who had fallen on the field of Marengo. In the evening fresh illuminations, more brilliant than before, testified to the public rejoicing.

The First Consul profited very cleverly by the enthusiasm he had inspired, and used to the full, but wisely, the advantage which the suppleness and flexibility of the national character placed in his hand. In the midst of all these demonstrations of devotion to his person, he was perfectly well aware that the most urgent need of France was peace, and that he owed his power in a great measure to the belief that he alone could obtain that boon, and that he also desired it. He therefore seconded the public aspiration with a great appearance of zeal. Joseph Bonaparte, who was to preside over the negotiations, had set out for Milan immediately on receipt of the news of the first successes of the French army. He, however, arrived too late. The march of events had been so rapid that he could not be commissioned to treat for the armistice after the battle of Marengo. Nevertheless, he remained several days at Milan after the departure of his brother, in expectation of some overtures from Austria. The First Consul had written to the Emperor, reminding him how moderate his conduct had been with respect to the House of Austria, during the preliminaries of Leoben and the peace of Campo-Formio. He proposed either to resume the conditions of the latter treaty, without negotiations, and to adopt them anew, or to name a place of meeting where negotiations for their modification might be entered into. In the event of the Emperor's declining both these proposals, the First Consul declared that he would be forced, in order to carry on the war, to give it another direction, and to continue it only with the view of extending the revolution to Germany. Austria having deferred her reply to this overture, Joseph Bonaparte had left Milan, and returned to Paris on the 15th Messidor (July 4). Shortly after his return, he, with the Councillors of State Fleurieu and Rœderer, received instructions to treat with the three Commissioners from the United States, who had just landed in France, for the negotiation of peace between the two nations. We also learned at this period that an armistice had been signed between General Moreau's army and that of General Kray, and that Count St. Julien had arrived in Paris, with powers from the Emperor to treat with the French Government. Joseph Bonaparte, who was at Morfontaine, was summoned to Paris to conduct the negotiations with the Count.

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* The reason is obvious; the General might be praised without any risk of displeasing the Head of the State.

Everything, in fact, seemed to wear a pacific aspect, and the hope of attaining to the desired end of so many struggles and so much bloodshed had restored general good-humour. But, for my own part, I remained only a very short time under a delusion ; I speedily perceived that the conclusion of peace would be again delayed. Count St. Julien had arrived in Paris, persuaded that peace was so absolutely required in the interests of the First Consul and for the maintenance of his authority, that there were no conditions to which the French Government would not accede in order to obtain it. His surprise was great to find the Government far otherwise disposed ; not only would Bonaparte in nowise modify the conditions of the treaty of Campo-Formio, but he was even more exacting. In short, judging from what Joseph Bonaparte said to me in the course of a conversation at Morfontaine on the 12th Thermidor (July 31), I perceived that peace was not desired by the First Consul so strongly as was generally believed ; he was, on the contrary, anxious to persuade France that he desired, rather than in reality to conclude peace. His enterprising genius soared above the present moment. Faithful to the aims he had conceived in Italy, he believed war to be still necessary to him, and ever looking forward to the future, he did not regard himself as having reached the end of the career which the Revolution had opened up to him. "You understand nothing about it," he said to his brother Joseph,* who was speaking to him of the necessity of concluding matters with the American Commissioners ; "you understand nothing about it. In two years' time we shall be masters of the world. If the kings make peace, they are lost ; two years of prosperity to France will destroy their power ; and if they continue the war they are still more surely lost." And then, colouring his political prophecy with that tinge of superstition which he mingled with everything, he continued : "Nothing has yet happened to me that I have not foreseen; I alone am surprised at nothing that I have accomplished. Even so I can also divine the future, and even so I shall reach the end I propose to myself."*

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* I quote the exact words repeated to me by Joseph Bonaparte.

With dispositions such as these on either side, it was not surprising that the negotiations had at first no result. The Count of St. Julien, having concluded nothing, left Paris towards the middle of the month of Thermidor (the beginning of August) on his return to Vienna. But as Austria, who before entering seriously into negotiations, wished to try the chances of a campaign in Germany, was trying to gain time so as to recover from the reverses she had sustained; and as on the other hand the First Consul wished to encourage the hope of peace which was so ardently desired by France; the two Powers agreed to open a Congress at Lunéville and to transfer the negotiations thither. Everything was adjourned until the opening of this Congress, which also had to be put off to the beginning of winter.

While the First Consul thus cleverly averted the disgust which would have been created by a sudden renewal of hostilities, and gratified the national feelings by opening negotiations with the American Commissioners, whose progress, although slow, promised a satisfactory issue, he was giving the Government and the Administration a new direction, which, notwithstanding his carefulness to keep the public mind in a state of indecision, revealed his real intentions. Confident, through the enthusiasm he had inspired, and relieved by the death of Kléber, who was assassinated at Cairo on the 24th of June, 1800,† from the fear of any formidable rival in the army,* he ventured farther than he had hitherto ventured. He appointed Chamberlains for himself, under the name of Prefects of the Palace, and four Ladies of Honour for his wife under a less ambitious designation ; thus making a marked distinction between himself and the other two Consuls. The etiquette of the Tuileries became every day more punctilious, and Republican manners gave place by degrees to those of a monarchy. At the same time the First Consul took all possible pains to acquire the exclusive affection of the army, and to accustom it to look to him only as the rewarder of military services. The Institution of "arms of honour" was wonderfully well adapted to this end. As the First Consul conferred them without consultation with his colleagues, and his signature alone appeared on the warrant, the soldiers soon came to look upon him as their only chief, and as the distributor of all the favours to which they could aspire. The conviction that the fortune of soldiers and officers depended solely on him, was the origin of that absolute devotion to him which the army displayed, a devotion of which he took every possible advantage. Nor did he omit to gratify the military by every kind of favour which tended to distinguish them from other citizens. The greatest honour was paid to the memory of General Desaix ; a public subscription, encouraged by Bonaparte, was opened to defray the cost of a monument, and was responded to as much from a desire to please him as from gratitude for the services of the deceased General. He also took pains to please the army, by causing public honours to be paid to the brave Latour-d'Auvergne, First Grenadier of France, who lost his life on the 9th Thermidor, year VIII. (July 28, 1800), at the battle of Neueburg. But the First Consul also arrogated to himself a more dangerous power, by assuming, together with the right of bestowing favour and honour on the soldiery, that of awarding blame and punishment, a terrible right, which should never be exercised except by a legal tribunal. On the 9th Thermidor, year VII. (July 27, 1799), General Latour-Foissac had surrendered the stronghold of Mantua to the Austrians. Had this capitulation been rendered necessary by the condition of the citadel and the advance of the enemy? This was a question which a military tribunal alone could decide. Bernadotte, at that time Minister, had already summoned a court-martial, and the inculpated General had published a justificatory statement. But the First Consul, instead of waiting for the decision of the Council, took the initiative, and in a simple letter to the Minister of War pronounced sentence on the General without trial or judgment.*

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* These fatalistic notions seem to have been shared more or less by all the family. M. Charles Bonaparte, the father, died at Montpellier, in his thirty-seventh year, of a very long-standing chronic disease. Joseph Bonaparte, who was with him in his last moments, often heard him, when partly delirious from pain, asking for his son Napoleon. "Where is he?" he exclaimed repeatedly. "Where is my son Napoleon? He whose sword will make kings tremble! he who will change the face of Europe! He would defend me from my enemies; he would save my life!" Joseph Bonaparte, who told me this anecdote, added, "I am almost ashamed of what I say to you, and certainly I would say it to no one but yourself. But the thing is certain. There exists moreover another witness to this singular fact; Fesch, my mother's brother. He, as well as I, was present at my father's deathbed, and can confirm what I have just told you."

† The First Consul was at Morfontaine, where he was passing a few days in the month of Fructidor, when the news of this event reached him. It was another of Fortune's favors to him, and Joseph admitted that his brother so considered it. Kléber was the personal enemy of Bonaparte; he could not forgive him for having deserted him in Egypt, and as he was highly esteemed in the army, he would have been, had he returned to France, a serious obstacle in the way of the First Consul.

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* Masséna and Moreau, whose military reputation came next to Bonaparte's, were not in a position to dispute the sovereignty with him. The first was rejected by public opinion for well-known reasons ; the second, from weakness of character, let the moment slip when he might by asserting himself have overturned a power which afterwards was too firmly established for such an attempt.

On the other hand, persevering in the system of fusion that he had adopted, he summoned to the most important functions of the State men of the most opposite opinions and political conduct. Thus, on the same day, Barbé-Marbois, who had been banished on the 18th Fructidor, was called to the Council of State; General Jourdan, who having declared himself against the 18th Brumaire, had been excluded from the Council of the Five Hundred, was appointed Minister Extraordinary in Piedmont,† and Bernier, a former member of the Convention, who had voted for the King's death, and was then a Councillor of State, was appointed President of the Council of Prizes of War. In order to complete the political fusion, the laws relating to the *émigrés* were modified, and the amnesty that had been granted to the Vendeans was extended to the neighbouring departments. Lastly, the First Consul being persuaded that much might be gained from the gratitude of the clergy, and that he might one day make them useful towards the ends he proposed to himself, took an early opportunity of proving that, far from being the enemy of religious feeling, he was disposed to encourage its revival in France. He wrote therefore to the Prefect of La Vendée to send him twelve of the inhabitants of that department, as he wished to have information respecting them, and if there were any priests who could form part of the deputation, to choose them in preference. "For," added he in this remarkable letter, "I love and esteem priests, who are good Frenchmen, and who know how to defend their country against the eternal enemies of the French name, *those wicked heretics, the English.*"‡ This, the first manifestation of Bonaparte's sentiments in matters of religion, excited a lively interest. It was praised by some as a wise stroke of policy, and blamed by others, who at that time were called Ideologists. But neither insidious praise, nor the clamour of philosophy could stay the First Consul.

A few days later (27th Thermidor) I heard from Joseph Bonaparte that his brother was engaged in contriving a reconciliation with the Pope. Overtures in that direction had been made through Mgr. Gardoqui, Auditor of the Rota, for Spain, and had been well received. It was hoped that they would end in an arrangement, in which a kind of *mezzo termine* agreeable to both parties, would be taken. Joseph Bonaparte told me at the same time that, in the event of dealings with Rome, he would be appointed to negotiate and to sign the treaty. "It is essential," the First Consul had said to him a few days previously, "it is essential for you to efface the recollection of what you have done against the Papacy, for you are looked upon as its destroyer.* And as you cannot have the troops for your followers, since you did not embrace a military career, and have not shared in their glory, it is important that you should obtain the support of a powerful party. The only one able to counterbalance the influence of the army is composed in France of the priests and the Catholics. Now you will certainly obtain this result by reconciling the French clergy with the Pope."

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* This letter is in the "Moniteur," of 6th Thermidor.

† General Jourdan on accepting the appointment made a very noble speech. It may be found in the "Moniteur" of 12th Thermidor, year VIII.

‡ See this letter in the "Moniteur" of 8th Thermidor, year VIII.

To these various circumstances which afford some notion of the ideas then occupying the mind of the First Consul, and which he subsequently put into execution, I will add an anecdote relating to the same subject. I had passed the evening of the 3d Thermidor (July 22) at Bonaparte's house, where I had met the celebrated Laplace. A rather long conversation took place between us three, turning more on scientific subjects than on any other. In the midst of this, the First Consul, struck by some reply or some objection of Laplace's, turned towards him and exclaimed: "But, citizen Laplace, you are an atheist."

While the various impulses thus given to public opinion were keeping men's minds continually on the stretch, fresh rumours of a change in the Constitution arose, and although the First Consul, at a State dinner, which he gave at the Tuileries to celebrate the anniversary of the 14th of July, had proposed a toast to "The anniversary of the 14th of July, and to the French people our sovereign!" everything foreboded that this sovereignty of the people, the base of each succeeding constitution since 1789, was approaching its end. In all his confidential intercourse with the members of the Senate and Tribunate, Bonaparte complained that the Constitution did not prescribe any mode of proceeding to the election of a successor to the First Consul. "There is a lacune," he said to Cabanis on the 12th Thermidor, "in the actual social contract which ought to be filled up. If the repose of the State is to be secured, it is indispensable that there should always be a consul-elect. I am the object aimed at by all the Royalists and Jacobins; every day my life is threatened, and the danger will be greater if I am obliged, on recommencing the war, to put myself again at the head of the army. What in that case would be the fate of France, and how can the evils which would be the inevitable result of such an event be averted?"

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* The First Consul is alluding here to events that took place in Rome on 6th Nivôse, year VI. (December 26, 1797), at which time Joseph Bonaparte was Minister of the French Republic.

Twenty days later (1st Fructidor), while I was walking with him in the gardens of Malmaison, he spoke on the same subject, on the occasion of the law which was then before the Council of State for the regulation of the formation of the lists of eligibles for the various public functions, according to the Constitution of year VIII. The framing of this law presented great difficulties, and the strange device of the "Notables," a remnant of Siéyès' plan, appeared to have been introduced into our institutions, only to exhibit the insufficiency of all the methods which were proposed as substitutes for the hereditary principle. The First Consul, however, seemed to be at that time against the hereditary principle, "because," as he said to me, "he regarded it as impossible of establishment without also establishing an intermediate body participating in its advantages, that is, without the revival of a nobility. Such a revival would offend too many opinions, recently formed, and still in their first fervour, for us to be able to attempt it." He wished therefore that for the present "efforts should be restricted to framing the best law possible on the composition of the lists of notability. If the debate which was to take place at the Tribunate should prove its insufficiency, without substituting a more practicable scheme for it, the impossibility of forming these lists would be demonstrated. And so soon as this truth was recognised, it would seem allowable to have recourse to means foreign to the Constitution in order to supply the want. In that case such an innovation would be called for by public opinion instead of being opposed by it."

This, as any one might have seen, was merely hovering about the difficulty, in order to bring the question constantly back to its real aim ; the demonstration of the necessity for the establishment of the hereditary principle. Therefore, in spite of the apparent caution of the First Consul and the scruples he affected, there was little hesitation in promoting what were believed to be his real wishes, and a new Constitution was sketched out, on the bases of heredity, as I have indicated them above only, in order to gain the suffrages of the other two Consuls, that prerogative was extended to their families also. This was a piece of folly, for though the hereditary principle may be admitted in a deliberative body, such as a Chamber of Peers or a Senate, or in a body of nobles, because it transmits merely certain privileges and honorary rights ; it can only exist, as regards the executive power, in the person of one single magistrate, he who is at the head of the Government ; and it is for this reason that the heredity of the executive power of necessity constitutes monarchy. Lastly, the divorce of Bonaparte, and his marriage with one of several princesses who were named, was already spoken of. An infanta of Spain was at first proposed as a bride for the First Consul, but as he replied to Volney, who was jesting with him about that alliance, "If I were thinking of marrying a second time, I should not seek a wife in a house that is falling into ruin." This scheme was abandoned, and a German princess was mentioned. It was observed also that at this time the First Consul gathered together a picked corps, consisting of Grenadiers and Chasseurs (Light Infantry), to form the nucleus of a future guard; that he had appointed Junot Commandant of Paris, and given the command of the Artillery to Marmont, two of his most devoted aides-de-camp. Some political intention was supposed to be hidden under these military measures, but I have ascertained this conjecture to be unfounded. His own personal safety was his only motive, and the plots which were successively laid against the life of the First Consul are sufficient proof that these precautions were not unnecessary.

Moreover, even supposing that he desired to precipitate the changes which he subsequently effected, and which he was too wise to attempt before he had made his peace with the religious party, and gained them over by the re-establishment of the former relations between France and the Pope; supposing this—he would have had no need of staunch and devoted troops in order to carry them out. The country was anxious to anticipate his sovereign power; he was urged to grasp it. There was a universal infatuation; no honours could be too great for the First Consul, no marks of public gratitude could be excessive. Shortly after his return to Paris, the Commune of St. Cloud petitioned the Tribunate that the palace, the gardens, and the domain of St. Cloud should be placed at the disposal of the First Consul. The Tribunate seemed inclined to grant this petition (which was believed to have been suggested), giving it however the character of a national reward by changing the name of the palace from St. Cloud to Marengo, after the example of that which had been done in England for Marlborough after the battle of Blenheim. But the First Consul, whom I saw the day after the petition had been laid before the Tribunate, was opposed to any concession which should be personal to himself. "Not that I think," said he, "that this kind of recompense to the generals and magistrates of a great nation should not be introduced into France, but it seems to me that such a gift, which I should look upon as an honour from the nation, can only be offered me when I shall cease to exercise the functions with which I am now invested. And in truth," he added, "of what use would the gift of St. Cloud be to me at this moment, and how could I have the deed of gift drawn up, since it could only be effected by passing a law, and every proposition of a new law is attributed exclusively to me by the Constitution? Therefore all that can be done is in a general way to place St. Cloud at the disposal of the Government.'' This took place shortly afterwards. But the petition and the sensation produced by it, and the manner in which ideas which were so completely alien to the Republican principles hitherto loudly professed were received, were sufficient indications of the unspoken tendencies of men's minds. Not only *interested* friends of the First Consul were impelling him towards the sovereign power (his true friends and those of France were very far from doing so), but his most dangerous enemies, the partisans of the former dynasty, were also pressing him in the same direction, for they were convinced that if monarchy were but established, they would only have to drive away the parvenu monarch, or, if he could not be thus disposed of, to await his death, in order to give back the throne he had reared again to its former possessors.

Thus in the same way that ten years previously the impulse given to society carried it headlong towards the destruction of all our ancient institutions, and a universal demand for change and innovation prevailed in every quarter, so, in 1800, all those who exercised any influence over the nation tended to make it retrace its steps, and what had been of old was now held up as a model for that which ought to be. Nothing was good but the Past, and as a prelude to its restoration in the forms of government, every former custom was adopted that did not too openly offend against the habits which had been contracted during the course of the Revolution.

Cambacérès and Talleyrand, two persons who began at this time to exercise a great ascendency over the First Consul, because they flattered his inclinations, now entered heartily into his plans, and smoothed the path which he desired to take. Cambacérès made himself answerable for the former members of the Legislative Assembly, and for the magistracy, which by favours and gifts of places in the Government and on the Bench, he trained to retrogression towards the Past; and if a few acceded unwillingly or even refused to be bribed, the greater number forsook without difficulty the principles they had hitherto professed, for the sake of honour and wealth. Talleyrand undertook to bring the nobility to the feet of their new Master, and found his task less difficult than did Cambacérès. Madame Bonaparte's receptions were crowded with nobles and returned *émigrés*. No favour offered by Bonaparte was refused, no employment was disdained, and these gentlemen seemed only to be waiting for the First Consul to ascend the throne in order to resume their own titles and their former functions at the Court of our kings.

Seconded on both sides by this double influence of two such opposite parties, the First Consul maintained his own equilibrium between them, without allowing either to encroach upon the other for a moment. He advanced with increased confidence towards his aim; yet he never neglected the public business, but worked at it with indefatigable ardour. No one had ever so assiduously endeavoured to establish the Administration on such a solid basis as that which he gave to it, and which is still the groundwork, not only of the Administration existing to this day in France, but also of those in other countries which have adopted his system. He enforced the strictest order in the management of the public funds, and if he was at first obliged to shut his eyes to the extortions of Talleyrand, Lucien Bonaparte, Bourrienne, and the rascally subordinates who served under them, he was not unaware of their existence, he repressed them by degrees, and even punished them.

Such was the state of France at the close of year VIII. (September 1800). In the course of that eventful year, the nation had risen from her ruins and reappeared in all her glory on the stage of the world. Abroad, she was regarded with mingled fear and admiration. Europe already felt that her destiny would depend on that of France, and that the destiny of France hung on the extraordinary man who had placed himself at her head. This man, therefore, became the one sole object of every plot and every conspiracy. To beat France on the field of battle was no longer the question; there were too many adverse chances, and the struggle was too formidable; but the destruction of the man who ruled her would once more deliver her up to a state of anarchy which must complete her ruin.

I had watched the course of events closely, and the consequences that I have just deduced from them were clear to my perception. The friendship and confidence of Joseph Bonaparte, my conversations with the First Consul, who was still occasionally accessible to me on account of our former intimacy in Italy, had initiated me into certain secrets, and had enabled me to detect certain hidden meanings unknown to others. Yet I had no place in the Government up to the end of year VIII., and, as a Member of the Tribunate, I was opposed to, rather than associated with, its acts.

My position was about to undergo a change. On the fifth complementary day of that year (September 22), I received a note from Cambacérès, asking me to call on him at eight o'clock in the evening. I went. He had been desired by the First Consul to inform me of his intention to summon me to the Council of

State on the 1st Vendémiaire, and to ask whether this appointment would meet my views.

The new functions which were offered to me were more in accordance with my tastes and habits than those I should have to relinquish. I accepted with eagerness.

Five other Councillors of State were appointed at the same time as I. General Gouvion-St.-Cyr to the War Section; Portalis and Thibandeau to the Section of Legislation; François de Nautes and Shee, like myself, to the Section of the Interior.

The promotion of citizens chosen from such widely differing parties was dictated by the system of fusion to which the First Consul at that time adhered in all his appointments, with the purpose which I have already explained.

CHAPTER XI.

A Treaty of Peace with the United States is signed—Incident connected with the date of that Treaty—The active part taken by the First Consul in the deliberations of the Council of State—The proposed law on the formation of lists of Eligibles is abandoned—The Republican conspiracy of Ceracchi and its consequences—Reform of the laws on Emigration—Letter from Louis XVIII. to the First Consul—Arrival of Count von Cobentzel to negotiate for peace—Rudeness of the First Consul to that Minister, who leaves Paris on his way to Lunéville—Dissensions between the First Consul and his brother Lucien—Violent dispute between the latter and Fouché—Lucien is removed from the Ministry of the Interior and appointed Ambassador to Madrid—The Author is selected for a second Mission to Corsica—Opinions expressed by the First Consul during the debates of the Council of State.

The ninth year of the Republic began auspiciously. The armistice with Austria had been prolonged for forty-five days; peace with the Americans had been signed on the 4th Vendémiaire (September 26, 1800); the Congress at Lunéville was about to open; the Russian Minister at Berlin had been directed to treat with our Minister, General Bournonville, and the Czar, Paul I., had become infatuated with Bonaparte, of whom he spoke with the wildest enthusiasm; all these things contributed to strengthen the hope of a near and general peace. The fête at Morfontaine, in honour of the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace with the United States, was consequently most brilliant and animated. I was present, as were also the American Commissioners, the Consuls, the Ministers, and a considerable number of Generals, Tribunes, and members of the Legislative Body. Among other persons of note who had received invitations was General La Fayette, and the compliment paid to that famous citizen was universally approved.

An incident occurred connected with the conclusion of peace which will not, I think, be out of place in this narrative.

The treaty had really been signed at Morfontaine, where the conferences had been held and where they terminated; and Joseph Bonaparte greatly regretted that the Act should bear the date of Paris instead of that of Morfontaine. He was attached to the place, which would thus have acquired a kind of historical celebrity. He spoke of his disappointment to me, and as, after a few minutes' consideration, we came to the conclusion that there would probably still be time to effect the desired alteration, I undertook to be the bearer of the proposal to Talleyrand. An express despatched by that Minister to Havre might easily arrive there before the embarkation of the American Commissioners, and by means of a letter from Mr. Murray, the United States Minister in Paris, who had negotiated the treaty, the change of date might be made on the copy which they were to take back with them.

I saw Talleyrand on the 13th Vendémiaire (October 5) at Auteuil, and, at first, he seemed quite disposed to fall in with the plan ; but I afterwards had reason to believe that his acquiescence was not quite sincere. We agreed to meet on the following day, and I accompanied him to the Tuileries. He went in to see the First Consul, and I waited for him in a drawing-room. I had scarcely been there five minutes, when Bonaparte, opening the door of his private room himself, called me in. The conversation was animated, he said that his brother had missed his opportunity, and that opportunities when missed did not recur ; then he took a higher flight, and said that missed opportunities were the cause of great revolutions, and of the overthrow of empires ; that it would have been very easy to have had the thing done, as his brother wished it, at the time of signing the treaty, but that now he would never consent to the proposed proceeding. I tried in vain to alter his decision, and Talleyrand supported me, although feebly. The First Consul, however, took umbrage at the mediation of his Minister in an affair which he might have arranged himself had he sincerely desired it, and, turning sharply to him, he said, "Why did you come and consult me about it ? You should have done it without asking, and afterwards I should have thought it quite right." Talleyrand stammered out that he had told him, because it was necessary to tell him everything, but that there were certain things that he might know without being supposed to know them, and this one was of the number. Notwithstanding all this fencing, I soon perceived there was nothing to be done, and I withdrew. Talleyrand was more than civil to me on our way back, he tried very hard to persuade me that in the step I had just taken the First Consul could only see a proof of my affection for his brother, and that, in reality, he must feel pleased at it. We parted, and I returned to Morfontaine. I have narrated this anecdote, not very interesting in itself, only because it was a revelation to me of a trait in the character of Bonaparte. From his own words I perceived the great importance which, according to the maxim of one of the sages of Greece,* he attached to knowing how to seize Opportunity ; a doctrine that during the most brilliant period of his career generally guided his conduct with great advantage.

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* Pittacus ; his motto was *χαιρὸν γνῶθι, occasionem nosce.* The King of Prussia called Opportunity "the mother of great events."

On returning to Paris, whither I was called by my new duties, I was assiduous in my attendance at the sittings of the Council of State. I was also present at various Councils of Administration, to which the First Consul summoned me, and which were sometimes prolonged to a late hour at night. No branch of the government was unfamiliar to him, and he entered into the minutest details with wonderful sagacity.

The Council of State was particularly occupied at this time in framing a law for the formation of the lists of eligibles, who by the terms of the Constitution were to furnish the candidates for the various public offices, and even for the renewable consulships. But the deeper we plunged into this discussion, the less could we see our way. Rœderer and I were jointly charged with the task, and we had contrived and framed a project of law ; but we were well aware that the difficulties of its execution would be serious. I read it aloud to the Council of State. It was printed, and each member studied it ; but, either I had not succeeded in expressing my own and my colleague's ideas clearly, or the executive details appeared impracticable, or—as I can readily believe—our difficulties were purposely multiplied so as to lead to the abandonment of a scheme which did not suit the views of the First Consul ; at any rate, it was ultimately given up. Although the plan was at first adopted, as Bonaparte had not given it his approval, it was sent back for examination to the Sections of the Interior and of Legislation, so that they might either amend our project or propose another. But the subject was threadbare, time went by, and subsequent events caused the projected law to be lost sight of ; it perished still-born.

The power of the First Consul was increasing through a concourse of circumstances produced by his own genius, and which he contrived to turn to the advantage of the nation, by the order that he introduced into every branch of the government, and to his own, by making himself the sole source of benefits or rewards. But his enemies were also increasing in number, and being more than ever persuaded that by striking down this one man they could overturn the Government, they were secretly sharpening the daggers with which they hoped to strike him.

The extreme Republicans and the partisans of the former dynasty, united by a common interest, without maintaining any mutual relations, were hatching the same plots, and seemed only to be disputing who should strike the first blow.

The Republicans did the deed. A few enthusiasts formed a plot to assassinate the First Consul at the Opera. The particulars of the conspiracy, which was discovered, and those of the trial and condemnation of its authors, are to be found in the writings of the period, and especially in a pamphlet entitled, "Procès instruit par le tribunal criminel contre Demerville, Ceracchi et autres accusés." I shall confine myself, therefore, to narrating some few details of the event which came to my knowledge in course of time.

The conspirators, nine in number, desired, before putting their plan into execution, to add four to their association. They proposed to a retired soldier to join them, believing they could rely on him. He feigned consent, and introduced three other malcontents who were but spies in the pay of the police, and the execution of the plot was fixed for the 13th Vendémiaire (October 10). The conspirators, armed with carbines, pistols and poniards, were to surround the First Consul as he entered his carriage after the Opera; to kill him, to set fire to the theatre, distribute innumerable copies of a proclamation drawn up in the name of an Insurrectionary Committee, and accomplish another revolution in the Government.

Bonaparte was informed of these details early in the day. He summoned the other two Consuls and held a conference with them. It was resolved, against their advice, that the First Consul should go to the Opera as he had originally intended.* On this the other two Consuls resolved to accompany him thither. The Guards were doubled, and during the performance, which passed off very quietly, one of the principal actors in the plot, Ceracchi, a Roman by birth and a celebrated sculptor, was arrested, together with one or two other conspirators.

Ceracchi confessed everything on being examined by the Minister of Police. He admitted the conspiracy, and said that it was his intention to have assassinated Bonaparte, whom he abhorred as the oppressor of his country; in short, his replies revealed an extraordinary state of excitement, and a fanaticism approaching to insanity. He named Barrère's Secretary as having distributed arms and money to the conspirators. Each of them had received a pair of pistols, a dagger, and twenty louis in gold; and in fact, arms and gold were found, as Ceracchi had said, on those who were arrested. He added that he was not to strike the blow himself, but he was recognised as their chief by the conspirators, and he had placed himself above the First Consul's box to give the signal. He was perplexed at the non-appearance of the others, came down, and was arrested on the staircase.†

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* 'Les Horaces' was to be performed for the first time.

† I had not been personally acquainted with Ceracchi during my resi-

Police officers were despatched to Barrère's house to arrest his Secretary, but he was not there ; he had gone into the country two days before, and it was resolved, though unwillingly on the part of Bonaparte, that Barrère himself should be arrested. This decision was come to in consequence of Barrère's singular conduct on the preceding day. He had gone to Junot, to warn him that a plot was being hatched against the life of the First Consul, and that precautions should be taken ; but he had not explained himself further.

After the event, this half confidence was thought to be a clever way of sheltering himself from suspicion, if the plan did not succeed, since he had not said enough to ensure its failure. It was believed, therefore, at first, that Barrère was well aware of the conspiracy, but the arrest of his former secretary, named Demerville, of Joseph Arena,* and of Topius-Lebrun,† which took place a few days afterwards, dispelled every suspicion that had been entertained against Barrère, and he was immediately set at liberty. Many persons of note were compromised likewise, and in particular several Italian refugees, among them the Duke de Bonnelli and the Prince de Santa-Croce. Madame Visconti, whose house was a place of meeting for all Italians, received, notwithstanding her intimate friendship with Berthier, an order to leave Paris. It had been remarked that on the day appointed for the execution of the conspiracy she had gone to the Opera, escorted by Salicetti,‡ who had excused himself on some trifling pretext from dining that evening with Joseph Bonaparte. Carnot's resignation of the post of War Minister, which he sent in two days before the date on which the life of the First Consul was threatened, likewise gave rise to comments, which the well-known character of that General should have sufficed to prevent. But all these suspicions were dispelled by the light which was thrown on the conspiracy by the "instruction" in the case.§ Only those who were really guilty were prosecuted, and after prolonged proceedings, lasting over three months, their heads fell on the scaffold.

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dence in Italy, but I had often heard of him. His talent for sculpture was very remarkable.

* He was a Corsican and a personal enemy of Bonaparte. I had met him in Corsica. He was a man of ability, of very active mind, and had much decision of character.

† A painter, pupil of David. He had been one of the jury of the Revolutionary Tribunal under Robespierre.

‡ Salicetti was very intimate with Joseph Arena.

§ Bonaparte hesitated for some time before he gave orders for the drawing up of the instruction against the conspirators. He feared the publicity of the defence and even the confessions of the accused, who prided themselves on their attempt, and proclaimed themselves the avengers of oppressed liberty.

The results of this conspiracy were, as always happens in similar cases, rather favourable than injurious to the authority of the First Consul, and they contributed to confirm his power. The Council of State went in a body to the Tuileries to express their sympathy with the head of the Government in the danger he had just escaped. The Tribunate followed their example, and anticipated the propositions that might be made to it concerning the precautions to be taken against a repetition of this attempt. It was, in fact, at this period that the functions of the Prefect of Police in Paris were extended beyond the limits of the capital, and to the Commune of St. Cloud in particular, and that the action of the police, who had given proofs of ability, fidelity, and activity on the occasion, acquired greater importance, and became one of the most powerful auxiliaries of the Government. It was at this period also that Fouché gained the entire confidence of the First Consul, and began to exercise an influence over him from which Bonaparte could never entirely free himself, notwithstanding the numerous proofs which he had of faithlessness and treachery.

The plot of Ceracchi and his accomplices, who all belonged to the extreme revolutionary class, contributed to convince the First Consul that his greatest and most dangerous enemies were to be found in that party ; and that consequently he should arm himself chiefly against the remaining Jacobins and Terrorists. The *émigrés* and partisans of the former dynasty ceased to be formidable in his eyes, and he thought he should gain them entirely to himself by relaxing the rigour of the laws against emigration in their favour. With this view he proposed for discussion in the Council of State the celebrated decree of the 28th Vendémiaire, year IX. (October 20, 1800), whose effect was the reversal of all the former terrible legislation existing since 1793, that had been the cause of so much individual wrong and suffering. The new decrees, which met with no serious opposition in the debates of the Council of State, proved that the Government, while performing this act of justice from motives of moderation and equity, was entirely convinced that in throwing open the gates of France to the *émigrés*, it was not opening them to enemies. Apart from the confidence inspired by gratitude on which he reckoned, nothing could be more adapted to confirm the First Consul's views than a curious circumstance which I shall now relate, and which, if true, as I have every reason to believe it was, must have decided Bonaparte's line of action towards the *émigrés*. I wrote it down as follows, on the very day on which Girardin and I heard it from Joseph Bonaparte.

One confidence had led to another, and lastly Joseph Bonaparte revealed a very singular circumstance. "About three months ago,'' said he, "the First Consul received from the Pretender (Louis XVIII.) a letter of four pages, written entirely in his own hand. It contains a kind of renunciation of the throne; but at the same time calls upon Bonaparte to consider whether, since he has been so great a benefactor to France, it would not be consonant with his greatness, his generosity, nay even his humanity, to recall the true heir of this ancient monarchy to the sovereign power, by securing to him the position that would become vacant on the death of the present Head of the Government. The letter also contains warm praise of our First Magistrate, and states that commands have been laid on all Royalists dwelling on French soil, to remain perfectly quiescent, and neither to plan nor attempt anything against the existing Government.''

Our informant had seen this letter, but it was not in his possession. I did not therefore see it myself; but I can affirm that if this statement be untrue, the falsehood cannot be laid to the charge of Joseph Bonaparte. After the temporary disturbance caused by the conspiracy which had just failed, public business was resumed with more activity than ever. The sittings of the Council of State became increasingly interesting from the various discussions that took place on different branches of the Administration. Amid the general activity, I too found myself busier than I had hitherto been. The First Consul appointed me one of the Assistant Reporters of the Councillor of State charged with the National Domains, and in that capacity I was enabled to get justice done in the cases of several citizens who had been deprived of their property by the misapplication of the emigration laws. Shortly afterwards, I and five of my colleagues were employed in making eliminations from the lists of *émigrés,* in virtue of the decree of the 28th Vendémiaire.

The arrival of the Austrian Minister, Count von Cobentzel, at the Congress of Lunéville was made known in the beginning of Brumaire (end of October), and added to the general satisfaction afforded by the recent acts of the Government. So soon as Joseph Bonaparte was informed that the Austrian negotiator was on his way, he set out to join him at Lunéville. But he met him on the road, going to Paris, without having stopped at Lunéville. The two Ministers entered the same carriage, and Joseph Bonaparte, retracing his steps, returned to Paris with Count von Cobentzel. They arrived on the 8th Brumaire (October 30). This friendly proceeding and the confidence that seemed to be already established between the two negotiators were apparently good omens for the issue of the conference. But I was speedily undeceived by a few words from Joseph Bonaparte. Count von Cobentzel had come without any positive authorisation from his Court, and it was only the fact that M. de Lucchesini, the Russian Minister, had come direct to Paris without stopping at Lunéville, that had induced him to come there also. And moreover, although he had been received with cordiality which excited M. de Lucchesini's jealousy, he promptly repented of his journey to Paris, which had been undertaken in ignorance of the invasion of Tuscany by the French troops. He learned the fact in Paris ; and his presence there became embarrassing in consequence. In reality affairs were not so advanced as it was hoped, and as the First Consul wished us to believe. Count von Cobentzel made a formal announcement that he had only powers to treat in common with England ; to this Joseph Bonaparte replied that he had none on his side except to treat separately, and that he must decline all communication with Sir Thomas Grenville, who had been designated by the English Government, unless a naval armistice were concluded, as a necessary preliminary to the admission of the English negotiator. The question was further complicated by the intervention of M. de Lucchesini, speaking for the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, which insisted strongly on the integral restoration of the King of Sardinia. It was feared that the resolution of Paul I. on this point would hinder the progress of the negotiations. Bonaparte having already disposed, so to speak, of Piedmont,* could not undo what had been so recently effected, and would only hold out some hope of an indemnity in Italy for the King of Sardinia. This was a difficult expedient, and one which must be impracticable, so long as the Cisalpine Republic, which had been restored after the victory of Marengo, should be in existence. Those, therefore, who were at all in the secrets of the Government foresaw a renewal of hostilities, and were convinced that the Lunéville negotiations could make no progress until the issue of the campaign about to be opened should be decided in favour of either France or Austria.

Count von Cobentzel did not prolong his stay in Paris beyond a few days. He set out for Lunéville on the 18th Brumaire (November 4), and Joseph Bonaparte started on the same day for the same destination. This resolution was arrived at after a discussion, held in Joseph Bonaparte's presence, between the First Consul and Count von Cobentzel, and during which the negotiation was nearly broken off. The principal difficulty had arisen from Count von Cobentzel's formal refusal to treat without the brother. Moreau consented to this step. He represented to Bonaparte the discontent of the army, his fear of being unable to cope with it, the bad effect that had been produced by a publication in which the military were openly insulted, and the probability that the First Consul himself would be believed to give it a tacit approval, if he abstained from punishing the author.

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* By a decree of the 30th Fructidor, year VIII. (Sept. 17, 1800), the First Consul had annexed all that portion of Piedmont which was situated beyond the Sesia to the Cisalpine Republic. He had not pronounced on the fate of the rest of the country, but it was evident that he would never consent to restore it to its former rulers.

Immediately after this conference Lucien's departure was determined on. He was succeeded at the Ministry of the Interior by Chaptal. Madame Bacciochi told me that she had used her best endeavours with her brother to persuade him to select me; but this step, which was taken without my knowledge, resulted in nothing. The First Consul intended me at that time for a very different mission, one which I could not look upon as a favour, although it was bestowed on me as a mark of confidence.

On the 22d Brumaire I was passing the evening at the First Consul's house. He took me aside, and after a long conversation, he proposed that I should return to Corsica. His intention, he said, was to suspend the authority of the Constitution in that island, and to entrust me with the government during its suspension. No mission could be less agreeable to me, and yet it was not in my power to decline it. I ventured to raise some objections on the score of my insufficiency to confront the difficulties of the task, but they were not admitted, and I perceived that I should not escape from my destination unless some unexpected event, which might alter the decision of the First Consul, should occur. This hope was not realised.

Meanwhile the conference had been opened at Lunéville, and dragged slowly along, making no real progress. Girardin, who had been on a visit for some days with Joseph Bonaparte, returned to Paris at the end of February, and from what he told us we lost all hope of peace. Every preparation was therefore made for war; there was even some question of Bonaparte's departure for the German Army. But he soon abandoned this intention, and although General Moreau, who had repented of his share in the 18th Brumaire, was on the coldest terms with the First Consul, it was on him that the choice of the Government fell.

Public opinion had anticipated that choice. In the midst of this state of expectation and suspense the Session of the Legislative Body was about to open.* The Council of State was actively employed in the preparation of the laws that were to be presented in the course of the Session, and as the First Consul was always present at its sittings, the debates were rendered highly interesting, because of the share he bore in them, and the opinions which he that in his heart he did not dislike that publication, since it tended to familiarise the people with certain words, which until recently would have greatly offended them, he yet thought it advisable to express dissatisfaction. "It was a work," he said to Roederer, "of which he himself had suggested the idea, but whose concluding pages were written by a madman."*

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* The opening was fixed for the 1st Frimaire (Nov. 22).

This circumstance, added to the universal complaints of Lucien Bonaparte's administration, made the First Consul decide on removing his brother from the Ministry of the Interior, and sending him out of France. He was despatched to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary under the pretext of important interests to be treated of with that Power. There was, however, nothing to justify the belief that the political relations between the two States were of sufficient gravity to require such a measure, and in fact Lucien's mission served only to enable him to acquire immense wealth, which he wrung from the weakness and pusillanimity of the Queen of Spain and her favourite Don Manuel Godoy, to whom he sold Peace. No one was deceived about the real motive for this measure. On the day that it became public (16th Brumaire) I heard that it had been adopted in consequence of an angry altercation between Lucien Bonaparte and Fouché, in the presence of the First Consul. Fouché reproached Lucien with his conduct, his extortions, his immoral way of life, his orgies with actresses, among others, Mademoiselle Mezerai. Lucien retaliated on Fouché with his revolutionary doings, the bloodshed of which he had been the cause, the tax he had imposed on the gaming tables, and the money he made by it. After thus mutually rendering justice to each other, they came to abuse, and the history of the pamphlet played a great part in the quarrel. The First Consul took no share in this scandalous scene, which occurred on the 12th Brumaire (Nov. 3). During the whole of it he remained absolutely silent, and the antagonists were dismissed, ignorant which of the two had prevailed. But Fouché, well knowing he had gone too far in the game to allow his adversary the upper hand, by which he would be utterly ruined, resorted to a new expedient. He worked, or caused others to work, on General Moreau, who was on the point of taking the command of the armies of the Rhine and the Danube. He made him feel that on him, as a General equally illustrious by his victories and honourable in his character, the task devolved of telling the whole truth to the First Consul, and inducing him to sacrifice his brother. Moreau consented to this step. He represented to Bonaparte the discontent of the army, his fear of being unable to cope with it, the bad effect that had been produced by a publication in which the military were openly insulted, and the probability that the First Consul himself would be believed to give it a tacit approval, if he abstained from punishing the author.

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* It is certain that Bonaparte frequently said, "If I were to die quietly in my bed, with time to make my will, I would advise the French nation not to choose a soldier for my successor."

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* The opening was fixed for the 1st Frimaire (Nov. 22).

In the sitting of the 27th Brumaire (Nov. 18) the reports of the various Ministers on the state of their department were given in. These reports were to serve as a basis to the exposition of the general state of the Republic, which the Government intended to have read on the approaching opening of the Legislative Session.* The Minister of the Navy had inserted in his report a commendation of the conduct of the inhabitants of the Ile de France (Mauritius), and of the Ile de la Réunion (Bourbon), who, amid so many political storms, had remained faithful to the metropolis. In concluding his panegyric, he added that it was a duty to indemnify the inhabitants of these islands for the reproaches which the "prejudices" of the former Government (the Directory) had often caused to be addressed to them.† The word "prejudices" gave offence to Truguet.‡ He rose to speak, not only in defence of the Executive Directory, which he said had governed our colonies in a truly Republican spirit, but in censure of the inhabitants of the two islands, who, he asserted, deserved no praise; and he declared himself plainly for the suppression of the paragraph. Barbé-Marbois § warmly supported it, and maintained that by refusing admittance to the Commissioners who had been sent to them by the preceding Government, the inhabitants of the Isles of France and of Réunion had simply preserved themselves from the misfortune which had fallen upon the rest of our colonies. Truguet replied with some heat, and the discussion was degenerating into personalities when the First Consul began to speak.

He highly praised the conduct of the inhabitants; he protested that, for his part, he thought nothing more absurd than a system of general philanthropy, which, under pretext of bestowing liberty on a class of men of a different colour from ourselves, had in fact made them masters of the small number of whites against whom, it was clear, they would take up arms on receiving so fatal a gift. He said that between the sad alternative of being slaves or owning slaves, there could be no hesitation, and that it must always be better to be the masters. He quoted the army of the East; he certainly knew of no troops more loyal than they, but if they were asked to-morrow to free the slaves who inhabited the country they now occupied, they would begin by hanging those who brought them such a proposition, and they would do well.

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* This exposition, very well drawn up by Consul Lebrun, was published in the "Moniteur" of the 2d Frimaire, year IX.

† The inhabitants of the Isles of France and Bourbon had refused to receive the Commissioners sent them by the Directory, and also refused to adopt the legislation which gave freedom to the negroes. The two colonies were thenceforth regarded as in a state of counter-revolution.

‡ Admiral Truguet, at that time a Councillor of State, one of the most violent demagogues of the Revolution.

§ A Councillor of State, very much devoted to the First Consul, but with a strong leaning towards Royalism.

He was not acquainted, he continued, with the slaves of America and the Indies, but he had seen those of Egypt, of the Desert of Darfour, of the bank of the Euphrates, and of the Red Sea, and among them all he had seen but brute beasts whose heads were cut off at a sign from the Pacha or the police-officer, and that he himself had felt the indispensable necessity of retaining as a measure of police a custom from which he had at first revolted. He ended his discourse with general reflections on Revolutions and on the danger of taking the various epochs which have marked them as a stand-point, instead of taking the dominant events which were consented to by all. "Think you," he said, addressing himself to the whole Council, "think you that the 18th Fructidor, the 18th Brumaire, even the 10th August were quite in order, and obtained the consent of all men; that you wish to place the Institutions to which those days gave birth, above other institutions which have been consecrated by time and custom? We have finished the Romance of the Revolution, we must now begin its History, only seeking for what is real and practicable in the application of its principles, and not what is speculative and hypothetical. To follow any other course at the present day would be to philosophize and not to govern."

Circumstances which occurred shortly afterwards gave Bonaparte further opportunities of expressing noteworthy opinions. On the whole, the Legislative Body and the Tribunate had been actuated since the opening of the Session by a hostile disposition towards the Government, and had taken every opportunity of displaying it. The Tribunate especially was punctiliously severe upon the slightest errors in the projects of law, and in the debates that were held in the presence of the Legislative Body its orators often had the advantage over those of the Council of State. The Government was even obliged to withdraw some of its projects; among others the proposed laws concerning the Magistrates and the Municipal Police. In the sitting of the Council on the 14th Frimaire (December 5) the First Consul complained of the negligence with which those projects had been drawn up. He said it was incredible that errors so grave as those which the documents in question contained should have escaped the notice of the Members of the Section of Legislation and the sagacity of the thirty Councillors of State, and that for his part he would not have remained a member of the Section of Legislation, after such a fault.

Then turning towards Regnault de St.-Jean-d'Angely, he reproached him with his weak defence of a law on the preceding day. "You admitted," said he, "that this law was imperfect. That is an admission you must never make. You invoked the union of powers, you preached the doctrine of reconciliation and of good-will. Miserable means! especially in circumstances so trivial. An orator is always beaten, when he thinks himself obliged to have recourse to such feeble expedients as these."

"Moreover," he continued, "the disposition of the Tribunate, and of the Legislative Body, is evident. These are bodies who, being uncertain of what they really are, act according to the natural tendency of governing bodies, to assert their importance and make people talk of them. They are the great nobles, the blue-ribbon-wearers of the Revolution of 1793; they cannot forgive a state of things which has taken from them that power, and those honours which they are always regretting. Public opinion must pronounce between them and us. If it ever decides for them, we could do nothing, and must renounce our rule. But if this same public recognises that the Government is also the representative of the people, if it sees that the struggle now commencing is the result only of wounded vanity, or of ill-effaced regrets and recollections, then it is they who will cease to be anything.

"From all this," continued the First Consul, "it follows that our line must be to make as few laws as possible, and to do without all that are not indispensable. For in the present state of feeling I see nothing that can reasonably be proposed with a certainty of success. We must confine ourselves to the law on the Budget, and be silent respecting all the rest. Some day perhaps, the people, who are represented by us as well as by the Legislative Body and the Tribunate, will perceive that it is impossible to rule a State when this diversity exists between the principal governing bodies, and especially when the two authorities that vote the laws insist that none but perfect and irreproachable laws shall be presented to them; which is a vain dream, quite impossible to realise."

Two days after this sitting, at the conclusion of an audience given to the Ambassadors,* he detained the Members of the Council of State, and returning to the same subject, expressed similar ideas. He made the additional remark that the Tribunate lost much of the advantage conferred on it by the Constitution by regarding itself as instituted merely to oppose the Government, and not to advise with it; thus posing as the natural enemy of the Government, instead of an integral part of it, and, as it were, its mouthpiece, for the tribune is the principal and easiest mode of addressing the public, and leading public opinion in the desired direction for the preservation of the existing order of things. "It is impossible," continued he, "that there should be any likeness between the present order, and that which existed under the Constituent Assembly. The new power that was then arising had to struggle with a power that was crumbling, and which marked regretfully its own daily diminution. To-day, on the contrary, it is a dethroned power, and one without strength of its own, that would attempt to act against a vigorous power able to dispense with its help. We have sufficient laws to govern the Republic for a long time yet, without having recourse to the Legislative Body, and we can do without it until the time when it will have been sifted by the renewals which the Senate has to make in it occasionally, dating from the present year. What will be the consequence, moreover, of the inaction in which we shall leave it? For another year, it will be said that the Government intends to abolish the Tribunate, an intention which it has not, and cannot have. But although such rumours may bring discredit on that Body and deprive it of some consideration, which is not desirable, it is better to run the risk of this than to have to fight the English, the Austrians, the Russians, the Legislature, and the Tribunate at the same time. These are too many enemies for the Government, and it must endeavour to lessen their number."

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* For some time past these audiences had been given with great ceremony; the Senate and the State Council being present at them.

He spoke next of the excitement that had been caused by a recent occurrence. The Constitutional Bishop of Morbihan had been murdered by fanatics between Quimper and Morlaix, in the month of Brumaire, and this murder furnished a text for declamation and invective against the restored *émigrés*, the clergy, and consequently against the Government, which had encouraged the return of the first and the pretensions of the second. A motion was already prepared by the Tribunate, which was to be read by Boujoux, one of its members, containing a hostile criticism of the Government, and openly blaming its action and its policy. This motion was to have been made some days before, on the 9th Frimaire, and the fear of being premature and imprudent had been the sole cause of the delay in reading it.

After informing us of these particulars, the First Consul continued: "They want me, in order to avenge the assassination of a priest, to proscribe a whole class of society, to commence a course of severe and revolutionary measures. I will not do so; I only wish for law, which ought to be sufficient for the repression and punishment of every crime. My own life was attempted, but it never occurred to me, nor was I asked, to proscribe all the Jacobins among whom the crime had been plotted. I left its punishment to the ordinary tribunals ; and I shall do the same with the assassins of Andrein, with this difference, that they shall be prosecuted with much greater severity than those who attacked myself.'' I shall bring these quotations to a close here, although at that time I took note of many other things. I have said enough to explain the principles on which the First Consul acted in the management of public affairs. If we examine them closely, we must give him credit for great skill in the art of dealing with men, and profound sagacity in the conduct of public business. We also see that he professed maxims of Government which might be adopted with advantage by princes at the head of empires, and some of which, those for instance relating to the murder of Andrein, are excellent. It would have been well had he never deviated from his own maxims.

CHAPTER XII.

Moreau gains a victory at Hohenlinden over the Austrians—Celebration of that victory in Paris—The Author prepares for his journey to Corsica, but his departure is deferred in consequence of the attempt of the 3d Nivôse—Details of that event—Its immediate result—Wrath of the First Consul with the Terrorists—Extra-legal measures proposed against that faction, by means of unconstitutional powers conferred on the Senate—Extraordinary sitting of the Council of State—Reports by the Police—Debate, and decrees of the Consuls now converted into a Senatus-Consultum—The Police prove that the authors of the attempt of the 3d Nivôse belong to the Royalist party, and arrest the real criminals—Successful issue of the peace negotiations at Lunéville—The Author sets out on his journey, having received his instructions from the First Consul—Disorganized state of the south of France—Admiral Ganteaume and his squadron—The Author leaves Toulon in the war-sloop *Hirondelle* and lands at Calvi.

While the Government was endeavouring to parry the blows aimed at it by the Tribunate, and to prepare for the coming struggle, Victory, still faithful to French arms, was about to dispel some of the difficulties with which its course was beset. Hostilities had begun; the army of Germany had just opened the winter campaign, and on the 11th Frimaire (September 2) Moreau gained a victory, as brilliant as it was complete, over the Austrians at Hohenlinden in Bavaria. Thus the same spot which had witnessed the signing of the prorogation of the armistice at the close of year VIII. now gave its name to a memorable battle, which had most important results.

Notwithstanding the rivalry between the two great Generals, which was increased by this victory, the First Consul lavished unstinted praise on Moreau. He sent him, in the name of the Government, a pair of splendid pistols set with diamonds; salvos of artillery in Paris and the fortified towns, especially Calais, announced to England the triumph of our arms; messages were sent with great solemnity to the Legislative Body and to the Tribunate. Our hopes of peace revived, the Legislative authorities appeared less adverse to it, and the general aspect of things was more favourable. During this peaceful interval the First Consul, reverting to his plan of sending me to Corsica, commanded me to present to the Legislative Body, the law which suspended the authority of the constitutional government in that island. Some difficulties were raised in the Tribunate, but these were readily disposed of, and the law adopted on the 23d Frimaire (December 14) by a majority of two hundred and sixty against three. I then read to the Council of State the report of the proposed decree, which was to define the extraordinary powers that I was to exercise in virtue of that law. It was adopted, with a few unimportant modifications, and I prepared to start. My departure was, however, delayed by a very serious event.

On the 3d Nivôse (December 24) Haydn's Oratorio, "The Creation," was given at the Opera, and attracted a large audience. The First Consul went to the Opera House at about half-past eight. His carriage followed that of Madame Bonaparte, and was attended by his ordinary guard. At the turn into the Rue Saint-Nicaise, the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder was heard, the windows of the neighbouring houses were smashed, some walls came toppling down, and several of the passers-by were killed or severely injured.

Such was the story told me by Talleyrand and Regnault, whom I met in the lobby of the Opera House. Other details, more or less exaggerated, were added. It was, however, asserted from the very first that this explosion was not the result of accident, but the execution of a plot against the life of the First Consul. The barrel contained, besides a large quantity of compressed gunpowder, balls and bits of iron of all kinds, and was placed on a cart which barred the way of Bonaparte's carriage. It had been fired by a train of powder. A miscalculation of the time only prevented this infernal machine from accomplishing its purpose; the First Consul had already passed by when the explosion took place. Bonaparte remained perfectly cool. On reaching the Opera he advanced to the front of his box, and, as the great danger he had incurred was as yet unknown to the audience, his presence excited only the usual amount of attention. But when the news spread, it caused the greatest sensation. All the disasters which might possibly ensue on the inopportune death of the First Consul were pictured to men's minds, and it may safely be said that never before was his life so precious, and never had he inspired so much interest. The Opera ended quietly, and many persons left the house in ignorance of the attempt on Bonaparte's life.

The following morning I went to the Tuileries, where I found, as I had expected, a great number of persons. The First Consul seemed to be convinced that the plot was the work of revolutionaries, and that this party had chosen for its instruments the assassins of September 1792, who were living at liberty in Paris, and even found safety in the protection of the police. It was in vain that Fouché, who was present, and perhaps already better informed, endeavoured to insinuate that the Royalists and the *émigrés* might have had some hand in this fresh conspiracy ; he was not listened to. It was admitted that those whom he accused would have profited by the plot, but no one would believe they were its authors. The First Consul said to his Minister, " Don't make a *carmagnole** out of this ; it was your Terrorists who did it."

During the day, the Section of the Interior and that of Legislation met to deliberate on a project of law, for the framing of a particular form of procedure and instituting exceptional Tribunals for trying attempts against the Government, and the life of the Consuls. The wise maxims which Bonaparte had professed in the affair of the assassination of the constitutional Bishop of Morbihan had already been abandoned. The united Sections proposed to refer the cognisance of crimes of this kind to the special Tribunals which were to be established for trying the plunderers of the diligences,† and also to give the Government, by a measure of " High Police," the right to banish any individual who might appear dangerous to public tranquillity. This was certainly a great deal to grant, but the First Consul was so convinced that the plot, to which he had so nearly fallen a victim, was the work of the Terrorists, and that he had better profit by this opportunity to get rid of them altogether, that he was by no means satisfied with the plan adopted by the Sections, and read in the Council of State. After the first few phrases Bonaparte announced distinctly that he wished them to draw up a scheme for a special law to invest the Government with extraordinary power, and not one which, being in accordance with the more or less tedious forms of justice, would neither allow of the immediate punishment of the guilty, nor of the use of those strong measures of High Police, which it was necessary to employ without hesitation in the extraordinary situation of affairs.

Passing on to the history of the facts, and drawing a picture of our position, he spoke as follows : " There are from four to five hundred men, either in Paris or scattered over France, steeped in crime, without home, without occupation, and without means. These men form an army in constant action against the Government. It is they who were the instruments of the 31st of May, of the September massacres, and of those of Versailles. They it was who carried out the conspiracy of Babeuf, and that of the camp of

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* In the days of the Terror conspiracies got up by the police in order to invent criminals were called *carmagnoles*.

† At this period robbery of stage coaches had increased to a frightful extent. The Chouans, who had not been subdued, took part in this *noble* war.

Grenelle. It was they who attacked the Directory, and then the Government which succeeded it. They are the enemies of every form of order, no matter what its principles, of every liberal idea, of every kind of government. They exist, and they are well known ; they have their meetings, and their information ; and their modes of action are derived from their familiarity with crime. This horde of hungry wolves scattered through the whole of society, and everywhere notorious ; branded on the forehead with the mark of crime, keep alive a constant state of terror. What must Europe think of a Government under which such wolves live and flourish ? What confidence can she have in a Government which either does not know how or else is not able to protect its own capital ?—a Government under whose eyes an infernal plot which brings ruin and desolation on a portion of the inhabitants of that capital is carried out ? It is impossible that these things can continue ; it is time to rid society of this scourge ; before five days have passed twenty or thirty of these monsters must die, and two or three hundred must be deported. As for me, I am ready to take upon myself all the weight and all the opprobrium of such a course, for I see nothing that is not honourable in such a measure of public safety. I would summon these men, whose name is in every mouth, before me ; I would seat myself in the curule chair in the largest hall of the Palace wherein I dwell ; and in the presence of the whole people, were it possible to unite them in one place, I would condemn them myself, and dividing the penalty of death and that of deportation in the proportion I have just indicated, I would in one day avenge the outrages they have inflicted on society and mankind."

After this speech, which had been delivered with great warmth, opinions were divided. The difficulty of framing, and above all of obtaining a law, which should give such latitude of power to the Government, investing it as it were with a Dictatorship, led some of the members of the Council to entertain an idea which had already occurred to myself, and which in my opinion was more consonant with the actual state of things, if in reality that was what had been described to us.

We held that rather than corrupt our social institutions at their source, the First Magistrate of the Republic should have acted as Cicero did on the occasion of Catiline's conspiracy ; that he would have done better had he announced to the Legislative Body and the nation, that he *usurped* the Dictatorship on behalf of public safety, than by demanding the means of *exercising it legally.* But as this opinion was the effect of a momentary impulse rather than the outcome of mature reflection, it was promptly set aside, and the discussion was turning on the formulation of the proposed law, when Truguet demanded leave to speak.

After much circumlocution, and some commonplace remarks on the facts, he came to the point of his discourse, which was that in the proposed measures he could not discern any protection against enemies who were in his opinion quite as dangerous as those they openly attacked. He contended that *émigrés* and priests should also be aimed at. He stated that pamphlets were in circulation which proved their desire and intention to overturn the Government; and that, according to the admissions of Magardel,* the life of the First Consul was in as much danger from conspirators of this sort as from the men of September, whom he, Truguet, abhorred indeed, but whom he did not believe to be the only criminals. Lastly, he declared that in his opinion general measures were required which should strike at the *émigrés*, the priests, and the Royalists, as well as at the Terrorists and the fanatical revolutionaries.

The First Consul listened to this speech with the greatest impatience, and his countenance showed that he was much annoyed. He controlled himself, however, until Truguet had come to an end, when he burst forth with, "What do you mean, Citizen Truguet? explain yourself; of whom do you speak? What are the pamphlets you cite? What are the measures you would have taken? Do you contend that we ought to restore the law of hostages, persecute seven or eight thousand priests who have returned on the faith of my honour, and drive from the Council of State and from the Tribunate all who are called Royalists? For, if we are to believe the so-called patriots, we must send Portalis to Guiana; and Roederer is a Royalist, also Defermon himself, and all the Council, with two or three exceptions. Am I to send away all these honest, honourable, and enlightened men, and replace them by patriots? Am I to seek for councillors among the residue of the Jacobin and Cordeliers' Clubs?

"Am I once more to arouse terror and alarm in every breast? Am I to proclaim the country in danger? Am I to imitate the Merlins† and the Rewbels, by striking indiscriminately on every side? No, never! never will I be forced into such excesses. I will not persecute the priests, I will not be persuaded to hunt men down because they believe in an Almighty Being, and in a religion which is perhaps after all the true one. I will never believe that a people can be ruled or led without religion. And where are those pressing dangers that threaten the Republic? What influence over its destiny can be exercised by a few more or less ridiculous pamphlets, which have made no lasting impression? Suppose they do liken me to Cæsar and Cromwell, what effect can that have, or what can result from it, to shake the established order that rules us? Can I prevent a fool from spoiling paper by comparing me to Cæsar? Besides, let us, like statesmen, turn our eyes on the situation of France; was it ever more brilliant? Our finances are prosperous, our armies triumphant. Since the beginning of the Revolution our peace at home has never been so untroubled. La Vendée is quiet, the Chouans are engaged in repulsing the English, and Georges Cadoudal * without any influence over the remainder of his party is wandering in the woods, accompanied by seven or eight men, and often obliged to sleep on board an English vessel. Those priests whom you would persecute are praying for me. It is true that brigandage is spreading in some of the departments ;† but if the obligation to end the war did not compel me to send all our disposable troops beyond the frontier, brigandage would long ago have been put down for ever. They who trouble our peace are but few in number, but we must fall on them without mercy, for it is on them that obscure and ambitious men, thirsting for power, would rely for help, if they could see a possibility of executing their designs, and for that reason they seek to conciliate them that they may obtain their services in the event of another revolution. Undeceive yourself, Citizen Truguet; they will not spare you then any more than any other. 'Who is this Citizen Truguet?' they will say; 'a noble, an admiral, a Councillor of State; show him no mercy!' "

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* This Magardel, one of the leaders of the Vendéan army, had been tried in Paris by court-martial, and shot a few days before.

† The reader will remember that some months earlier Napoleon had appointed Merlin to one of the first places in the Magistrature, and had given the government of Piedmont to General Jourdan, who, the preceding year, had proclaimed the country in danger in the Council of the Five Hundred.

As he uttered this philippic, the voice of the First Consul broke; he felt he was losing his self-control, and putting on his hat in the midst of an unfinished sentence, he abruptly closed the sitting of the Council, which had come to no decision.

The deliberation on the proposed law was resumed on the morrow, and continued for several days, either in the interior of the Sections of the Council of State, or in the presence of the First Consul. None of the proposed alterations satisfied him; he always found that something was wanting to the necessities of the

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* Georges Cadoudal, afterwards so famous for his plots against the life of the First Consul in 1804, and who then had been concerned in that of the infernal machine.

† Bonaparte alluded here to highway robberies and attacks upon stage coaches.

time, and constantly recurred to the ideas he had so vehemently expressed to us at a preceding meeting. "There is no middle course," he told us; "we must either completely pardon, or utterly put down." And as it was pointed out to him that after a criminal attempt which struck at the whole people he had not the right to be so generous, "Then," he replied, "you must strike at the roots, at the 400 brigands perpetually drawn up in line of battle. We must force them to say, 'Fortune has forsaken us; the hand of Fate has defeated us; there is no longer any hope.' Let the chief of the band fall, the others will sink into obscurity, and you will restore to society ten thousand individuals who, being flattered by their leaders with vague and delusive hopes, have put off until now the resumption of their former occupations."

The majority agreed with the First Consul that an extraordinary measure was required, and, indeed, it could not be otherwise. We had the facts from the Government only, and we could not doubt that this plot was the work of those whom it accused. But we always recurred to the necessity of a law. The difficulty of compiling it, the danger of discussing it, and above all the position in which the Government would find itself if the law were rejected, or adopted by a feeble majority only, alarmed us; and in truth the First Consul was too wise to wish to incur such a risk. Besides, it was not a law that he wanted; a word from Talleyrand, near whom I sat at one of these meetings, threw light on the designs of the First Consul. I had said to Talleyrand that if the chances of a discussion in the Tribunate and the possible refusal of a law were risks to be avoided, I could see no way out of our difficulties, since an opinion or debate of the Council of State could not constitute law, and could still less substitute itself for a law that had been rejected by the Legislative Body. "You are right," he replied; "but is there nothing more than the Legislative Body and the Council of State? What is the good of having a Senate if we do not make use of it?" I saw in an instant all the significance of this hint, and I also understood whence it came. By taking a portion of the Legislative authority away from the ordinary authorities, by reserving to the Senate the right of pronouncing on extraordinary questions of public safety, by special acts, the Government would create a Body no longer inert and motionless, but one, whose authority, superior to all others, would dominate the entire constitutional system, and, under the pretext of preserving that system, would acquire the power of modifying it as the Government might desire; for the latter, while giving the Senate the power of framing laws, reserved to itself the right of proposing them. The deliberations of the Senate were secret; the number of the Senators was small, and the appointments were for life ; once gained over, it could be always held in hand, and means of seduction were never wanting. Commanderies would be created under the name of Senatorships, endowments would be made certain, and heredity would loom in the distance. The Senate, a cipher up to this time, would soon become the first power in the State, and though it might subsequently exercise its power only for the benefit of the Government, so long as the Government was victorious, it would still retain enough to declare the deposition of the man who had created it. From this epoch, therefore, is to be dated the origin of that singular power which gave a legal existence to those changes which we afterwards witnessed, and which, without social convulsion, or revolutionary movement, but by insensible gradations, transformed a democratic Republic into an absolute Monarchy. We cannot praise the acuteness of the First Consul too highly ; in the existing emergency he saw at a glance all the future advantages that recourse to the Senate would secure to him, and by urging objections against every proposal submitted to him, he contrived to bring his Ministers and the Council of State to acknowledge that they could find no other way of settling the difficult question which occupied them than by referring it to the Senate.

It was decided that no law should be asked for ; and this resolution was voted by all except three members of the Council, viz. Truguet, Lacuée and Defermon, who had all spoken against it. The next day, 8th Nivôse (December 29), the following resolution was taken to the Consuls :

"The Council of State, in view of existing circumstances, is of opinion :

"1st. That the Government ought to establish a Military Commission as judges extraordinary of the authors and accomplices of the attempt of the 3d Nivôse.

"2d. That the Government, by an act of its authority, ought to decree the deportation of those persons whose presence is a danger to the State, and who might renew similar attempts.

"3d. Lastly, that the Government ought to inform the nation of this resolution, and to announce it by a message to the Legislative Body, the Tribunate and Conservative Senate."

The Consuls did not adopt these suggestions ; but, while rejecting them, they clearly established the end which they proposed to attain, and declared that it was necessary to give to this step which was indeed unconstitutional, yet eminently conservative of the Constitution, such a character as would protect it from all future attack, in rendering it valid by the approbation of the conservative Senate, a Body especially charged with the preservation of the Constitution. It was consequently decreed——

That on the 10th Nivôse, or at latest on the 11th (January 1, 1801), the Consuls should summon a special meeting of the Ministers and Councillors of State ; that the Minister of Police should read to that assembly a report on the necessity of the measure to be taken, and should submit for inspection the list of persons to be condemned to deportation ; that a short discussion should follow, and that the meeting should terminate by a decree of the Council, which the Section of the Interior would be charged to draw up.

That three Councillors of State should immediately be appointed to carry to the Senate the Decree of the Council, and to explain the motives which had determined it.

That the Senate, being assembled and forewarned, should deliberate approbatively, and that these various acts should be made public, and communicated to the Legislative Body and to the Tribunate.

Finally, that the measure should be carried into immediate execution.

The 9th Nivôse was passed in preparing the decree, and in the distribution of parts, and the solemn sitting of the Council of State was announced for the 10th Nivôse at midday. But in this short interval, a rumour spread that, from information obtained concerning the affair of the 3d Nivôse, suspicion of the crime was thrown on a very different party from that which the police were pursuing so zealously ; that there was reason to believe that England had paid the cost of the attempt, and employed the Royalists of the Vendée in its execution.

I refused to believe in this alleged information ; I was inclined to think that the rumour was the work of the police themselves, who were endeavouring to mislead opinion by turning the public anger from the Jacobins, towards whom they had always a leaning, and directing it towards the Royalists, *émigrés* and priests, whom they hated at that time with a mortal hatred. Under this conviction, I arrived at the Council of State on the 10th Nivôse, before the hour appointed for the general sitting, and I found the Sections of the Legislation and of the Interior assembled. Réal, one of the members of the former, spoke very strongly. He asserted his conviction that the attempt had not been made by the Terrorists, but by the Chouans, and he declared, with reason, that a measure directed against a class of men in which the real criminals were not comprised was a cruel injustice. I replied that I was quite of his opinion, if it could be proved to me that the crime was the work of any other class. "But," I asked him, "how can we believe that? How can we suppose that the Government would leave us in an error, which would have such fatal consequences." To my objections Réal replied that he was certain of what he advanced, and this he maintained with much warmth. The debate turned on too delicate a question to be conducted for any length of time with coolness. Animated, yet moderate, in the beginning, it soon degenerated, on the part of Réal, into personalities, which were indeed freely returned by his opponents, but which led to nothing. Each man retained his own opinion or prejudice. At two o'clock, in the heat of the discussion, it was brought to an end by an announcement that the Assembly of the Council of State was postponed to the next day, and the two sections separated. We were informed at the same time that the Senate, in an extraordinary sitting held the evening before, had adopted the plan already indicated, and that a deputation from that body had waited on the First Consul at eleven in the evening to inform him of the fact. Moreover, it had been agreed that the act demanded from the Senate should be called a 'senatus-consultum.' Bonaparte himself had proposed this title, and his profound political foresight already perceived all the profit he might gain from the novel procedure which he was introducing into the Legislative system. This device of the senatus-consultum,—so do words influence things—by placing it easily above the ordinary laws and consular decrees, made the Senate a constituent Power, instead of a body of Magistrates, merely guardians of the Constitution against the usurpations of either the legislative or the executive authority. It is probable that the introduction of the senatus-consultum into the legislation was regarded by Bonaparte as so important to the success of his ulterior views that he was eager to seize the opportunity of obtaining the first exercise of it, and insisted on it, although he knew that such an act was not necessary, and that it fell on innocent men, innocent, at least, of the particular crime imputed to them.

It was not until long afterwards that I perceived all this. At the time I discerned in the perseverance with which the Government prosecuted the remaining Jacobins and Terrorists, only a proof of its conviction that they were participators in the attempt of the 3d Nivôse. I felt relieved, therefore, to know that if unconstitutional means were being employed to punish the authors of the crime, at least they were not being punished with deliberate injustice, and I had no conscientious scruples when, on its being submitted to the Council of State, I voted in favour of the proposition.

The extraordinary sitting took place on the 11th Nivôse, year IX. (January 1, 1801). It was opened at 3 P.M. All the Ministers were present.

After a brief explanation of the object of the meeting, the First

Consul called upon Maret, the Secretary of State, to read two reports.

The first had been presented by Dubois, the Prefect of Police. It contained particulars of all the attempts that had been made on the life of the First Consul, from the 26th Messidor of the previous year (July 15, 1800). The conspiracy to which particular attention was drawn was hatched by one Chevalier, an enterprising man, not wanting in ability. He had been employed at Meudon, where, under the National Convention, an attempt had been made to utilise a former discovery in the fabrication of inflammable cannon-balls.* In this employment he had acquired certain knowledge which he proposed to apply to the construction of a machine which might be made to explode, and upset the First Consul's carriage on the road to Malmaison.† The machine was to have been placed on one of the little go-carts used for children; but the plot was discovered, and Chevalier and his accomplices were arrested on the 14th Brumaire, year IX. (November 5, 1800).

Since that time some attempts had been made to create disturbance among the working men of the capital, but they had failed. At last the conspiracy of the 3d Nivôse broke out. Its authors were not yet positively known, but there was every reason to believe that they belonged to the same class as the former conspirators. The report ended with some details of the fatal consequences of the explosion of the machine in the Rue Saint-Nicaise. Eight or ten persons had either been killed on the spot or had since died of their injuries. Forty-six houses in the neighbourhood had been seriously damaged.

The second report was drawn up by a private agent, whose name did not come out. This agent was in communication with all the extreme party, and the following is a concise analysis of his report:—

A society which included several persons whose names had figured in the course of the Revolution,‡ directed all the plots against the life of the First Consul.

In Prairial, year VIII., they had unsuccessfully tempted the Grenadiers of the Consular Guard to desert. Since then, when Bonaparte left France for Italy, they had flattered themselves he would never return, and at a dinner at the house of Gombault-

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* Various experiments in the use of this kind of cannon-ball on board men-of-war had been made at Versailles in 1785, under the Ministry of M. de Castries.

† The First Consul frequently went to this country house which Madame Bonaparte had bought, and which had been greatly beautified.

‡ The names given in the report are Desforges, Arena, Pepin d'Eyverchelt, Talon, Jumillard, Laignelot, Ceracchi and Gombault-Lachaise.

Lachaise they had decided on their course of action, should the desired event take place. After they had drank to the death of the tyrant, it was agreed that at first they would wear the white cockade, so as to attract the more credulous of the Royalists, and prevent the more clear-sighted from escaping them by leaving Paris, that for forty-eight hours the capital should be given over to plunder, and that under favour of this plunder they would rid the city of the Royalists. The return of the First Consul after Marengo had disconcerted them. The conspirators then attempted a fresh plot in the month of Messidor. They were to find assassins among a company of Grenadiers belonging to a demi-brigade that had just arrived in Paris. Bonaparte was informed of this ; but being fully confident in those troops, he ordered a review for the very day on which the plot was to be carried into effect, and placed himself in the direction of the fire.

This plan having failed, they looked about for a French Brutus. Moses Bayle* undertook the task and introduced a man named Metgen. He was equipped, furnished with a small sum of money, and armed with a dagger. He took his place in the Grand Tier of the Théâtre Français on the evening when Lafont played the part of Nero in *Britannicus* for the first time, but the First Consul did not go to the theatre, and the attempt was adjourned.

These unsuccessful plots occupied the conspirators until Fructidor. In the course of that month Gombault-Lachaise invented a machine which would throw a ball to a distance of three hundred feet, and this was to be employed on the 1st Vendémiaire, year IX. They hired a room with windows looking out on the Place des Victoires, whence they intended to turn the machine on the First Consul during the funeral ceremonies in honour of Generals Desaix and Kléber. But the general arrangements and the decorations of the monument erected on the Place prevented the execution of the project.

They also contrived to effect an entrance into Malmaison during the same month, and reconnoitred the quarries on the road thither, but dared not venture on the deed.

In Vendémiaire they constructed another machine containing a kind of Greek fire, and tried an experiment with it on the 25th of that month (October 17), behind the buildings of the hospital of La Salpétrière. Chevalier had worked the machine, and it seems that it served as a model for the one he subsequently made, and which was seized on the 14th Brumaire, when he was arrested.

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* Moses Bayle had been a Member of the National Convention, and remarkable for his revolutionary excesses. He had served in the Directory Police, under Bourguignon and even under Fouché, until 1800.

Besides all this, they had drawn up the plan of a Constitution for France, after the death of the First Consul. One Didier, probably the same who was accused under the Directory at the time of the Babeuf conspiracy, was designated as Mayor of Paris.

These attempts were the work of an association which called itself *The Company of Tyrannicides*, and whose members were bound by a special oath.

When these two Reports had been read, Fouché, the Minister of Police, rose to speak.

He presumed that the Government must now be undeceived regarding the system of generosity it had hitherto pursued towards the scoundrels who were threatening it. "Since September 1792," said he, "the same individuals have always been conspiring against every kind of Government." He recapitulated their devices from the establishment of the Consulate until the plot of the 3d Nivôse, "*a plot the thread of which is in the hands of the police, who will supply such information to justice as will keep it on the right track.*" He divided these men into two classes; those who with their own hands had shed blood, and those who were implicated whether as instigators or approvers. The first only he proposed to treat with severity.

The Minister next recapitulated the various conspiracies mentioned in the report of the Prefect of Police, as well as in that of the secret agent, and gave further and more precise details concerning them. Lastly, after naming the principal accomplices, he concluded by proposing the banishment from Paris and from France of all the Septembrisists or Terrorists, and by reducing his motion to four principal heads.

1st. The accused to be brought before a military tribunal.
2d. The Septembrisists to be deported.
3d. The remaining Terrorists to be exiled from Paris.
4th. A law to impose conditions upon residing in Paris to be demanded.

The Secretary of State, Maret, then read out the list of individuals for deportation. The greater number were unknown to the members of the Council. The only remarkable persons were Prince Charles of Hesse, Destrem, Botto, Felix, Lepelletier, Fournier the American, and some others, who had been more or less noticeable during the course of the Revolution, for their exaggerated opinions, or actions.

The reading of these various papers being ended, the debate began. It turned especially on the report of the Minister of Police and on the conclusions he had drawn. Several members of the

Council, myself among the number, remarked that the Minister spoke with extreme reserve of the event of the 3d Nivôse, whereas he gave exact and full details of the preceding plots ; and that only by analogy, and the similarity of the means employed, could the conclusion be reached that the authors of the latter criminal design belonged to the class pointed out by the Minister, against which exclusively he proposed severe measures.

I went farther, and stated my opinion that if the report of the Minister were to be published in order to justify the impending measures, it would be indispensable to modify the phrase which I have italicised above, as it appeared to cast suspicion on a class to which those who were being prosecuted did not belong.

These observations were, on the whole, well received, an attentive examination of the papers that it would be desirable to publish was promised, and the First Consul, regarding the debate as concluded, put the three following questions to the vote.

First. Is it necessary, under existing circumstances, to have recourse to an extraordinary measure ? Unanimously resolved in the affirmative.

Secondly. Ought that measure to form the matter of a law ? Unanimously resolved in the negative, with the exception of Truguet.

Thirdly. Shall this measure be referred to the Conservative Senate ? Unanimously resolved in the affirmative.

When I reflect on what took place at that sitting I can only deplore the facility with which men under the sway of a fixed idea are led away in political assemblies. In the case which I am relating, the fixed idea of the Members of the Council of State was the conviction that the Terrorists were the only enemies dangerous to the Government ; that men, themselves stained by the greatest excesses, and who had shed the blood of their fellow-citizens, ought to be outlawed by society ; and that the accomplishment of that end was so great a benefit, that every means of attaining it was justifiable. This was a false and dangerous maxim, the application of which may entail fatal consequences ! Thus, although a calm examination of the reports that had just been read to us would have made us more than ever doubtful that the real criminals of the 3d Nivôse were threatened by the proposed measure, we unanimously agreed, without hesitation, to the propositions submitted to us. But the Government carefully abstained from exposing the reports that had been read to the Council to the dispassionate discussion which publicity would have entailed ; the weak side of those reports would have been immediately recognised, and public opinion would not have been satisfied with them. No part of the papers read to us was printed, and the Report of the Minister of Police, which three days afterwards was presented to the Senate, and was supposed to have served as the basis of the discussion at the Council of State, was altogether different from the one we had listened to ; the questions on which we had to deliberate were not presented in the same way, and in the list of names for deportation, several of those which were comprised in Maret's list, among others that of Botto, formerly Secretary to Barras, were suppressed.

The Senate, however, already favourably disposed, showed no hesitation, and the senatus-consultum, carried up by three orators of the State-Council—Roederer, Simeon, and Portalis—was rendered. As the first act of the kind, it cemented the union of the Senate with the Government, and created that powerful instrument which served to build up the edifice which Bonaparte was then meditating, and which he so rapidly succeeded in erecting.

I must add, moreover, that the Government made little use of the right to deport the Terrorists which had just been conferred upon it by the Senate. They employed it in only a few cases. The individuals were simply banished from Paris, not deported, and were subsequently allowed to return. Perhaps the First Consul, according as more positive information disclosed the real authors of the attempt of the 3d Nivôse, felt the injustice of inflicting punishment on innocent persons ; or, being satisfied with having put the Senate in action and created a new source of power, from which he purposed to derive immense advantage, he did not wish to excite popular discontent by the severity of the first act of authority it enabled him to exert. However this may be, it is a fact that the senatus-consultum produced little result, and soon became a dead letter.

The event of the 3d Nivôse led to Ceracchi and his accomplices being brought to trial, for having attempted the life of the First Consul on the 18th Vendémiaire. Until now no proceedings had been commenced. The act of accusation was drawn up on the 6th Nivôse (December 27), and by a judgment delivered on the 19th of the same month (January 9) Ceracchi, Demerville, Joseph Arena and Topino Lebrun were condemned to death and executed. The Tribunal acquitted the other accused persons.

Shortly afterwards, the real authors of the attempt of the 3d Nivôse became known. The gates of Paris had been shut from the 20th Nivôse (January 10, 1801) and this police measure, which during the Revolution was only resorted to on occasions of serious danger, real or supposed, lasted for several days. To enter or to leave Paris was alike forbidden, without the production of a safe conduct or a passport. A strict supervision was exercised over strangers dwelling in Paris. Extraordinary measures had been taken for the arrest of various persons, especially among the Chouans and the returned *émigrés*. The police, in fact, mostly pursued their enquiries among the latter, and delayed or neglected the execution of the senatus-consultum against the Terrorists. Everything pointed to the conclusion that the police authorities were convinced that the real criminals of the 3d Nivôse would be found among the Royalists of La Vendée or of Brittany, nor were they mistaken. In short, between the 29th Nivôse and the 8th Pluviôse, the three principal actors in the conspiracy, the constructors of the Infernal Machine, were arrested. Their names are as follows:

Carbon, alias Petit François, Captain in the Vendéan army, and serving under General Bourmont.

Timoleon, Chief of the Staff of the above-named General.

Saint-Rejeant, alias Pierrot, Lieutenant under Georges Cadoudal, the Commander-in-Chief of the Chouans in Morbihan.*

Thus all doubt was removed, and the Chief of the Police was triumphant. But his conduct in this business was not the less odious. What can be thought of a man who consents to hand over a considerable number of persons to public vengeance, when all the time he is convinced that not one of them is guilty, or even implicated in the crime of which they are all accused! This was a source of endless regret for those in authority who, deceived by lying reports, gave their consent to these iniquitous sentences! For my own part I have never forgiven myself for my share in this matter. The most remarkable part of it was the selection of the orators who were sent to the Senate. Roederer, no doubt, acted in perfect good faith. But how could Portalis and Simeon, who at a later period prided themselves on having constantly acted as agents of the Bourbons under the Empire, consent to support before the Senate an arbitrary measure which they well knew to be unjust?

I have dwelt at length on the celebrated date of the 3d Nivôse, and I was bound to do so. The details it has given me an opportunity of narrating, the growing inclination towards despotism, with which Bonaparte's danger inspired him at this time, are worthy of attentive consideration. Recognizing that he had equally formidable enemies in the two extreme parties, the Royalists and the Terrorists, he became persuaded that Supreme Power alone could save him from plots against his life, and the unexpected docility displayed by all the bodies of the State convinced him that thenceforth there was nothing he might not attempt with great probability of success. Not, however, that those bodies or the citizens were already prepared to confer on him the absolute Sovereignty which he acquired two years later; but the public imagination was so deeply impressed with the idea that he was the necessary man, and so terrified at the abyss into which the nation must fall if he failed it, that no sacrifice was thought too costly to preserve a life on which the existence of France herself depended. Bonaparte was therefore greatly indebted to his enemies. By aiming at his life with the assassin's dagger they had revealed to him the secret of his strength, and enforced on him, so to speak, the necessity of exerting it.

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* It was Saint-Rejeant who fired the infernal machine. The violence of the shock flung him against a post, and part of his breast-bone was driven in. He was obliged to resort to a surgeon, and it would seem that this man denounced him. See, besides, the report of 11th Pluviôse by the Minister of Police, which appeared in the "Moniteur" on the 12th, very different to the one he had read a month earlier at the Council of State.

The criminal and unsuccessful attempt of the 3d Nivôse had also the effect of hastening the conclusion of the negotiations which had been seriously resumed at Lunéville, in consequence of our military successes in Italy and our victory at Hohenlinden. Fortune had delivered Bonaparte from several conspiracies, and France had been saved from the anarchy which would have been caused by his death, so that it had become a necessity for the Powers to treat with her. Peace, Austria's sole resource, was equally needful for Bonaparte in order that he might tranquillise the interior of France, especially the Southern Provinces, which were still laid waste by brigandage and by a sanguinary reaction. Joseph Bonaparte and Count von Cobentzel speedily agreed upon the principal points of the treaty, and I was gratified to hear this good news.

But I was not destined to witness the triumph of the negotiator on his return to Paris. The First Consul hurried me off to Corsica. The Consular Act, appointing me Administrator-General of the two departments of Golo and Liamone, into which the island was at that time divided, had been sent to me on the 21st Nivôse (January 11), together with a decree of the Council of State conferring extensive powers on me during the suspension of the rule of the Constitution, a suspension which had been pronounced by law.

I therefore prepared to set out; but before my departure, I had several interviews with the First Consul, from whom I received instruction as to the line I was to follow in my administration. He desired, after having restored peace in the country, to exercise a salutary influence on the manners and customs of his fellow countrymen, to civilise them; to introduce new modes of cultivation into an island so favoured by climate and situation; to embellish the towns, especially Ajaccio his birthplace, and to bring salubrious water within reach of its inhabitants ; lastly, to construct roads and make them fit for wheeled traffic. I gladly undertook to assist him in these benevolent endeavours, and although I could not disguise from myself the difficulties in my way—several serious disturbances having occurred in the island since the departure of the English—I felt my spirits rise with the hope of doing some good. I hastened to collect everything that could help me in the execution of these desirable projects. I obtained from five to six thousand volumes from the Minister of the Interior, to form the nucleus of a public library in Ajaccio ; a printing-press for the same town, and a quantity of seeds and grafts, which the esteemed Thouni himself selected for me. I hoped to naturalise in Corsica some of the productions of America, such as cotton, indigo, and the cactus, which supplies food to the cochineal ; live specimens of that insect were also given me. This valuable collection was entrusted to M. Noisette, a skilful gardener who accompanied me to the island.

All my preparations being complete, I left Paris with my family on the 15th Pluviôse, year IX. (February 4, 1801). The roads were at that time in a frightful condition. Our carriages were upset twice before we reached Lyons, where I embarked on the Rhone, and went by boat as far as Avignon. To the latter town, on the evening of the 28th Pluviôse, a trade-courier, on his way to Marseilles, brought the news of the conclusion of peace between France and Austria at Lunéville, on the 20th Pluviôse (Feb. 9).

After various accidents caused by the bad state of the roads, I arrived at Toulon on the 7th Ventôse (Feb. 26).

The south of France was still far from tranquil. Brigandage and murder were of common occurrence, and the inhabitants in general showed little liking for the Consular Government. The news of peace had made but a slight impression ; it was hardly believed, and the report was regarded as a trick of the Government. We had need of a considerable escort to make the journey between Marseilles and Toulon in safety, and to cross the gorges of Ollioules, a very dangerous passage at that time. General Cervoni,* who was in command of the eighth Military Division, of which the departments of the Rhone and Var form a part, was active in repressing the universally prevalent disorder; but he was ill-seconded by the municipalities, who trembled before the remnants of the bands of assassins which had been organized two years previously, and had committed the most frightful excesses. The municipal authorities dared not prosecute the guilty men, and crimes were committed in broad daylight without either a complaint being lodged or a witness found to aid the law in its pursuit of the criminals. Thus at every period of our troubles the southern towns have shown the same passionateness on one side or the other. Absurd intolerance and sanguinary fury have continually dishonoured the side adopted by the South.

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* General Cervoni was a Corsican by birth, deeply attached to the Bonaparte family, an able soldier, and, moreover, a very estimable man. During my stay at Marseilles, he gave me some particulars of the origin of the greatness of the First Consul, which I will set down here. Bonaparte was in Corsica at the beginning of the Revolution ; he was appointed to a command in the National Guard when that body was organized. Persecuted by the partisans of Paoli, he and his family took refuge in France and came to Marseilles. He was then merely a captain of artillery, and in that capacity was ordered to escort a convoy of gunpowder from Avignon for the siege of Toulon. Having accomplished this task,

Orders had been given at Toulon to equip a corvette to convey me to Corsica. As she was not in readiness when I arrived, I was obliged to prolong my stay for nearly three weeks.

Another circumstance also aided to delay me. A French squadron under Admiral Ganteaume had entered the roadstead of Toulon, on the 6th Ventôse. From day to day we awaited its departure for Egypt, for we hoped that by sailing at the same time our ship would be escorted as far as Corsica. But the time consumed in repairing several of the vessels of this squadron, which were damaged by the wind, and the supineness of the

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he passed through Marseilles just at the moment when Gasparin and Salicetti, Commissioners of the Convention, attached to the troops besieging Toulon, had directed Cervoni to ask the Military Commander of Marseilles for an artillery officer, to whom part of the siege works might be confided. Joseph Bonaparte, who was then at Marseilles, informed Cervoni of his brother's arrival, and they went together to seek Napoleon at the Club. They invited him to drink punch at a neighbouring café, and proposed to him that he should go to the siege of Toulon. Bonaparte made some difficulty before accepting; he had a poor opinion of Carteaux, who was conducting the siege. However, he was at last induced to consent. On his arrival before Toulon Bonaparte went immediately to inspect the batteries, and everything appertaining to the service of the artillery, and was exceedingly dissatisfied. The positions appeared to him badly chosen; and he noticed in particular that a battery directed against the enemy's fleet was at too great a distance. He therefore declared openly to Gasparin that he could not possibly serve under a general who had not the most elementary military knowledge. Gasparin was struck with this declaration, recognised all that might be expected from a man who already showed signs of the ability he was afterwards to display so successfully. He wrote in this sense to the Committee of Public Safety, who recalled Carteaux and replaced him by Dugommier. Bonaparte got on well with the new general, and predicted that, with Dugommier directing the siege, Toulon would fall within a month. The event justified this prediction. After the taking of Toulon Bonaparte was named General of Brigade, and this was the origin of his military glory and success.

Admiral, as well as difficulties of detail, which cropped up every day, detained us in the roadstead until the end of the month. The expedition commanded by Admiral Ganteaume was in reality destined for Egypt, where it was to land two thousand men, but this destination had been masked at the time of its departure from Brest, under the pretence of sending it to Saint-Domingo. Lescalier, Councillor of State, and General Satruguet had embarked with the fleet; the first as Administrator-General, the second as Captain-General of that colony. A large number of negro officers had also embarked, believing they were going to serve under the orders of Toussaint l'Ouverture, and it was only when the squadron passed through the Straits of Gibraltar that each and all found they had been deceived.

Notwithstanding these precautions, and this deception of which they were the dupes, the expedition had not succeeded. From what Ganteaume himself told me, he had found superior forces on the Coast of Africa, and moreover he had believed himself to be followed by a division of the enemy that had entered the Mediterranean after him. The fear of finding himself between two squadrons with but feeble resources, and compromising the precious remnants of our navy, had determined him to cast anchor at Toulon. Since his arrival only a few of the enemy's frigates had been seen cruising about, to take observations of the movements of the French squadron, and no formidable force had appeared.

When Bonaparte heard that the squadron had put into Toulon, and that it was remaining there, he was very angry, and sent Colonel Lucien, one of his aides-de-camp, to urge Ganteaume to put to sea. The only hope of retaining Egypt, or at least enabling the French to maintain their position there some time longer, lay in the arrival of the troops and succour of all kinds sent out by this squadron—if it failed to arrive, the conquest must be entirely abandoned. But notwithstanding all the importance the Government seemed to attach to this expedition, Ganteaume delayed his departure from day to day; he even purposely exaggerated the enemy's forces by which he said he was pursued; for it was known afterwards that the English had only three or four men-of-war on the Coast of Africa, or before Alexandria, and the French squadron was by far the stronger. On the other hand, very serious differences had arisen between the Admiral and General Satruguet, in command of the troops on board, and everything seemed to combine to render the expedition a failure.* At last, after a delay of twenty-three days in the roadstead of Toulon, the French squadron weighed anchor on the 29th Ventôse (March 20) at six in the evening. The war-sloop *Hirondelle*, with myself, my family, and several other persons employed in the Corsican Administration on board, set sail at the same time, under escort of the fleet. The north-west wind blew very strong. Hardly had we left the roadstead when the Admiral hailed us, to say that one of his vessels had struck, that he could no longer make way, and had brought to, waiting until the ship could be got off.

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* In fact it did fail completely, and in the same year (1801) Ganteaume brought back his squadron to Toulon without having effected the disembarkation of the troops. Nevertheless he was a very skilful commander,

As he gave us no orders, the captain of our vessel determined to remain with the squadron; but at eleven o'clock a violent wind arose, and the sea became so rough that we were unable to remain with the squadron. The next morning we found ourselves altogether separated from it, and in sight of the islands of Hyères. In the evening, the wind having fallen, we cast anchor at Saint-Tropez, where we were detained two days awaiting a favourable wind.

We set sail again on the 1st Germinal (March 22), and the next morning we sighted Corsica, but were detained near the coast by a dead calm, which prevented us from doubling Cape Roux to reach Ajaccio. The captain of the *Hirondelle* put in at Calvi, where we landed on the morning of the 4th Germinal, year IX. (March 25, 1801). From Calvi, crossing the island by difficult roads, on the 10th Germinal (March 31) we reached Ajaccio, where I established myself in the house of the Bonaparte family, which had been placed at my disposal by the First Consul.

as he proved in the more fortunate expedition sent to revictual Corfu in 1807, and of which I shall have future occasion to speak.

CHAPTER XIII.

State of Corsica at the period of the Author's arrival—His proposed system for the administration of the country—Difficulties thrown in his way by the partisans of the Bonaparte family, and the military authorities—He dismisses General Muller, Commandant of the Division, from the island—Improvements introduced into the country—An account of the Author's excursion to Monte-Rotondo—Curious fête given in his honor at Cervione—The organic laws of the Concordat concluded with the Pope—The Life-Consulship—Little interest shown by the Corsicans in voting for it—Numerous adverse votes among the troops—Journey to Monte d'Oro—Information concerning the Bonaparte family and their origin—The Author is recalled, and Corsica is again placed under the rule of the Constitution—Sketch of the state of the island and the customs of the inhabitants.

On the whole I was well received in Corsica ; the recollections of my first mission to the island were favourable to me ; my impartiality, and that a sincere desire to restore peace to the country was the sole aim of all my actions was well known. The people believed me to be still animated by the same sentiments, and they were not mistaken. My greatest difficulties, therefore, did not lie in the aversion or the opposition of the inhabitants, but arose from the ascendency exercised by the partisans of the First Consul's family, and which they wanted to continue to exercise. They looked upon me merely as their instrument, to be used solely to get rid of their enemies, and to confer favours on their protégés. I was by no means inclined to play such a part as this, and had I done so, I should not only have failed in my most obvious duty, but I should have added to the discord which it was my principal business to appease. I therefore assumed an independent attitude, and I soon became a mark for the enmity of all those who did not find me sufficiently pliant, and who made complaints and accusations of all kinds against me at Paris. I had much to bear from these machinations, although I must do the First Consul the justice to say that he perseveringly protected me when I was attacked by the basest calumnies, and would never withdraw his confidence from me.

I shall now describe the state of the country when I arrived, and the course which I adopted in the management of public affairs.

At the close of my first mission Corsica had been brought under the rule of the Constitution of year III., and during the whole existence of that Constitution the island had been governed by Departmental administrations, whose members were selected from among the inhabitants of the island exclusively. The elections, which were sometimes contested by the armed partisans of the various factions into which the wealthiest and most powerful families were divided, had been a constant pretext for disturbance which frequently led to bloodshed.

When the elections were over, the victorious party would make use of its power, avenge itself on its opponents, and by heaping up acts of petty persecution and injustice, would finally drive the people into open revolt. The revolution of the 18th Brumaire took place. But in the island the result was not the same as in the interior of France. A kind of military rule took the place of the administration that during the last years of the Executive Directory had been confided to men actually born in the island, and at the beginning of year VIII. the General in command of the division united, so to speak, every kind of authority in his own person, although the central administrations did not formally cease to exercise their functions until the arrival of the Prefects.

Notwithstanding this change, the establishment of the Consular Government and the Constitution of year VIII. had had but little effect. Salicetti, who had been sent to Corsica as the delegate of the Consuls, had not succeeded in preventing the evil consequences of the adverse disposition of the public mind. Being a native of the country, and therefore always suspected of partiality, he met with obstinate opposition everywhere. The inhabitants, exasperated by long-continued persecution, and agitated by the false hopes that were disseminated through the interior by returned *émigrés* and by emissaries of the English, were very unmanageable ; and the severity of the means employed, perhaps without due regard to prudence, to repress the beginning of trouble, had ended by causing positive insurrections in several parts of the island. Thus in the months of Floréal and Prairial of year VIII. (May and June 1800) a revolt had broken out in the cantons of Porto-Vecchio and Fiumorbo,* and afterwards in Balagna. The attempt to repress the insurrection had utterly failed in the two first cantons ; the troops which were sent there for the purpose had been forced to fall back, on account of the total interruption of communications. Balagna, on the contrary, had been quickly subdued by a force of 2000 men, who penetrated into that province, the richest of the island. Severe measures had been taken against the insurgents ; many of them were hanged, and the Consular delegates imposed a fine of 2,000,000 francs (£80,000), of which, however, only 400,000 (£16,000) was realised.

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* Thinly inhabited and somewhat uncivilized cantons on the eastern coast of Corsica.

Notwithstanding the subjugation of Balagna, and the numerous sentences passed by the Military Commission which Salicetti had instituted, the country was still far from perfect tranquillity. Some men who had been condemned and had afterwards escaped the execution of their sentences, had taken refuge in the mountains and were a terror to the country, carrying on a system of brigandage which they exercised on all travellers, and also perpetrating acts of private vengeance. No one could travel in any direction without an escort, and it was frequently necessary to send a detachment of five or six men in order to convey a letter from one post to another.

The effect of this state of things was more or less perceptible in all parts of the island, and was rendered still more serious by the dearth of provisions and the high price of bread ; by the discontent of the troops, whose pay was in arrear, and whose destitution was extreme ; by the delay in the arrival of the funds that had been sent from Paris to provide for their wants ; by the anger excited by the manner in which those funds were expended, particularly the money produced by the Balagna fine ; and, lastly, by the absolute default of justice.

The institution of juries in Corsica had rendered it impossible to punish crime. Divided as they were into parties, and at the same time almost all connected by family ties, the inhabitants, who from the remotest period of their social existence had been accustomed to avenge their injuries themselves, or to hand down the task of vengeance from generation to generation, looking upon revenge as a sacred debt of honour ; the inhabitants, I say, were incapable of conceiving a just idea of the duty and office of juries. The strongest evidence, even positive proof of crime, never induced a jury composed of men of the same party, or the same family, as the accused, to pronounce him guilty, because public opinion attaches dishonour to any one who, to use the expression of the country, "denies his party or deserts his blood." If, on the contrary, the accused were of the opposite party to that of the jury, the certainty of being mercilessly hunted down, and of incurring a vengeance which at best could only be deferred, equally paralysed the action of trial by jury, and the useless and expensive proceedings were almost always null and void.

Such was the state of Corsica at the time of my arrival. To extricate the country from this deplorable condition the Government had proposed and obtained the law which suspended the

Constitution in the departments of Golo and Liamone, and this, far from being an act of severity, as it appeared to be at first sight, was in reality a substantial benefit.

Having received instructions from my Government, and having been granted very wide powers for governing a country where the difficulties to be overcome were so great, I laid down for myself a plan of conduct differing from that which had been followed hitherto. I applied myself first to restoring the course of justice, which had been in abeyance for several years, and my first care was the institution of a criminal tribunal equally composed of civil and military judges. But I imposed at the same time a rule on this tribunal, that in proportion as it should rigorously punish such offences and crimes as, whatever may be the opinions of a nation and the mode of its Government, are real crimes and offences, so it should show consideration and even indulgence towards actions belonging exclusively to the political order, which had a more or less legitimate excuse in the numerous revolutionary movements that had taken place in Corsica, and the contending influence successively exerted by those who had been at the head of affairs in the country.

At the same time, therefore, that I granted an amnesty in the name of the Government to the insurgents of Fiumorbo and Porto-Vecchio ; that I allowed the men who, after the insurrection of Balagna, had fled into the mountains to come back to their homes *under caution ;* that I permitted the return of several individuals whose names had been from motives of personal animosity inscribed on the list of *émigrés*,* I gave no chance of escape either to assassins or brigands. Many of these, who had been arrested and publicly tried by the Extraordinary Tribunal which I had established at Ajaccio, were punished with death, and that salutary example, which announced the re-establishment of legal justice, had a happy effect. In less than three months I had the satisfaction of finding confidence restored, property secure, long-interrupted communications once more open, and trust in the impartiality and firmness of the Government growing daily.

Still, notwithstanding these encouraging results, my efforts were far from being universally appreciated and supported.† My impartiality in the appointment of officials, my strict rectitude in the management of the public moneys, my inexorable punishment of extortion and exactions, procured me a great many enemies.

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* The First Consul had himself told me, in Paris, that he did not believe more than thirty individuals could, with justice, be retained on the list of *émigrés*.

† One of the greatest misfortunes of the Administration in Corsica is that a post in that island is always regarded in France as a punishment and not a favour, and that either the most ordinary individuals are sent thither, or else persons who have given dissatisfaction in Paris.

The military especially, mortified that extraordinary powers which extended even over them had been conferred upon me, showed me decided hostility. Far from helping me in my endeavours to restore public tranquillity, they thwarted them to the best of their power. At last, General Muller, who was in command of the division, a brave soldier but of little judgment, declared himself so openly against me, and conducted himself with so much impropriety, that I was obliged, for my own authority's sake, to order him back to France. This decisive act, of which the First Consul did not disapprove, bettered my position, and for a time silenced my adversaries. But they soon returned to the charge with renewed violence. It was Bonaparte's uncle, afterwards Cardinal Fesch, and General Casabianca who especially opposed me in Paris. I had refused to confer favours and appointments to which they had no claim on some protégés of theirs. This could not be forgiven me, and they made complaints of every one of my actions to the Ministers, who being themselves displeased at the removal of Corsica from their administration, lent a willing ear to all they had to say. My difficulties therefore increased at every step, and I had need of all my strength to weather the storm. I shall not enter into the particulars of the intricate affairs I had to manage. At that time they occupied me entirely; they were of great importance to the country and to myself; they are of none now. I shall only say a few words of the improvements which I effected in the island.

Through my exertions a high road was opened in the interior of Corsica, by which easy communication between Ajaccio and Bastia was established. This road, which crosses the mountain-chain that divides Corsica into two unequal parts, is highly picturesque. At the time of my departure from the island it was in a forward state, and I believe the works were continued afterwards and the road brought to perfection. All I can say is that my family travelled along it in a carriage, the first time that a vehicle had come from Ajaccio to Corte, through the difficult pass of Foce di Guizzavona.

The town of Ajaccio was embellished and enlarged; some old fortifications were levelled, and a new suburb arose on their site. The library that I had brought with me was deposited in the buildings formerly owned by the Jesuits, and was thrown open to the inhabitants. The printing-press was set up, and vied with that of Bastia the only one until then existing in Corsica. Some land belonging to the State, to the west of Ajaccio, was formed into a botanical garden, where the seeds and plants I had obtained in

Paris throve, on the whole, exceedingly well. Cotton-grass, the cotton-trees, and indigo, were in full growth. The cochineal-cactus had taken root, and the insect that feeds on it was flourishing. I had found a water supply for the town from whence a canal could be brought through the Botanical Gardens, which might then have been considerably enlarged. Meanwhile I had caused a large reservoir which sufficed for present wants to be constructed. These useful and peaceful victories over nature were to me a delightful pastime, and a very real consolation amid the cares that habitually oppressed me. I had even the satisfaction of feeling that my labours were not altogether without reward, and that I was repaid by the affection of at least a portion of the inhabitants. I had an opportunity of testing this in the course of my numerous journeys into the interior. In the month of Fructidor, year IX., and in the month of Thermidor, year X., I explored the two highest mountains of Corsica, Monte-Rotondo and Monte d'Oro, and as I am unacquainted with any book of travels in which a description of those mountains is to be found, I will insert at this place an extract from my journal, beginning with my first excursion.

Excursion to Monte-Rotondo

(*also called Monte-Gradaccio in old Corsican Maps*).

We started from Bastia on the 11th Fructidor, year IX. (August 29, 1801), and proceeded to Corta,* not by the high road, but across the mountains by way of Biguglia and Murato. From Murato we came to Corta to pass the night.

We left Corta on the 12th Fructidor at 2 P.M. with two shepherds who acted as guides, and directed our way towards the west, ascending the Restonica, one of the two rivers that flow through Corta. We halted at 5 P.M. and passed the night on the ridge of a mountain called La Punta del Renoso, one of the counter-forts of Monte-Rotondo. From this point we resumed our way at two o'clock A.M., by the light of the newly risen moon. We first went up a valley formed by two spurs of the Punta del Renoso, and through which flows a stream called the Rivisecco, which empties itself farther on into the Restonica. The air was chill, but the way so rugged that we were all bathed in perspiration. After two hours of most difficult walking we crossed the Punta del Renoso, which is a sort of barrier closing the valley, and whence the Rivisecco dashes down in a cascade. We found it again on the other side of the natural dyke I have just mentioned, and we followed it, still ascending, to its source at the foot of Monte-Rotondo. It is alleged that this source is in reality that of the Restonica, and consequently it would be the Rivisecco that takes the name of Restonica, when it joins the waters of the valley through which we had passed on leaving Corta. This would be a nice point to determine, for the name of Restonica in these mountains seems common to all the streams which flow to the east of Monte-Rotondo.

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* My fellow-travellers were MM. Pietri, Prefect of Golo; Méthuan, a mining engineer; Demony, a young man employed in my administration, and Noisette, a botanist.

On reaching the foot of the latter mountain we were enabled to appreciate its external form. It presents the appearance of a truncated cone, crowned with several bare summits more or less needle-shaped. Two very steep ascents lead up to it. We followed that on the left, which forms the southern flank of the mountain. The ascent was at first easy enough ; we passed a few small shrubs, such as Alnus (*Vetula alnus*) and the juniper (*Juniperus communis*), but they were extremely stunted. Very soon, however, all vegetation disappeared, and the path became so steep that we had great difficulty in reaching a col which separates two of the aiguilles that rise above the mountain. It was 8 A.M. when we reached this point, whence we could observe the curious configuration of the mountain. It absolutely resembles an amphitheatre, in which there is a wide opening for the escape of the waters of a lake contained in what might be the arena. The walls of this amphitheatre are almost perpendicular, and must have been quite so originally, for it is easy to see that the rocky fragments which give them more slope and render it possible to climb to the top of the wall are but slips of the crest, and that the needles and isolated summits are formed simply by portions of rock which have resisted the attacks of time, and other causes to which the destruction of this gigantic wall may be attributed.

From the col to which we had climbed with so much difficulty, we could enjoy a delightful view, but after having come so far it was impossible not to wish to reach the highest point of the mountain now rising on our right. After a few moments' rest, therefore, we resumed our way, and keeping as much as possible on the summit of the wall, and springing from rock to rock, we at last reached the highest point and the object of our expedition. We took our stand on a pyramid of stones heaped together fifteen years before by M. Barral,* whose name as well as that of M. de Laguillaumie, the former Intendant of Corsica, is carved on one of the stones, with the date 1785, and we admired at our leisure the magnificent scene which lay beneath and around us.

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* M. Barral, an engineer in the navy, travelled in Corsica in 1784 and 1785, and published a description of the island.

The point on which we were standing, whose elevation, according to the 'Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes,' is 2672 yards above the level of the sea, is situated almost in the exact centre of the island, if we exclude from it the promontory of Cape Corso. From this spot we overlooked all the other mountains of the island, which form circular ranges round Monte-Rotondo, diminishing in height as they approach the seashore. A vast stretch of the Mediterranean lay before us ; Sardinia, the island of Elba, the coasts of Italy with all their little scattered isles, and no doubt we could have also seen the coasts of Spain and France, but for the clouds which obscured the horizon in their direction.

The highest ranges of the island, next to Monte-Rotondo, are those of Monte-Cinto to the north-west, and that of Monte d'Oro to the south. In the spaces between the various ranges which, as I have said, form a circular chain round Monte-Rotondo, we could perceive numerous lakes at different heights, whence flow the principal rivers, or, to be more accurate, the largest streams that water the island.

It is one of the most remarkable physical peculiarities of Corsica that these lakes are like funnels placed in the centre of the mountains, and are generally circular in shape. The circumference of the lake that occupies what I call the arena of the Monte-Rotondo amphitheatre is about 700 yards. The waters are extremely cold, and although very clear, look almost black, because of the depth of the basins which contain them. Many fables are current among the shepherds as to their origin ; they are regarded as the work of a supernatural power, and many most improbable phenomena are attributed to them. It is said that in one of them, Lake Melo or Meluccio, no living being can be immersed without instantly becoming a fleshless skeleton. One of the shepherds who accompanied us said that although he was a good swimmer nothing on earth would induce him to throw himself into that lake. The following particulars respecting the lakes nearest to our standpoint may be interesting.

The lake of Monte-Rotondo is the source of the Vecchio, a river which flows through the canton of the same name into the Tavignano.

The Restonica, or more accurately the Rivisecco, rises from a small lake that we had remarked on the ascent of Monte-Rotondo.

Lake d'Ino gives birth to the Galo, the Liamone and the Tavignano. The waters appear to part at a certain point, the Galo flowing to the east, the Tavignano to the south-east, and the Liamone to the west.

Lake Creno supplies a tributary to the Liamone.

Lake Melo receives part of the waters of the two last-named lakes, which are situated above it, and gives out a stream which, joining the Rivisecco, becomes the Restonica.

After we had contemplated these varied scenes, we decided on descending the mountain by the path opposite to that by which we had come up, that is to say, by the northern, or rather the north-west side of the mountain. In order to accomplish this, we were obliged first to get down to the edge of the lake at the bottom of the amphitheatre, and then to climb again by the only practicable point of the circular wall. We succeeded after much labour. Having once more gained the summit of the wall, at a point almost facing M. Barral's pyramid, we began the descent, and taking a northerly direction, we passed in succession, along very steep and difficult paths, the shores of Lake Ino, Lake Creno and Lake Melo. We halted at the side of the latter, whose wild and picturesque aspect harmonises admirably with the stern and terrible landscape that surrounds it. The basin in which the lake is enclosed is formed by a kind of natural dyke caused by landslips from the neighbouring mountains, and the stream which flows from it rushes in a cascade over this dyke. From the banks of Lake Melo we traced, not without a shudder, the path by which we had reached it. After following the borders of the lake, which we left on our right, we continued our descent, and at length arrived at the first shepherds' huts that are met with below Monte-Rotondo. This group of five or six cabins bears the name of the Grotelle. It was 5 P.M. when we reached it; so that we had been walking for fifteen hours without intermission. We entered one of the cabins, intending to remain until the morrow, but during the night we were overtaken by a storm which obliged us to quit our place of shelter in order to cross the neighbouring stream, as it had in a few hours swollen to such an extent that it would have been impossible for us to have crossed it next morning. Having escaped this danger, we set out at daybreak for Corta, and arrived there on the 14th Fructidor (September 1). On the following day I started for Orezza, journeying through the Canton of Rostino and that of Ampugnano. This part of Corsica is fertile and richly wooded; the chestnut-trees especially are very fine, and furnish a large portion of the people's food. Orezza is celebrated for its mineral waters. Its inhabitants are the most industrious in Corsica; it is the only part where there are any manufactories.* After staying one day at Orezza, and inspecting the hospital I had established for the soldiers sent there for the mineral baths, I proceeded to Cervione, the chief town of the Canton of Campoloro.

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* Tan-yards and manufactories of wooden utensils. In the stream flowing just below the village are rocks which contain the jasper known as *Vert de Corse*.

On this excursion to the centre of Corsica, which I had not visited during my first mission, I was in general well received by the inhabitants, and allowing for what was merely formal and for the flattery usually offered to official personages, I thought I could detect some signs of real affection for me on the part of the people. A curious fête that was given in my honour at Cervione contributed perhaps to impress me with this conviction. Fêtes of this kind are peculiar to that part of the country ; the inhabitants take great delight in them, but they occur only on extraordinary occasions of public rejoicing.

These fêtes are called *Morescas*. The remembrance of the wars between the Corsicans and the Moors, who formerly devastated the country and forced the inhabitants to remove their villages from the plain to the mountains, was probably the origin of a kind of dramatic representation of the events of that warfare. The very derivation of the name justifies this supposition, and as the details of the spectacle are rather curious, I shall pause a moment here, to recall them.

The conquest of Jerusalem had been chosen as the subject of the Moresca that was represented in my honour, and Tasso's poem was its framework.

The scene of the Moresca had been skilfully selected. At a short distance from Cervione was a hill whose gentle slope formed a natural amphitheatre, and commanded the space where the piece was to be represented. On this hill were the spectators. Opposite, to the east, was a view of the sea.

On a wide esplanade below the hill there was on one side a camp composed of several tents, and on the other the representation of the city of Jerusalem. The camp was occupied by the French, the city by Turks. Godfrey's tent and the interior of Aladdin's palace were so arranged that the spectators could see and hear all that took place in one or the other. The space between the city and the camp was the scene of the various combats and other events that were successively represented.

To the left of the camp was a wooden tower constructed by the Christians to batter the town.

The drama opened with a prologue, well and feelingly recited by one of the actors. It described the subject of the play and the arrangement of the stage. This prologue was quite in the style of Greek tragedy.

Then the drama began, and the whole of Tasso's poem, from the appearance of the Angel to Godfrey, to the assault made on

Jerusalem, was put on the stage, with the exception only of the episode of Armida, which was suppressed. But that of Olindo and Sofronia, the burning of the tower by Argando and Clorinda, the death of the female warrior, the adventures of Erminia and the embassy of Alete and Argando were represented. The dialogue, in the purest Italian, was animated and, on the whole, well rendered by the actors. Some verses of Tasso had been added, but not many. The costumes were accurate, the Christians could be easily distinguished from the Moors ; the former wore the costume of our ancient paladins and were arrayed entirely in white ; the Moors wore the Asiatic dress, red, yellow and green being the predominating colours.

The performance lasted nearly four hours. The piece was listened to in profound silence, only broken by the applause of an immense and attentive crowd assembled from the neighbouring cantons. The subject seemed familiar to all the spectators, and was thoroughly appreciated throughout. The whole was conducted with the greatest decorum and quietness.

Two days afterwards I started on my return journey to Bastia, where I arrived on the 20th Fructidor, and where I passed the last days of year IX.

In the course of the last month of year X. (October 1801) I learned that preliminaries of peace with England had been signed; I at once sent my brother, Jacques Miot, to convey the news to the English station at the Piombino Canal, in order to procure a cessation of hostilities. My message was well received, and I took advantage of the opening of communications with Italy to provide for the necessities of the island. We were threatened with an extreme scarcity of grain, and that greatly increased the difficulties of my position. Lastly, after taking the needful steps for the safety and victualling of the department of Golo, I left Bastia on the 29th Brumaire (November 20), to return to Liamone and establish myself once more at Ajaccio.

I found this part of the island perfectly tranquil. Order was being re-established on every side, and since the departure of General Muller the harmony between the military authority and my own had not been disturbed. I might therefore have reckoned on a more successful issue to my mission than I had dared to hope for, if obstacles arising in Paris had not been thrown in the way of my most desirable measures. My life was passed in perpetual conflict, and I spent more time in defending myself against attacks from without than I required to devote to all the details of internal administration.

About four months after my return to Liamone I learned two pieces of news equally important, although of a very different kind. The one announced the conclusion of a definitive peace with England, signed at Amiens on 4th Germinal, year X. (March 25, 1802); the other, the adoption of a law to restore public worship, framed in conformity with the Concordat concluded between the French Republic and the Holy See.* The first event caused me unmixed joy; not so the second. In proportion as religious tolerance and liberty for each individual to worship the Divinity in his own way was a gain, did the renewal of the former relations with Rome, the recognition of a foreign arbiter in matters of faith, and above all, the pomp with which the Government celebrated this return to former things, seem to me matter for alarm to men of clear judgment, who dreaded, as one of the greatest scourges that can afflict a nation, the readmission of religion and the ministers of religion into the political order. It was, indeed, easy to foresee that all the power of Bonaparte would not suffice to keep the dangerous auxiliaries he was accepting within the narrow bounds to which he believed he was restricting them, and the result has proved that when reverses came upon him he had no more implacable enemies than those priests to whom he had restored so dangerous an influence over society. But at the time when Bonaparte took this perilous step, he was convinced that of all religions the Catholic was that most favourable to the arbitrary power to which he aspired, and that in the pulpit and the confessional he should find powerful defenders of his system, and teachers of a passive obedience to his advantage. He shut his eyes, therefore, to all other considerations, and looked on the restoration of religion as a necessary step for reaching supreme authority. He failed to attach an ungrateful clergy to himself, while he alienated many adherents, and though I was stationed at a very isolated point, I had ample means of convincing myself of these truths. Notwithstanding the attachment of the Corsicans in general to the Catholic Faith, its unexpected restoration in France caused very little sensation in the island. The ceremonial with which I had the new law promulgated, the *Te Deum* and solemn masses, produced but small effect. The keen instinct of the Corsicans led them to divine that this proceeding of the First Consul was not to be attributed to an intimate conviction of the excellence of Catholicity, but to designs of greater depth. Thus my position was not altered, either for the better or for the worse, by an event which had such importance in the interior of France.

In fact I soon discovered that Corsica was a country in which

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* The Concordat had been signed in Paris, on July 15, 1801, and ratified by the Pope on the 16th of August. The organic laws of the Concordat adopted by the Tribunate and the Legislative Body are of the 16th Germinal, year X. (April 6, 1802).

Bonaparte, although born there, would have met with the most unwilling acquiescence in the executions of his plans, and had all the departments of France been animated with the same spirit as Golo and Liamone, his rapid elevation might have encountered greater obstacles. When the decision of the Second and Third Consuls, that the people should be consulted on the question, "Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be Consul for life?" reached me, I hastened to proclaim it, and to open registries where every inhabitant was to record his vote. But my proclamation awakened no enthusiastic feeling in Corsica in favour of so illustrious a compatriot. With the exception of the public officials, whose vote was obligatory, very little eagerness was shown, and the registers were filled up but slowly. There was even a considerable number of votes in the negative. I will quote a rather remarkable example; the following vote was given by one of the inhabitants of Golo.

"Roma non accordava che un' anno al Consolato. Dopo Cromwell successe il figlio di Carlo I., e si vendicò. Si domanda la carica a vita oggi, domani ereditaria."*

Among the military there were also many negative votes. At Ajaccio, where the garrison consisted of 300 men, 66 voted "No;" and among a company of 50 artillerymen, 38 voted against the proposal.

Amid the mental agitation into which I was thrown by the great changes occurring in our institutions and by the anticipation of further change, I was forcibly recalled to the duties of my office. The general state of the country had become satisfactory, and no longer caused me anxiety. General Morand, who had been appointed by the First Consul to replace Muller, had arrived, and we got on well together. A new Commissioner assisted me in my endeavours to restore order in the Finance Department, and to put a stop to scandalous extortions. My position was improved, yet I was not so well satisfied with it as not to desire a change. In proportion as Corsica became tranquillized, I solicited my recall with greater persistency, and I tried to convince the First Consul that the extraordinary powers which had been confided to me were no longer necessary. But my representations failed, and I learned from my friends in Paris that there was not the least intention of recalling me to France. Having lost all hope, therefore, of escorting my family thither in person, I decided on sending my wife and children without me. The necessity of educating my children forbade me to keep them any longer in a country where the means of instruction were lacking, and I parted from them and from my wife on the 14th Messidor (July 3). I then left Ajaccio in order to take up my residence in the highlands, at Bogognano,* about ten miles from the town, where, without detriment to the despatch of public business, I might breathe better air than in Ajaccio. That town is almost uninhabitable in summer. During my stay in these mountains I made a second excursion for the purpose of exploring Monte-d'Oro.

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* "Rome granted one year of Consulship only. After Cromwell, the son of Charles I. succeeded, and avenged him. To-day it is duration for life that is demanded, to-morrow it will be heredity."

EXCURSION TO MONTE D'ORO.

On the 10th Thermidor (July 29) at 9 A.M. we left† Bogognano, and took the high road from Ajaccio to Corta as far as the Foce di Guizzavona, where we left our horses, as we could make no use of them for the remainder of our journey. At 3 P.M. we began by climbing a very steep incline to the west of the tower of La Foce. The slope, which is rich in pasture-land, bears the name of *Vaccaria*—(a place for cows). Large numbers of these animals under the care of their herdsmen occupy the grazing land in summer.

On reaching the top of the incline, we had a view of Monte d'Oro, from which we were separated by a valley of considerable width, watered by one of the sources of the Vecchio; the latter flows into the Tavignano below Corta.‡ The valley is shut in on the south by a wide col, much higher than the summit of the incline where we were standing. Our route lay towards the col, in order afterwards to reach the top of the mountain. We therefore began our descent into the valley, and then followed the course of the torrent, against stream, until we reached a sheepfold called the *Posatoja*. When there, we were not far from the snows that cover the narrow valleys, and when they melt, give birth to streams that flow in various directions from the col, and from the mountain itself. The soil on which we had walked since leaving the summit of the *Vaccaria* consists entirely of fragments of the neighbouring mountains, whose antiquity is proved by the dry and isolated fissures in them.

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* This name is given to a group of villages, situated about three hundred fathoms above the level of the sea, on the ridge of the mountains, south of the Col de la Foce di Guizzavona.

† I was accompanied on this excursion by MM. Demony and Laroche, members of my administration, by two shepherds who acted as guides, and by two servants.

‡ The Vecchio, as I have already said, takes its rise in the lake of Monte-Rotondo; but it receives a tributary in the waters flowing to the east of Monte d'Oro. Those flowing to the west and south enter the Liamone and the Gravone.

The summits of these mountains are studded with sharp pinnacles of varied height and eccentric form. They are known to the shepherds by various names, such as the *Frate*, the *Capuccino*, &c. Their broken fragments, over which we wended our way, consist generally of quartz, steatite, feldspar, and mica. The mixture of these four substances produces various combinations, some of which are remarkably brilliant. Rock crystals are also met with in the fissures of the granite, and especially in a steep, narrow valley rising from north to south almost to the top of Monte d'Oro, and which bears the name of *Canale del cristallo.* At the time I speak of it was full of snow and quite unapproachable. The shepherds can only enter it in September, where they find crystals of a fair size, which they sell in the towns. The vegetation of the valley we had traversed in order to reach the *Posatoja* is very fine. Beech trees and some varieties of pine attain a great height.

We passed part of the night at the sheepfolds of *Posatoja.* The cold was bitter. At 2 A.M. we resumed our journey by the light of torches of a resinous wood, the *Pinus pinaster*, and commenced the ascent of the col which closes in the valley that we had traversed the day before. We reached its summit at 4 A.M. Vegetation had ceased, and according to my calculation we were at a height of about 1800 yards above the level of the sea. The path was becoming very difficult, on account of the loose stones which rolled about under our feet. We kept as much as possible at the top of the col, in order to reach the eastern ridge of Monte d'Oro, which we climbed by making our way round it spirally. After a fatiguing march of three-quarters of an hour, we found ourselves separated from the summit of the mountain only by a mass of rock, which stood out in an almost hemispheric shape. Our difficulties now increased. In certain spots we were obliged to allow ourselves to be carried on the shoulders of our guides. Lastly, after much labour, four of us, including myself, stood on the highest point of all. The others had dropped behind at places more or less distant from our journey's end.

It was 5.30 A.M. when we found ourselves on the top of Monte d'Oro.* The sun was beginning to shine on one of the fairest scenes of nature, which although greatly resembling that I had beheld a year before at Monte-Rotondo, was not the less impressive. The whole of Corsica and all its mountains lay at our feet, with the exception of Monte-Rotondo, whose superior height was scarcely perceptible, of Monte Cinto and the peak of Orezza at the same height as ourselves. Beyond this group of mountains piled up, so to speak, one on the other, I descried on the east the plains of Aleria and Fiumorbo, the pools of Urbino and Diana, the course of the Tavignano, then the sea, the islands of Monte-Cristo and Elba, the coast of Italy, Montenero and the Maremma of Tuscany ; on the north the island of Capraja, and in the background the Apennines of the Genoa Riviera ; on the west the barren mountains of the Niolo, the sea of France and the coasts of my native land. Towards the south I could perceive the Gulfs of Sagona, of Ajaccio, of Valinco, the island of Asinara, and Sardinia hanging over the sea like a huge cloud.

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* The difference in height between Monte-Rotondo and Monte d'Oro is but twenty yards.

After enjoying this delightful landscape for some time, I employed myself in an examination of the spot on which I stood, and of the configuration of the mountain.

Monte d'Oro much resembles Monte-Rotondo in shape, that is to say, it also is like an amphitheatre, of which the arena is formed by a lake about a hundred fathoms in diameter. But the destruction of the walls is much more advanced, and the landslips are more considerable than at Monte-Rotondo. Towards the west and south, in fact, these walls are almost entirely destroyed ; only a few low peaks are standing, whose tops are already crumbling away, and which exist but as witnesses to the ancient shape of the mountain. Our own standpoint was on one of these pinnacles, higher than the others and composed of fragments of broken rock heaped up and evidently broken off from some higher pinnacle which has entirely disappeared. All these fragments are of the same nature as those we saw in the valleys or on the lower cols ; there is no sign of volcanic or calcareous origin, no trace of shells, nor any mark of the former presence of water nor of the action of fire, but everywhere an appearance of decay and decrepitude ; no fertile earth, unless such as is brought by the winds, and collected in the fissures of the rock, where it is increased by the decay of the vegetable growths that it supports. The height of Monte d'Oro is estimated in the 'Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes' at 2652 yards. At the top of the mountain the temperature was cold, but not unbearably so ; but respiration was rather difficult. A great part of the lake was still frozen, and the ice covered with snow.*

The only inhabitant of these wild regions is the moufflon or musmon (*Ovis Ammon*). We saw several of them skipping along and bounding over precipices with wonderful agility. In such elevated regions these animals feed principally on the sheep-plantain (*Plantago ovina*), which grows abundantly between the stones, and which the shepherds have named *Erba muffrina*. The vegetable products are much the same as those I remarked on Monte-Rotondo, and I recognised with pleasure the *Xeranthemum frigidum* creeping over the rocks at the foot of Monte d'Oro.

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* There had been no ice the previous year at Monte-Rotondo, although it is higher, but we made our excursion thither at the end of August, and it seems that at that season only the snow disappears. It lies all the year through on the north side of Monte d'Oro, on account of its particular shape and the depth of its crevasses.

We took the same path for our return that we had taken to ascend the mountain, and reached the Posatoja before noon. At 4 o'clock we arrived at the Foce di Guizzavona, where our horses were in waiting for us, and we were back at Bogognano the same day, the 11th Thermidor, at 8 P.M.

Immediately on my return from this excursion, one of the most interesting that I made in Corsica, I received the Senatus-Consultum of the 14th and 17th Thermidor, conferring on the First Consul power for life, and modifying various parts of the Constitution of year VIII. These were the preludes to greater changes, already under consideration, but which it was not as yet safe to attempt, so hazardous was the word "heredity," and heredity alone was wanting to complete the conversion of the Republic into a Monarchy. I made solemn proclamation of these new decrees; a popular fête was held at Ajaccio; I gave a ball and all went off decorously, but the public displayed neither joy nor satisfaction. There was, on the whole, more surprise than enthusiasm. People knew not how to reconcile this surprising rise with their still recent recollections of Bonaparte's family, whom all the inhabitants of Ajaccio had known in a rank so far removed from their present greatness. The old proverb, "No man is a prophet in his own country," appeared to me in this case to receive a fresh confirmation. But at the same time the feelings of envy that were exhibited in Napoleon's own country* at the very time when his fortune was so greatly in the ascendant, gave me opportunities of acquiring some information on the origin of his family, and I did not neglect them. I will set down in this place the results of my inquiries, made in the very birthplace of Napoleon, among his own countrymen and either rivals or friends of his family.

The Bonapartes descend from a noble Florentine family. During the troublous times of the Republic one of their ancestors withdrew to San Miniato,† a small town ten leagues from Florence.

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* The name of Napoleon, which is a common baptismal name in Corsica, appeared for the first time in the Senatus-Consultum of the 14th Thermidor.

† One Jacopo Buonaparte wrote an account of the sack of Rome in 1527. He was present, and collected the particulars day by day. On the

The last descendant of this branch of the family was a Canon, who was still living at San Miniato, and whom Bonaparte visited when, in the year IV., he went to Florence.

Another Bonaparte settled at Sarzano in the State of Genoa, and from this branch proceed the Bonapartes of Ajaccio. They possessed some landed property there, and have always been regarded as distinguished both by birth and fortune. Many years after the union of Corsica with France, which took place in 1769, Charles Bonaparte was sent to Paris, as deputy from the nobles ; and one of his daughters, Elisa Bonaparte, was educated at St. Cyr, which leaves no doubt as to their noble birth. M. Charles Bonaparte was a very handsome man. He died at Montpellier in 1785, after a singular illness, of which I have already spoken.

As to the women ; the mother of the First Consul, Madame Lætitia Bonaparte, whose beauty was most remarkable, is a Ramolino, a family of Ajaccio, which claims to be connected with the Ornanos, although it is not considered to be noble. The mother of Madame Lætitia Bonaparte was by birth a Pietra-Santa, a family of very moderate rank at Sarteno. On the death of Ramolino, her first husband, she had married a Swiss, named Fesch, whose family held an honourable position at Bâle, where they were established as bankers. By her second marriage she had one son, at that time Archbishop of Lyons and afterwards Cardinal, and consequently step-brother of Madame Lætitia Bonaparte, and uncle on the mother's side of the First Consul and of his brothers and sisters. One of Madame Lætitia's sisters had married a Paravicini, who, during my residence in Corsica, was Commissioner for the Navy at Ajaccio, and was, on the female side, uncle by marriage to Napoleon. Lastly, the son of one of Madame Lætitia's brothers was at the period of which I speak director of the public taxes. He was first cousin to Napoleon. This Ramolino was afterwards member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1822 and 1823.

After the fêtes at Ajaccio in honour of the Life-Consulship and of the new institutions that the Senatus-Consultum of the 14th and 17th Thermidor had introduced in France, I returned to Bogognano, to remain there during the rest of the hot season. I had resigned myself at last to the continued exercise of the laborious duties of my office, for the Paris authorities had refused to grant me even the short holiday I had applied for. But at the very moment that I gave up all hope of returning to France, an unexpected incident recalled me thither. In a report of the Minister of Finance on the measures I had taken relative to taxation in

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title page of his book, which was published at Cologne in 1756, he is described as *Gentiluomo Samminiatese*.

certain cantons, in which I had remitted arrears that they were unable to pay, those measures were represented as an excessive encroachment on the powers delegated to me, and the First Consul was induced to bring my mission to a close. He replaced the two departments of Corsica under the rule of the Constitution on the 1st Brumaire, year XI. (Oct. 23, 1802). Thus from a moment's ill-humour I obtained what had been denied to my most pressing entreaties. At the first news of a determination so ardently desired by me, I hastened to put all the affairs of my administration in order, and to make preparations for my journey.

Before taking a final leave of Corsica, I shall give a sketch of the state of the island at the time of my departure.

On my arrival there in the month of Germinal, year IX., I had found part of Corsica in a condition of internal disturbance, and the roads infested by men who, having incurred the penalties of the law, had sought safety in the mountains and who fell suddenly on travellers or solitary soldiers. I left the country tranquil, its roads safe, and means of communication restored. The Extraordinary Criminal Tribunal that I had established had answered my expectations. Offences against the laws had been repressed or punished. There was entire confidence in the administration, for its impartiality was well known. But this very impartiality had injured many private interests, and had raised up enemies for me who were sufficiently powerful to create serious difficulties. I had been driven to take extraordinary proceedings against the General in command of the Division, and the progress of improvement had been partly obstructed. However, taking things on the whole, the state of the country was ameliorated. But in order that the small amount of good I had been able to effect, might become consolidated and might penetrate the mass of the people and affect their customs, time and perseverance in the use of similar means were needed. In that respect, therefore, I must own that I left Corsica in the same state in which I had found it on both my missions there. Civilization had made no perceptible progress.* The same spirit of revenge and personal enmity prevailed. I had often been obliged to summon the chiefs of families divided by hereditary feuds into my presence, and to act as arbitrator, in order to establish a kind of treaty of peace between them, and I had not always succeeded. Acts of private vengeance had been perpetrated more than once, under my very eyes, and in spite of all my endeavours I was powerless to punish such crimes. I will give an instance of this, so as to afford some idea of the vindictive spirit of the inhabitants, and of the light in which they themselves regarded such acts.

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* The following affords a proof of this. The road-making I had undertaken in Corsica was undoubtedly a great benefit to the inhabitants, who were employed on the works and were well paid. The engineer at the head of the works in the neighbourhood of Bogognano had sent to Ajaccio for wheels on which to remove the beams intended for the construction of a bridge. These wheels were left in the road, and during the night the workmen set fire to the wooden spokes in order to get the iron, which they carried off and hid in the mountains. Does not this read like an anecdote of South-Sea savages?

On the day of my arrival at Bogognano, 17th Messidor, year IX., a private *vendetta* cost two men their lives. About eight years previously an inhabitant of that canton had killed one of his neighbours, the father of two children. When these children had reached their sixteenth or seventeenth year, and were consequently of an age to avenge their father, they left their own part of the country to watch for the murderer, who was on his guard and dared not venture far from the village.

A few days before my arrival they had been seen in the neighbourhood, and on the very day of my arrival at Bogognano, they had come upon their enemy playing at cards under a tree, at a short distance from the house in which I intended taking up my residence. The youths fired four times and killed their man, but one shot struck and killed another man, who was sleeping a few yards away. The latter was a near kinsman of the young brothers, who, after committing the deed, disappeared, no one making any attempt to secure them.

This tragedy made no sensation whatever in the country. The inhabitants, in fact, appeared pleased rather than shocked by it. They told me that it was fortunately the last *vendetta* due in Bogognano, and that now that it had been accomplished, there was no fear of further disturbance to their tranquillity. The families on both sides considered the reprisal just and according to rule, and no one interfered.* The women took possession of their dead, wept over them, buried them according to the custom of the country, and there was an end of it.[*]

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* The degree of kindred in which the vendetta is of obligation is regulated by ancient customs, and there are instances of discussions on the point between two individuals belonging to families at variance with each other, which have ended in a friendly manner when one has been able to prove to the other that he was not within the degree of kindred in which legitimate vengeance could be taken. In addition to the sanguinary code on the subject, there is a curious feeling of respect for religious prejudices. I am indebted to M. Galeazzini, Prefect of Liamone, for a remarkable anecdote bearing on this subject. An inhabitant of the village of Peri comes across a kinsman of one of his enemies, engaged in digging in his field. He thinks the opportunity a favourable one, and, raising his gun, he calls out to his man, "Now then, say your *In manus!* I must kill you!" "No," replies the other, "I will not say it; you have no right to kill me, I am not your enemy." And they begin to discuss the degree of relationship. At last, the inhabitant of Peri, seeing that he cannot induce his adversary to say his *In manus*, lowers his gun and de-

Nevertheless I wrote on that same day to Ajaccio, and gave the most stringent orders for the pursuit of the two murderers ; but all my endeavours to find them were in vain, and I thus became convinced of my powerlessness to remedy an evil which was continually strengthened by the strongest prejudices, and by a deeply rooted though mistaken point of honour. What can be done, what can be attempted with men who gladly incur certain death in order to carry out a *vendetta*, in their eyes not only a righteous one, but a duty from which the lapse of twenty or even of fifty years does not free them, and also a debt to be handed down from generation to generation ? What argument will avail with these men of passionate nature, who look daily into the chest that contains their clothes at the blood-stained handkerchief of him whom they are destined to avenge ? This silent but ever-present proof of the murder, which it is their duty to punish, is a terrible witness not to be removed until vengeance is accomplished ! What can be done with men who from childhood have accustomed themselves to the use of firearms, only for the sake of possessing an unfailing means of keeping the oath they have sworn to their mother, to follow to the death the enemy who made her a widow and her children orphans ?[†] The spread of education, an increase of population protected by salutary laws, the introduction of civilization into the interior, speedy justice, an impartial Government, and, above all, Time

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parts, willing rather to miss an opportunity of revenge than to commit a mortal sin by killing a man not within the prescribed degrees, and who had not said his prayers.

[*] The women of Bogognano watched the corpses all night, uttering the most doleful wailings. They followed them the next morning to the cemetery, walking two and two, and rending the air with their lamentations. All wore veils of blue stuff, called *veleri*, which is worn as a petticoat and then brought over the head. Some men supported those whose grief appeared the deepest, but with an air of indifference that made the whole thing seem acting, or, at least, a vain ceremony.

[†] Corsicans are very expert in the use of firearms, and have a kind of veneration for a first-rate shot. The following anecdote was related to me ; if it be true—and I cannot vouch for it—it would show to what an extent Corsicans carry their admiration for that accomplishment. A man is informed that one of his sons has just been assassinated in consequence of a family feud. He proceeds to the spot and recognizes his son. But on examining the body he perceives that the three balls with which the gun was loaded have all entered the heart. Every other feeling yields to admiration for such supreme skill, and he exclaims enthusiastically, " Ma vedete, che gran colpo !"[1] These are almost the words of Prexaspes to Cambyses in Herodotus. " My lord, the god himself would not have aimed so true !"

[1] " But see ! what a grand shot !"

itself, can alone alter these barbarous customs. Very few of those means were at my command, and during the course of my mission, I had the pain of witnessing the evil without having the power to eradicate it. It was with satisfaction, therefore, that I took leave of a country where it was so difficult to do good and so easy to do evil.

Before embarking, I once more visited the beautiful mountains of *Foce di Guizzavona*, and those in the neighbourhood of Bogognano, which I had already explored with great interest. During this final excursion I enjoyed the spectacle of a storm, whose splendour has remained graven on my memory as a solemn token of farewell from those wild regions. I returned late in the evening to Bogognano, and proceeded next day to Ajaccio, where I embarked for Marseilles.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Author returns to Paris—His reception by the First Consul—Monarchical customs and strict etiquette with which the First Consul surrounded himself—Joseph Bonaparte imparts the secret designs and great projects of the First Consul to the Author—Lord Whitworth, the English Ambassador, in Paris—General Moreau is fêted at the Ministry of War—Government-mourning on the occasion of the death of General Leclerc—New coinage with the effigy of the First Consul—Lavish endowment of the Senate—The political relations between France and England become strained—Irritation of the First Consul with the English Press—Conversation between Bonaparte and Lord Whitworth—Colonel Sebastiani's Report, published in the *Moniteur*—The King's speech to Parliament is hostile to France—Effect produced by it in Paris—Progress of the crisis and of the negotiations, official and secret, prior to the definitive rupture between France and England—Simultaneous departure of Lord Whitworth from Paris and of General Andreossy from London—Appendix: Lord Whitworth's Despatch of February 21, 1803, to Lord Hawkesbury.

I EMBARKED, on the 2d Brumaire, year XI. (October 24, 1802), on board *La Fortune*, Captain Riouffe. Contrary winds obliged us to anchor first at the Isle of Porteros, one of the Hyères, where I stayed two days; and afterwards at Ciotat, a small town in the Department of Var. The bad weather continued, and prevented our voyage by sea, so I resolved on proceeding to Marseilles by land. I arrived there on the 9th Brumaire (October 31), remained two days, waiting for my luggage, which I had left on board at Ciotat, and reached Paris on the 21st Brumaire (November 12).

It was not altogether without apprehension that I found myself once more in the capital. The intrigues against me during the course of my mission, and the somewhat sudden recall that had brought it to a close, made me anticipate an unfavourable reception. But it was not so. Joseph Bonaparte, whom I saw first, welcomed me most cordially. Not only was he free from the prejudices against me which various members of his family had manifested, but he had always warmly defended my motives and my conduct. He reassured me as to the feelings of the First Consul, who, he undertook to say, had more correctly than any other person appreciated the difficulties of my position, and whom I should find quite satisfied with my discharge of its duties.

Bonaparte was absent at the time of my arrival in Paris, and he did not return to St. Cloud, his habitual residence in autumn, until the 22d Brumaire (November 13).* The following day at noon he received the Council of State, and I joined my colleagues in order to be present at that audience. His first words were pleasant. He told me, jestingly, that I had got into trouble with the Ministers ; that Ministers did not like Administrators-General who acted on their own ideas, and that I must make it up with them. When he had finished, and heard what I had to say in reply, I approached the Ministers who were present, and remarked with pleasure that the favourable reception just accorded to me by the great man had already half-effected our reconciliation. Hands were stretched out to me, I was embraced, and I might believe myself restored to favour. Another and more serious conversation on the mission I had just accomplished, and on Corsica generally, ensued. Some points of my conduct were discussed ; the First Consul asserted that I had been too kind, that I had leaned too much to conciliation, and that a little severity would have done better. On the whole, he did justice to my intentions, and to the principles of equity and impartiality on which I had acted. In short, I had every reason to be pleased ; and, indeed, to be reproached with an excess of kindness and moderation in the exercise of an administration for which I had received such elastic powers, was praise rather than criticism. The Consuls informed me that I was to return to the Council of State in the Section of the Interior, and as that was the sole reward I coveted, I had nothing more to ask for.

I was now at ease concerning my own future, and I began to look about me, and to observe the new aspect of things with astonishment. What changes during an absence of less than two years ! Monarchical customs, which were beginning to appear when I left Paris, had extended in every direction, and what little had remained of austere Republican forms at the time of my departure from the capital had now entirely disappeared. Gorgeous liveries, sumptuous garments, similar to those worn in the reign of Louis XV., had succeeded to the military fashions, which, during the Revolution, had been adopted even in the dress of civilians. No more boots, sabres, or cockades, these were replaced by tights and silk stockings, buckled-shoes, dress-swords, and hats held under the arm. All this, however, was as in an early stage, and the awkwardness of some persons not yet accustomed to these Court fashions, together with certain oddities in the dress of others, who still retained traces of the fashions they had just given up, formed an extraordinary spectacle. I was not more free from incongruity than others, and my coat, with turned-back facings, worn with white silk stockings and a sword, shocked the educated taste of several of my colleagues whose costumes did not offer a similar contrast. Fortunately I was not singular in my offence, the First Consul was equally subject to criticism. With a superb coat of violet velvet, magnificently embroidered in gold and silk, he wore a sword, white silk stockings, gold buckles in his shoes, and *a black cravat!* This was certainly a serious blunder in dress! *

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* He had been inspecting the Seine Inférieure and Calvados, and the sea-coasts of those two departments.

The change was still more apparent in the reality of things than in their outward appearance. The Tuileries and St. Cloud were no longer, as I had left them, the seat of Government, the abode of the first Magistrate of a Republic, but the Court of a Sovereign. Severe etiquette prevailed there; officers attached to the person, prescribed honours paid to the ladies, a privileged family; in short, everything except the name of *Consul* was monarchical, and that name was destined soon to disappear.

The first impression made on me by this novel pomp and display was disagreeable and painful. No one could be more convinced than I of the necessity of surrounding the Government of a great nation with dignity, and even, if desired, with a certain magnificence, but I should have wished to discern the Government through all this splendour, and not an individual, still less his family. Among all that I saw and remarked at that time, the visit of the great bodies of the State and of the ambassadors to Madame Bonaparte impressed me most. I had presented myself with the other State Councillors. She rose to receive us, remained standing during the address of our President, thanked us for the sentiments expressed by the Council of State, then seating herself without inviting us to do the same, carried on a conversation on ordinary topics for a short time, after which she again rose and dismissed us.

A few days later I returned to St. Cloud to be present at the audience given every Sunday by the First Consul, or, to speak more accurately, I returned thither to pay my court. I found the members of the principal bodies of the State, and the Tribunals, Generals, Ministers, and Bishops, ranged in a line in the great gallery. The First Consul passed through, accompanied by his wife, by some members of his family, by the other two Consuls, and by his civil and military officers, on his way to a sung mass.† On his return, he paused in the gallery, spoke to a great many persons, received petitions, and then withdrew to his private apartments. All was regulated by the most punctilious etiquette, and the Second and Third Consuls were as subservient to it as the rest of the crowd ; they were present in the gallery, not as colleagues of the First Consul, but as courtiers. They had no distinguishing suite, and could only be recognized by their dress ; whereas Bonaparte, surrounded by aides-de-camp, by Prefects of the Palace, and officers of his guard, occupied the principal position. Thus the slight semblance of divided authority had already almost entirely disappeared, and those very men who, at first, had been called to a share in it, were now consenting to reduce that share, externally at least, to nothing.

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* Bonaparte rarely wore a civilian costume, he appeared generally in the uniform of a Colonel of Grenadiers, or of the Guard's light infantry. I have several times seen him preside at the Council of State in the uniform of a Councillor.

† Although the ancient Gregorian Calendar was not yet restored, Sunday was religiously observed after the re-establishment of Divine worship.

But I have said enough on this subject. I have pointed out the decisive steps that the First Consul had taken during my absence towards the end which he soon afterwards attained, and I have also recorded the docility with which the public lent themselves to his purposes.

On my return from Corsica, my former intimacy with Joseph Bonaparte became yet closer, and from that period dates the confidence he has never ceased to repose in me and the friendship which still exists between us, notwithstanding the distance that divides us. To that friendship, to that confidence, I owe my acquaintance with many secret facts which throw a strong light on the hidden springs that worked that marvellous drama, so ephemeral when compared with its grandeur, of which astonished Europe was for twelve years the silent spectator. The greater part of what I am about to relate had its origin in my almost daily interviews at this period with Joseph Bonaparte. The lapse of years, and the rapid fall of the Man who created and then destroyed his own power, bring back many details into the domain of History that have ceased to be secrets ; I give these particulars, therefore, without fear of misconstruction of my motive.

My earlier conversations with Joseph Bonaparte turned at first on his own position, and afterwards led to an exposition of the projects then entertained by the First Consul. As it is easy to trace the plans he had formed, the means which he proposed to himself to employ, and the reflections which such bold designs called up in our minds, I will simply transcribe the *résumé* of these conversations made in my note-book on the very days on which they were held.

After expressing to Joseph Bonaparte my surprise at the position* in which I found him, I said, "I had expected to see you invested with greater power and influence. I thought that you would have aspired to personal distinction. And, in fact, since the First Consul allows and even exacts such distinction for his wife, it follows that the members of his family, and especially his brothers, should enjoy it also. Yet I find you without rank, without an establishment, and without followers. The life-appointment of the Second and Third Consuls* is an act of hostility to you. It gives them a present position which you have not, and will secure to them, at the death of your brother, a possibility which should always be in your mind, influence that you might then seek in vain to obtain, and that you might bitterly regret not having secured. It is time, I think, for you to rouse yourself from this condition of insignificance, whatever may be its charm. As no successor to the First Consul can possibly feel himself secure so long as you and Lucien are in existence, nor would leave you in peace at Morfontaine, you ought, betimes, to prepare yourself to take the lead, since on your brother's death there could be no middle course for you between supreme power and nothingness."

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* Joseph Bonaparte was at that time simply a senator.

"You argue rightly," replied Joseph Bonaparte, "but like every one else who judges me, you start from a false premiss. You take for granted that the small influence I exercise and the obscurity of the part I play are due only to my indolent nature, and that I have but to overcome that, to attain to the place which, according to you, I ought to occupy. Undeceive yourself; I perfectly understand all the advantages I should reap by a different position, and if it only depended on me to make the change, I should certainly do it. But you do not understand my brother. The idea of sharing his power is so obnoxious to him, that my claims are as suspicious in his eyes as those of any other person, more so, perhaps, since they are the most plausible of any, and would be most readily justified by public opinion. He desires above all that the need of his own existence should be so deeply felt, and recognised as so great a benefit, that none can look beyond it without trepidation. He knows and feels that he reigns rather through this idea than through either force or gratitude. If to-morrow or on any other day people were to say to themselves, 'Here is a stable and quiet order of things! and a successor who will maintain it for us is designated; Bonaparte may die, we have neither change nor disturbance to fear,'—my brother would no longer think himself safe. I have discovered that such is his feeling, and he rules his conduct by it. Can you believe, after this, that he would suffer me to carry out the plan you advise? and do you think that I should be strong enough to follow it against his consent? Certainly not! Thus as it is impossible for me to reach the point I ought to attain, I prefer playing no part at all to undertaking an inferior one. My policy is to obtain praise for the moderation of my desires, for my philosophy, my love of repose and tranquil pleasures, and to make all the world believe, as you believed a moment ago, not that I cannot be, but that I do not choose to be more than I am at present."

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* The three Consuls had been appointed for life by the Senatus-Consultum of 17th Thermidor, year X.

"I should have nothing to reply to what you have just told me," I answered, "if you really are on these terms with your brother. But are you not deceiving me in this, are you not trying to disguise the true motives of your conduct, in order to escape the blame you would deserve if you are acting only from indolence and indifference? How can you reconcile what you have just told me concerning the First Consul with his special marks of regard when you returned from Amiens,* putting you forward to be applauded by the public at the Opera, and offering you a place of honour at the Fête of the Concordat,† favours which for the most part you refused?"

"You are under the same mistake as before," said Joseph Bonaparte; "you persist in believing that these honours and distinctions were offered to me in good faith. I am certain they were only a snare, and I was bound to avoid that. What was the aim of the First Consul? To make me a mark for the envy and jealousy of the other Consuls, of the Ministers, and of the Councillors of State, without affording me any means of setting their enmity at defiance, while at the same time he paid his debt to me. Should I, in fact, have had any right to complain after receiving marks of favour which made me, as it were, his designated successor? Might not my brother have said, 'What more does he want? Could I have done more for him? Is it my fault that he cannot keep himself where I have placed him?' I should thus have forfeited all the respect I have won by my simple and moderate behaviour, without having acquired more positive power and without escaping, perhaps, from the ridicule which attaches to every man who displays a great ambition and does not justify it by his abilities. Had the First Consul sincerely desired my advancement, he would have taken the opportunity of promoting it on the occasion of the appointment of a President to the Italian Republic.* True, he offered me that brilliant post which would have satisfied all my desires ; but he wanted at the same time to fetter me, to make me play the part that is now being played by M. de Melzi ; and I, who know my brother well, who know how heavy is his yoke, I who have always preferred a life of obscurity to that of a political puppet, naturally refused it. I made known to him, however, the conditions on which I would have accepted it, and you shall judge for yourself of my views in proposing them. I required that Piedmont should be united to the Italian Republic ; that I should be at liberty to restore the principal fortresses ; that the French troops, and especially General Murat, should withdraw from the Republican territory. Had I obtained these concessions I should have been really master. I should have been dependent on France so far as the Cabinet and political relations were concerned, but not materially. My brother, whose ambition is boundless, would by no means consent to my conditions, and caused himself to be appointed President.

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* Joseph Bonaparte had signed the treaty of peace with England at Amiens.

† This religious fête had been celebrated at Notre Dame on 27th Thermidor, year X. (August 15, 1802). It had been decided that Joseph Bonaparte was to proceed to Notre Dame in a carriage drawn by eight horses; but he declined that honour, and went with the other Councillors of State.

"You do not know him," added Joseph Bonaparte ; "he is a wonderful man, and each day I am more and more amazed at the depth, the extent and the boldness of his projects. Believe me, he has not yet reached the goal of his ambition."

"I do not doubt it," I replied ; "after hearing what you have just told me, and without attempting to penetrate into all his designs, it is not difficult to see what he aspires to, and that the founding a dynasty, the empire of Europe, shared at most with Russia and established on the ruins of Austria and England, are the aims of all his enterprises. But for the realisation of his plans he must have a son, and Madame Bonaparte cannot give him a child."

"If Fate wills these things to be," returned Joseph Bonaparte, "they will be. Madame Bonaparte may die ; by a second marriage my brother may have children, and that very marriage may be one means for carrying out the rest of the plan."

"But do you believe," I interrupted, "that he will wait to receive from the hands of Fate and from the chance of an improbable death that which it would be so easy for him to obtain at once ? I do not say that your brother ought to annul his marriage, as has been suggested, on the ground that it was not blessed by the Church, though it seems to me that the First Consul intended to hold that argument in reserve when he refused to yield this point to the prayer of his wife, who so ardently desired a religious sanction of their union.* But can he not bring the nation itself to demand a second marriage in order to ensure an heir? If he were to hint at this, you would see how soon his hint would be acted on. His experience of our pliability and docility must make him feel assured of success.

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* The Cisalpine Republic had taken that name in the Senatus-Consultum that Bonaparte demanded and over which he had presided the year before at Lyons. M. de Melzi, of whom I have already spoken, then received the title of Vice-President of the Italian Republic.

"Now is it to your interest that such an event should take place? I think so; and, contrary to the opinion of the majority of your friends, I believe it would be advantageous to you. Remember that from the moment the First Consul becomes the father of a son you are that son's natural guardian, and that to you alone can he confide the care of the child; that thus relieved from any fear of personal ambition on your part, he would bequeath to you all the necessary powers for the maintenance of the rights of the heir of his name and greatness. You would thus obtain undisputed influence during the lifetime of the First Consul, and after his death you would become Regent, if his successor were still under age. It is, on the contrary, for the interest of the other Consuls that your brother should not contract a second marriage. Without perhaps forming any very clear idea of their position after his death, they must perceive that in such an event, if he left no child, there would be a better chance for them, than if an heir to the name of Bonaparte, with you to defend and protect him, were to appeal to the gratitude of the nation, and to be backed up by those natural ideas of hereditary right which it has retained, and to which it would willingly again assent."

The progress of the monarchical spirit may be estimated by the foregoing conversation; there was no longer any shrinking from the complete consequences of an hereditary system. The words "Divorce," and "Regency," with all their meaning and all that they may imply, were listened to without alarm, the only difficulty was the mode of execution. From that time forth a Princess was sought for among the most illustrious reigning houses in Europe, to whom his policy or his vanity might direct the fancy of the new master of France, and to Russia, especially, all eyes were turned. It was said that Lucien Bonaparte had negotiated an alliance with the Spanish branch of the Bourbons during his stay at Madrid; but there were strong objections to bringing the race of the Bourbons back to France; the attachment of a great number of Frenchmen to that house, and the pretensions which such a return would create, might eventually be a cause of disquiet to the Bonaparte family. Moreover, Spain could confer neither power, support, nor influence in Europe.

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* This discussion had taken place shortly before my return from Corsica. Madame Bonaparte's tears and entreaties were in vain. She could not obtain her husband's consent to a religious celebration of their marriage.

The policy of France at that time forbade her to hold any intercourse with Austria, and besides, there was the fear of refusal from the haughty Cæsar at Vienna. With the help of Russia only, on the other hand, Bonaparte might accomplish the vast projects he had conceived? Pride of birth had less root there than elsewhere; the Czars had sometimes disregarded that consideration in selecting a bride. The reigning house owed all its splendour to one extraordinary man, who had made it illustrious less than a hundred years before. There was a certain likeness in fortune and fate between the founder of St. Petersburg and the warrior politician who now reigned over France. Everything therefore seemed to point to an alliance with Russia. The First Consul, moreover, appeared to have far-reaching views in the political rank which he had bestowed on his wife; for when I pointed this out to Joseph Bonaparte, he answered that far from militating against the Consul's designs, it really promoted them, for that he intended thereby to regulate beforehand the position of the princess who should succeed to Madame Bonaparte. And, in truth, the honors paid to the latter at this period were sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the very proudest house, for it could not be doubted that similar honours would be freely paid to the wife whom it should bestow upon the First Consul.

I was thus initiated by Joseph Bonaparte into the secret of a future, which was working itself out, though with less rapidity than I at first anticipated; but I was far from being dazzled by its seeming brilliancy. All these projects seemed to me more bright than solid. I could not refrain from expressing my fears on the subject to Joseph Bonaparte, and from adding certain gloomy reflections which were suggested by his confidential communications.

"Bonaparte means to reign," I said to his brother, "and his ambition will not be satisfied by reigning over France only. But will he be a mere meteor, flashing for an instant, to die out and vanish? or will he be the founder of a new Empire to which his honoured name, handed down from age to age, will serve for a title, even as that of Cæsar is still the title of Mediæval Europe? This is what you should consider.

"In all great changes affecting governments two evidently distinct things have to be considered, institutions and individuals.

"The true founders of empires and dynasties change institutions, and the change is lasting, not always because the system of government introduced by them is better than that they have overthrown, but because public opinion, which they have won over to their side, and which supports the new order of things, may still exist when the Reformer is no more. Mere usurpers, on the contrary, simply turn out the individuals at the head of the government and take their place. But they seldom have successors; their power dies with them and the former masters reappear.

"The new head of a State cannot therefore secure a lasting empire either to himself or his descendants, unless, while placing himself in the first rank, he also change the principles and the form of the preceding government; he must even carefully remove everything that may recall them.

"For a like reason it is vain to change the form of government unless you change its head at the same time, and also those who are supposed to succeed him.

"Apply these principles to the actual state of things, and you can judge of your brother's line of conduct and perhaps foresee its results.

"In aspiring, as everything tends to prove that he does aspire, not to power only but to the foundation of a dynasty, is Bonaparte changing, as he ought to change, the ancient forms of the French Government according to the principles just laid down? No. He is, on the contrary, endeavouring to revive the old monarchical ideas; every day he is renewing institutions and customs which Time alone had sanctioned, but which even under our more recent kings had lost much of the prestige they had in former times, and were dying out. We are about to witness, or rather we do already see, the revival of orders, of family distinctions, soon we shall have distinction of birth. The destruction of the National Representation and the submissiveness of the Senate make the present head of the Government as completely master of the public liberty and the public fate as ever were our kings of France. The ancient system, therefore, on which *the French Monarchy was built up* is no longer essentially abolished; its advantages and its defects still subsist. In short, all that remains to be seen is whether the new chief is better or more agreeable to the nation than the one whom we should have had in the natural course of events.

"The question, if regarded merely from that point of view and submitted, were it possible, to the free vote of the nation, might not be unanimously answered in favour of Bonaparte. Admitting, however, that a great majority would vote for him; that, on comparing him with the recent kings of France and with the men whose birth would entitle them at present to the throne, his fame and his talents, gratitude for the services he has rendered, and the mighty power of his genius would prevail over affection for the family of our ancient rulers; in short, that the nation would honestly desire to leave the sceptre in his hands rather than to entrust it to others less worthy to bear it; still Bonaparte would have accomplished nothing.

"In the first place, the sentiment of admiration which has placed him where he is, will of necessity decline, for it is the fate of rulers to meet with discontent and ingratitude; the comparisons drawn between him and those whose place he occupies will be less and less favourable to him every day. In order therefore to counterbalance the disenchantment of that nearer view which diminishes enthusiasm, and to turn aside the shafts of ridicule to which his private life must expose him, he must keep the nation constantly occupied with great enterprises, with wars that will add to his glory and maintain his superiority over every rival. But in this case he must repeatedly imperil his own existence. Would not reverses, nay one single reverse, strip him of all he had acquired? and would the army, when fighting for one man's ambition only, the army, when no longer kindled by the enthusiasm of the wars of the Republic, always be able, even with all the aid of the military genius of its leader, to guarantee him from reverses or to repair them?

"Secondly, admitting that he overcomes all these obstacles, the end of his life must, none the less, be the end of his greatness; he, after his death, will, none the less, be ranked with the usurpers. How can we suppose that there would then be any hesitation between his family and that of the Bourbons? How can we fail to see that the Bourbons would be speedily recalled, if the place left vacant by your brother were merely that of a king, if he had not made such important changes in the ancient forms of the Government that the nation would insist on retaining advantages whose value it would have experienced, by defending the family from whom it had received them?

"Bonaparte should therefore establish a marked difference between the past and the future, if he would have his achievements to live. He should adopt a form of government no less powerful indeed than the Monarchy, but so totally different in its exterior, so true to the promises of the Revolution, that each individual should be directly interested in supporting the author of that order of things, and be convinced that the system would not last unless the highest post were perpetuated in the family of him who created it. This indeed would be to found a new Empire.

"But to want to be King of France, as Louis XIV. and his descendants were kings of France, to govern despotically like them, to surround himself with the same guards, the same ceremonial, to give his wife the same rank as that of the daughters of Austria and of France, would only be to put himself in the place of the man who formerly sat on the hereditary throne; that is to say, to usurp. Bonaparte will do much, if he succeeds in keeping that throne during his life. To raise his descendants to it is impossible; whatever may be accomplished or hoped for, so soon as the question arises of a choice between the Bourbon and the Bonaparte family, there will never be either hesitation or doubt in the popular mind."*

While these confidential conversations were taking place between Joseph Bonaparte and myself, the First Consul was advancing with firm steps along the path he had marked out, and everything, it must be admitted, seemed to favour his progress. The peace with England had been followed by Lord Whitworth's arrival as ambassador, and no circumstance that had as yet occurred was so flattering to the vanity of Bonaparte. I was present at the reception of the ambassador on the 14th Frimaire (December 5). The Tuileries were crowded; the First Consul was magnificently attired; a gold sword hung at his side, adorned with the finest of the Crown diamonds; conspicuous among these was the stone called the *Regent*.†

In the evening there was a State reception; Ambassadors, Generals, Senators, and Councillors of State were there with their wives. The First Consul's countenance revealed his satisfaction; English pride had given way before him. This was a triumph, but a short-lived one. The Ministers, following the example of their head, also gave receptions, at which they displayed great magnificence. I was present at the reception of the Minister of War; it was somewhat remarkable. Among the guests was General Moreau. He appeared in a simple costume of plain cloth, contrasting strangely with the uniforms, and the gold and silk-embroidered suits of the other guests. This gave rise to remark and conjecture. Was it intended as a reflection on the Consular Government? Was the General's motive modesty or affectation? Each one answered these questions in his own way. But whatever Moreau's motives may have been, the result was successful. Great attention was paid to the General, his importance was augmented, and thenceforth Bonaparte must have looked on him less as a rival than as a declared enemy.

For the time being, however, that enmity cast no shadow on the fortunes of the First Consul. The whole of France submitted to his rule. Piedmont was united to France; the Milanese territory, Parma, Placenza, and Bologna, under the name of the Italian Republic, had acknowledged him as their president and ruler;

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* The above remarks were uttered and consigned to writing on the 25th Frimaire, year XI. (December 16, 1802).

† This diamond, one of the most beautiful and perfect stones in existence, had been purchased during the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, hence its name. It weighs 546 grains, and cost 2,500,000 francs (£100,000).

Tuscany, transformed into the kingdom of Etruria, had received from him an Infant of Spain as her king, who was the mere vassal of France ; the negotiations entered upon in consequence of the Treaty of Lunéville, and carried on by Joseph Bonaparte and by Count Cobentzel, had been prosperously concluded on the 9th Nivôse, year XI. (December 30, 1802), by two conventions, by which the indemnification of the dethroned German Princes was agreed to, and the annexation of Piedmont to France was recognised ; so that a lasting peace seemed likely to ensue.

On the one hand, foreign affairs assumed a more favourable aspect daily, and on the other, Bonaparte's success in the interior of France was equally important to his ulterior designs.

News of the death of General Leclerc, who commanded the fatal expedition to St. Domingo, reached Paris on the 17th Nivôse, year XI. (Jan. 7, 1803). The General had married Pauline Bonaparte, and was consequently brother-in-law to the First Consul. His death gave a fine opportunity for reviving the ancient etiquette of Court-mourning, and was used accordingly. The Council of State, specially convoked on the 20th Nivôse, paid a visit of ceremony to the First Consul. The Senate and the Magistracy did the same. All the great bodies of the State went into mourning, and the death was officially notified to the Foreign ambassadors resident in Paris, and to the Ministers of the Republic at various foreign Courts. Madame Bonaparte also received visits from the wives of the principal public officials ; and those ladies appeared in mourning. Curiously enough, this return to former Court customs made a profound sensation, and was looked upon as a bolder venture than others of greater importance made by the First Consul, than for instance, the change in the coinage which took place one month later. By a decree passed in the Council of State on the 19th Pluviôse (February 8), the head of Bonaparte, with an inscription *Napoléon Bonaparte, premier Consul*, was substituted for the allegorical face which had marked the coinage since 1792. The reverse was to have been decorated with a wreath of oak-leaves, with the value of the coin marked in the centre, and the inscription, *le peuple français*. But these words were replaced by *République français*. This great alteration, one so contrary to Republican feeling, was effected, so to speak, without attracting attention. Yet the sitting of the Council of State in which so strongly monarchical a resolution was passed was a remarkable one, not from the raising of any voice in opposition to this new usurpation, but from a curious discussion on the motto that was to be graven on the rim of the coin. Bonaparte inquired whether the former coins did not bear on their rim these words, *Domine, salvum fac regem*, and on receiving an affirmative reply, he raised the question whether it would not be well to retain that ancient formula, and to engrave *Domine, salvum fac rempublicam.* This proposition was about to be carried, when Lebrun, the Third Consul, remarked that the word *Domine* might give rise to a false interpretation, and that it might be applied to the First Consul by translating it into *Seigneur, sauve la république;* "Lord, save the Republic!" "No," replied Bonaparte curtly; "there is no fear of its being so understood, for that is a thing already done." However, the old motto was rejected, and *Dieu sauve la France* was substituted for it.

At the same time that these innovations, the aim of which was obvious to every one, were succeeding each other without opposition, or at the very most only afforded subjects for a few epigrams, it became necessary to reward the magistracy, by whose help they had been effected. The submission of the Senate, which had already proved itself so obsequious, must be secured, and its attachment irrevocably purchased by pecuniary gifts. This was accomplished by Bonaparte with extreme skill in the Senatus-Consultum of the 14th Nivôse. The principal points of that Act were discussed in an extraordinary sitting of the Senate which took place on the 9th of the same month. On pretext of definitively constituting it, and making its position more stable and more imposing, an income of four millions from the produce of the sale of the woods of the State, and one million from the property of the *émigrés*, was allotted to the endowment of that body. By this endowment, the minimum salary of a Senator became 40,000 francs (£1600), and it also provided for the extraordinary expense of a Council of Administration, consisting of six members of the Senate; two under the name of "Lenders;"* two great officers; a Chancellor and a Treasurer. These six personages were to have residences assigned them in the Luxembourg and to be charged with the representation of the Senate. Independently of this annual endowment, thirty senatorships were instituted in various departments, each with an annual income of 25,000 francs (£1000), and a manor, in which the Senators, provided with these Prebends or Commanderies, should be bound to reside during at least three months of the year. During their stay in the provinces, the Senators holding these senatorial prerogatives were to act as intermediaries between the government and the governed, and to report to the Senate the state of public opinion in their departments. Now, as these Senatorial seats were at the disposal of the First Consul, and as their number was limited to one-third of the whole Senate, it is evident that the first filling up of these appointments—which was only to be effected by degrees—and the distribution of the inheritance when left vacant by the death of the holders, must afford the Government an immense influence over the Senate.

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* *Prêteurs.*

All these measures were passed unanimously, as I learned from Joseph Bonaparte, who, in his capacity of Senator, was present at the sitting. "I am quite undeceived," he said to me, on his return, "as to Republicanism in France; it no longer exists. Not a single member of the Senate raised his voice against the proposed measures, nor even took the trouble of affecting a disinterestedness he did not feel. The most Republican of them all were using their pencils to calculate the share of each in the common dividend."

After having thus secured and fashioned with his own hands an instrument as supple as it was strong; after having surrounded himself with all the external attributes of sovereignty, unopposed, and, still more, after having grasped the reality of absolute power with a firm hand, there remained but one more step for Bonaparte to take, in order to call his great position by its true name, when the clouds, arising from the execution of the Treaty of Amiens, which were beginning to darken the political horizon between England and France, arrested his progress for a time. On several occasions already the First Consul had shown unequivocal signs of aversion to England. At the sitting of the Council of State when the alteration of the effigy on the coinage was adopted, an incidental discussion had afforded him an opportunity of declaring his opinion of the English, and he had expressed himself with remarkable bitterness. To the great surprise of the Council he had found fault with everything that existed in England. Her national spirit, her policy, her form of Government, nothing escaped his censure, which he even extended to Shakespeare and Milton, whom I had little expected to hear criticised in the Council of State of France.

Bonaparte's personal dislike to England gathered strength every day from the perusal of the English newspapers, and especially of those which were edited by the *émigrés*, and printed in French, in London, and which contained the coarsest abuse of the First Consul and his family; from the opposition offered to M. de Talleyrand in the negotiations opened with Lord Whitworth respecting the cession of Malta—one of the conditions of the Treaty of Amiens—and most of all from the failure of an attempt made by himself to inveigle England into sharing his ambitious views, by proposing to her, in no dubious terms, to join with France and divide the world between them. This attempt, which proves how little Bonaparte understood the principles of the English Government, and how great was his delusion on the subject (a delusion which clung to him until the fatal moment when he trusted himself into the hands of that Government), is recorded in a despatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, printed by order of Parliament as a justification of the declaration of war, and in which the ambassador gives a detailed account of a conversation between the First Consul and himself on the 29th Pluviôse (February 18).*

These suggestions were rejected, as it was natural that they should be. But the vexation of having them made in vain must, no doubt, have been very keen to the First Consul.

So many subjects of misunderstanding, to which must be added the displeasure caused in England by Colonel Sebastiani's report, published in the 'Moniteur,' relating to his mission in Egypt, and which openly revealed the First Consul's designs of transforming that country into a French Colony, indicated an impending rupture; and this, in fact, took place before long.

On the 21st Ventôse (March 12) the speech of the King of England to Parliament, delivered on the 8th, reached Paris. It produced a great sensation, and some surprise, because several of the causes which had led to His Majesty's utterances were still unknown to the public. And as the expressions used in the King's speech were so hostile that it might be taken as a declaration of war, all the consequences of an unexpected rupture, in which so many interests were involved, became suddenly apparent, and caused universal uneasiness and trouble. There was a serious fall in the public funds, and all commercial speculation was suspended.

The above is a general sketch of this great event, of its causes and its immediate effects. I shall now trace, in detail, the progress of the crisis during the five weeks that elapsed between the King's speech to Parliament, and Lord Whitworth's departure from Paris, which completed the rupture. I shall relate the secret negotiations which preceded it; and state the special opportunities that were afforded me of observing the sentiments and the conduct of the First Consul at this conjuncture.

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* See the 'Morning Chronicle' of May 19, 1803. The King of England's declaration of war was published, with annotations in the 'Moniteur' of 23d Prairial; but the text of the accompanying documents, which were printed in England, is not to be found in the French paper. That confines itself to the following remark: "We have now to examine the official documents published by the English Ministers in defence of their Sovereign's manifesto." But as the 'Moniteur' never carried out that pledge, and as the conversation between Bonaparte and Lord Whitworth is of the highest importance to an intelligent appreciation of events, and throws a strong light on the character and views of the First Consul, I think it well to give the whole despatch *verbatim*. The reader will find it at the end of the present chapter.

On the day following that on which the King of England's speech became known, the First Consul met Lord Whitworth, who was paying a visit to Madame Bonaparte, and a very animated conversation ensued. After expressing his utter astonishment at the proceedings of the English Government, Bonaparte continued in the following terms: "How is it that the King chose the very moment when the French Government was evincing the most friendly dispositions? Was it because he wants to seize the opportunity of my vessels (*sic*) being scattered in the four quarters of the globe, and does he hope, this being the case, to achieve the destruction of the French Navy? But I too can make war in the sole interests of France, and such a war would last at least fifteen years."

"That is a long time," was Lord Whitworth's only reply.

"However," continued Bonaparte, "I have nothing but praise to bestow on your own personal attitude, and your presence here has given me great pleasure. I hear the Duchess of Dorset* is unwell, but I hope she will have time to recover her health before she leaves Paris."

Two days after this conversation, the Council of State was summoned to discuss a project of law by which the exclusive privilege of issuing notes was to be granted to the Bank of France. But the First Consul, instead of confining himself to this, addressed us, at the very beginning of the sitting, on the present state of our relations with England.

"I protest," said he, "that there does not exist a single cause of dissension between the two nations which might even serve as a pretext for the King of England's last proceeding. I have faithfully carried out all the conditions of the Treaty of Amiens; but I require the English on their side to observe them also, and unless we want to pass for the most contemptible nation in Europe, we must allow no modification in the execution. But I can scarcely believe that the English really desire war. They do not usually commence it in that way; they begin at once, and talk afterwards."

It will be seen by this that the First Consul did not as yet approach the true cause of the misunderstanding between the two Governments. The English wanted to retain Malta as a compensation for all the acquisitions made by France since the Peace of Amiens, especially in Italy. The British Government, in order to facilitate matters, had even secretly proposed to the First Consul that it should recognise sundry personal advantages to himself and his family, such as the title of Consular Majesty, and hereditary succession to that title, if he would not insist on the evacuation of Malta. These overtures had been made in Paris by a M. Hubert, to whom they had been entrusted by the English ambassador, and were addressed in particular to Joseph Bonaparte through the medium of Regnault de St. Jean-d'Angely, who was in communication with the secret agent. But even supposing these overtures to have been sincere, Bonaparte was by no means inclined to accept them. He well knew that he needed no help from England in order to traverse the short space that lay between himself and the throne. He also knew that a successful war was a surer means of reaching that throne than the protection of a foreign Power, to be obtained by a sacrifice of national dignity, and, moreover, that a negotiation which would have had personal advantages only for its result would have a ridiculous side. He insisted all the more strongly on the literal execution of the treaty, because of his conviction that the English Ministry, knowing the full importance of the possession of the island of Malta, would never consent to give it up, and that from this contest a rupture must necessarily ensue. Indeed, after his unsuccessful attempt to associate England with him in his ambition, war was his only honourable resource, and it might in the long run be more advantageous than hurtful to his projects.

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* Lord Whitworth had married the widow of the third Duke of Dorset.

But public opinion promptly declared itself against war. The renewal of hostilities was, in general, looked upon with alarm, and the few remaining lovers of liberty saw nothing but ruin and disaster in the event of reverses, and in the case of success only an additional means by which the First Consul would reach the goal of his ambition. They did not believe that the national honour was so deeply involved in this question as was alleged. A war which was to begin by leaving the object of the contest in the hands of the enemy, from which nothing but a fresh treaty could remove it, seemed an absurdity. "France," said I to Joseph Bonaparte, with whom I was speaking on the subject, while passing a few days with him at Morfontaine, towards the end of Germinal, "France, depend upon it, feels none of this political sensitiveness ; the only reason that has been put forward, at any rate ostensibly, and which tends to rekindle a conflagration which may spread all over Europe. The real desire of the nation is for peace. It would hardly have noticed a slight modification in the Treaty of Amiens. This headstrong war will not be popular among us, because it endangers all the benefits we have acquired through peace. It will, on the contrary, be popular with our enemies, because it will tend to wipe out the shame of an inglorious treaty, and, moreover, to ruin our commerce and our navy, which are the objects of their unsleeping jealousy. This state of feeling at the commencement of a war is of more importance than people seem to think. Moreover, its beginning must necessarily be annoying and alarming, since, having no enemy on the Continent, we shall have no victory on land to contrast with our defeats on the sea, and with the successive losses of our ships and our colonies, of which every day will bring us news. Then discouragement will begin, murmurs will follow, all regard for the head of the Government will vanish, and the consequences of these various sentiments may be made manifest, before a successful descent on the enemy's coast,—our only means of meeting him and avenging ourselves,—comes to revive the depressed spirits of the people.''

These remarks made little impression at the time on Joseph Bonaparte. Under the sway of his brother, trusting in the inexhaustible resources of that brother's military genius, and taking a kind of personal pride in the strict execution of a treaty which he had himself negotiated and signed, he looked upon war from a different point of view ; and though I will do him the justice to say that had the continuance of peace depended on him, it would not have been broken, and that he would even have done all in his power to avoid war, still he did not rate the maintenance of peace so highly as I did.

On my return to Paris I found the probabilities of a rupture greatly increased. On Sunday the 11th Floréal (May 1) Lord Whitworth did not appear at the usual ambassadors' audience. The First Consul conversed for a long time with M. Markoff, the Russian ambassador, and when the audience was over, he detained the members of the Senate and the Council of State, who, according to custom, were present, and began an animated conversation with them. His anger with England was excessive.

'' They want to make us,'' he said, speaking of the English Ministers, '' they want to make us jump the ditch, and we'll jump it. How could a nation of forty millions consent to let another nation lay down the law for it ! The independence of States must come first ; before liberty, and before the prosperity of trade and manufactures. Can we allow the English to lay down as a point of doctrine that they will only execute the treaties they have signed, in so far as they shall not be disadvantageous to them ? To accept a modification of the Treaty of Amiens is to accept the first link of a chain which will afterwards lengthen itself out, and will end by our complete subjection, by a treaty of commerce such as that of 1785, and, in short, by the return of a Commissioner to Dunkerque. Let us cede Malta, and to-morrow our vessels will be insulted, our ships will be forced to salute those of the English, and to endure a disgraceful inspection. We shall no doubt have an arduous beginning ; we shall have to lament losses at sea, perhaps even the loss of our colonies ; but we shall be strengthened on the Continent. We have already acquired an extent of coast that makes us formidable ; we will add to this, we will form a more complete coast-system, and England shall end by shedding tears of blood over the war she will have undertaken.

" Wheresoever in Europe there remains a sense of justice, the blame of this war will be thrown on her.

" Whence this quarrel ? Have we given the English any cause of complaint ? I protest that since the Treaty of Amiens we have asked nothing of England. We have left her in quiet, we have faithfully observed the conditions of the treaty. Therefore of all men in Europe perhaps I was the most surprised at the King of England's speech. Armaments !* I have ordered none. Negotiations attempted with England ! I have neither opened nor entertained any since the Peace of Amiens.† The whole thing is the fable of the wolf and the lamb. For the last seven weeks the English have acted with as much insolence as we have shown reserve and moderation. Did they, finding me so moderate—me, whom they know to be of little endurance—imagine that I would not dare to make war ? That, being forced to conciliate the people, I should not be able to resist ? They deceive themselves. Their emissaries, and the sums they expend to sow dissensions among us, have hitherto entirely failed of success ; they are employing their money very ill.

" But what disappoints them most is this. They believe we could not exist through a peace, that our internal divisions would do us more harm than war, and that we have only to be left to ourselves to perish. At the present time the order prevailing in France, the satisfactory aspect of our administration, and our finance, alarm them much more than our alleged armaments. By their arrogance and their insolent pretensions they are endeavouring to effect what their infernal policy failed in doing.

" But can we fail to be astonished at the conduct of their Ministry at the present moment ? Can we avoid seeing its positive insanity ? What ! they want to fight us in a second war, and they begin by restoring to us the Cape, Martinique, and Elba, and by evacuating Egypt, and then they make difficulties on one single point of the treaty, Malta ; an article guaranteed by the

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* Allusion was made in the King's speech to the extraordinary armaments taking place in the French ports.

† The overtures made to Lord Whitworth in his interview with Bonaparte a month before, had been regarded in England as the beginning of negotiations.

Continental Powers! of a truth, there is both folly and extravagance in such conduct.

"At the present moment, when the crisis is impending, they send us, through their ambassador, a summons to answer their demand within six days, at the expiration of which he announces that he has orders to leave Paris; and the ambassador will not even communicate this to us in writing! We ask him for a Note on which we may deliberate, and he refuses! Let him go, then! we shall have nothing to reproach ourselves with.

"Now, is it in our power to give them what does not belong to us? For they do not restrict their claims to Malta; they ask besides for the island of Lampedusa, which does not belong to France. Lastly, they demand reparation for disrespectful articles in our newspapers, while every day their own overwhelm us with insult and outrage carried to excess! But they want to be able to vituperate us, without being abused in return; this is another of their political doctrines."

This conversation, or rather this allocution, for no one expressed either approval or the reverse, lasted about three-quarters of an hour, and was interrupted and resumed several times. I have given its most striking expressions and phraseology, just as I transcribed them at the time.

Notwithstanding this almost public manifestation of the mind of the First Consul, and the small hope it left of the continuance of peace, negotiations were not, as yet, broken off. For, independently of those officially carried on between the English ambassador and M. de Talleyrand, the secret negotiation in which Regnault de St. Jean-d'Angely had taken part was still in progress. Malouet, a former member of the Constituent Assembly, was also engaged in the latter. He had seen Joseph Bonaparte twice, and had contrived secret interviews between him and Lord Whitworth, who had several times declared that he would treat solely with Joseph Bonaparte, and not with Talleyrand or his creatures, whom, he said, he could only approach with bribes in his hand. No better understanding had, however, been arrived at in these fresh conferences than in the preceding ones, which were carried on through Hubert. The First Consul would concede nothing. But notwithstanding his stubbornness, he was persuaded until the very day of audience that Lord Whitworth would be present, and would accept the invitation to dinner that he had sent him. The absence of the ambassador and his refusal of this invitation had deeply hurt the First Consul, and brought about the explosion of anger which took place, as I have said, in presence of the Senate and the Council of State.

After such a speech, it was impossible any longer to doubt that

Bonaparte was resolved to go to war. I even thought it undignified on his part, after expressing himself so openly on the subject, to try any further means of conciliation. This, however, he did. Either the First Consul, when the decisive moment approached, became alarmed at the consequences of the step he was about to take, or he only wished to gain time, or to justify the resolution he had come to by further and more pacific propositions ; for negotiations were resumed on Monday the 12th Floréal (May 1) with fresh activity. On the ambassador's sending for his passports, the Minister of Exterior Relations made an evasive reply and the passports were not forwarded. Then Regnault de St. Jean-d'Angely was commissioned to propose, as a *mezzo termine*, that Malta should be left in the hands of Russia. This proposal, which was carried by Malouet to the ambassador at 10 P.M. on the Tuesday was rejected. Lord Whitworth declared that he could not accede to it, and insisted on the absolute surrender of the island. His reply having been communicated to Joseph Bonaparte, the latter hinted that the exact date of the handing over of Malta to Russia would be considered immaterial, and that as the island would remain in the hands of England until it passed under Russian rule, such an arrangement might be regarded as a veritable cession. Wednesday was spent in these conferences. Extraordinary sittings of the Senate, of the Council of State, of the Legislative Body and of the Tribunate had been announced for the following day, the 15th Floréal (May 5). Messages or communications from the Government were to have announced the rupture with England to all these bodies. The parts had been distributed, and the Presidents forewarned ; orators who might be depended on had prepared their speeches. But nothing of all this took place, and for the following reasons.

The secret negotiation, opened on the preceding day, had assumed an official character. Lord Whitworth had seen M. de Talleyrand at 5 P.M. The proposal to cede Malta to Russia was seriously considered, with the reservation that the date of the handing over was not to be insisted on, so that the proposal, thus understood, tended practically to leave Malta for a long time, if not for ever, in the power of England. Lord Whitworth could not have agreed to this without exceeding his instructions, but he consented to despatch a courier to London, and to defer his own departure for ten days, so as to allow time for his receiving an answer.

That answer arrived on Monday the 19th Floréal (May 9), and on the following day, Lord Whitworth presented a note containing the result of the deliberations of the Cabinet of St. James's.

The offer to place Malta in the hands of Russia was rejected, the special reason being that the latter Power had not given a formal consent to that arrangement. But, while declining it, the English Government made further propositions, of which the principal ones were as follows :

1. The complete cession of the Isle of Lampedusa, with power to erect buildings and a fort ;
2. The right of remaining in Malta until such time as the erections on the Isle of Lampedusa should be completed (this was a secret article) ;
3. A fair indemnity to the King of Sardinia ;
4. The evacuation of Holland and of Switzerland.

The increase to French territory since the Peace of Amiens was recognized. But an answer to these propositions was required within thirty-six hours, at the expiration of which time the ambassador was ordered to leave Paris.

The note was ill-received by the First Consul. The last clause especially, requiring a reply within six-and-thirty hours, made him excessively angry. He roughly blamed Talleyrand for not having immediately sent it back, and went so far as to say that in venturing to present it to him Talleyrand had been guilty of disrespect.

In this frame of mind, he summoned for the following day, Wednesday 21st Floréal (May 11th), a Privy Council composed of the Two Consuls, Joseph Bonaparte, the Ministers of War, Marine and Exterior Relations.

The proceedings opened with a discussion of the English ambassador's note. The First Consul spoke with great vehemence. He again attacked Talleyrand, who endured the storm with patience, and, together with Joseph Bonaparte, persistently declared himself on the side of peace. The other members of the Council took part with the First Consul, and still further excited his anger, which already was at white-heat. It was resolved by a large majority that a negative answer should be returned to the ambassador. A reply in that sense was accordingly drawn up, and the order was given that his passports should be forwarded.

All was over by the Wednesday evening, and there was no longer room for hope. But Joseph Bonaparte made, as from himself, one final effort. He offered to obtain his brother's consent to the arrangement proposed by the English Government, on condition that France should maintain a garrison at Otranto, during the occupation of Malta by the English. On Thursday morning, two further interviews took place between Lord Whitworth and Joseph Bonaparte, who then repaired to St. Cloud to report the result. The ambassador consented to defer his departure, if the

First Consul would convey to him officially the proposition that had been made only in confidence. He even promised, should the First Consul decline to take that step ostensibly, to travel slowly, in order to be still on French territory when an answer should be received to the despatch which he undertook to send to London.

Without formally rejecting the proposal that Joseph Bonaparte appeared to have made of his own accord, but which, nevertheless, I believe he had not taken entirely upon himself to make, the First Consul declined to give any official character to this proceeding. Lord Whitworth therefore asked for his passports, obtained them, and prepared to set out on the evening of Thursday the 22d Floréal (May 12).*

On that same day a post arrived from St. Petersburg. It did not bring, as had been hoped and was reported, the positive consent of Russia to receive Malta in deposit, but an assurance from the Emperor Alexander that he would accept the office of mediator between England and France, and that he was willing to accede to all the arrangements which those two Powers might adopt in the interests of peace.

M. de Markoff hastened to Lord Whitworth, and, according to instructions received from his Court, earnestly begged him not to leave Paris. He did not succeed, but the English ambassador promised to forward another despatch, and renewed his pledge of travelling with so little speed as to be still in France when replies from London should reach him.

Lord Whitworth left Paris late on the 22d Floréal (May 12), and remained for the night at Chantilly. A crowd gathered at his doors at the time he was to set out, for his departure occasioned real consternation. For some days past a kind of popular ferment had been noticeable. A considerable number of new crown-pieces, on which the effigy of the First Consul had been defaced, were circulating in the markets, and some murmuring was heard. This was however only a temporary effervescence, and had no further consequences.

After the ambassador's departure, the First Consul himself dictated a note to his brother, in which he proposed leaving Malta for ten years in the hands of England, provided that for the same space of time the French should maintain garrisons at Otranto and in the Kingdom of Naples. This proposition was conveyed to the Secretary to the English Embassy, who still remained in Paris, and who took it to Lord Whitworth. Regnault de St. Jean-d'Angely and the M. Hubert of whom I have already spoken were the intermediaries in this last negotiation, which at first seemed to promise success. But it failed like the others. Lord Whitworth continued his journey. General Andréossy, the French ambassador in London, had in like manner left that capital, and the two ambassadors crossed the Straits on the same day. Thus all was over, and war was declared.

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* As the note in answer to the English ultimatum is dated 23d Floréal, it would seem that it was addressed to the ambassador after midnight, either when he was just setting out, or when he was already on the road.

The departure of the English ambassador had been merely announced, without comment, in the 'Moniteur' of the 24th Floréal. But the Council of State was assembled on the same day, and the First Consul presided at the sitting. He began by saying that he had thought it his duty not to leave such a body as the Council of State any longer in ignorance of events relating to matters of such importance; that he therefore would order that the note which the Minister of Exterior Relations had handed to Lord Whitworth from him (the First Consul) on the preceding day, in answer to the English ultimatum of the 20th Floréal, should be read to us; that, nevertheless, as all hope of an understanding had not as yet died out, although for his own part he retained but little, he thought the communication should not as yet be published, but for the present should be made by some of the Councillors of State to the three Constituent Bodies of the State, and by them received at a private sitting. The note, as published in the 'Moniteur' of the 30th Floréal, was then read aloud to us by the Secretary of State, and its moderate and dignified tone was generally commended. I remarked, however, that it touched very lightly on our acquisitions since the Peace of Amiens, and not at all on Colonel Sebastiani's report, which was one of England's grievances against the French Government, and probably the real cause of England's laying claim to Malta. But these were our two weak points, as they were the strong ones of the English Ministry.

After the reading of the note, the First Consul named three of the Councillors of State to take it to the Senate, the Legislative Body and the Tribunate; and a few days later, on the 30th Floréal, when news had come that the two ambassadors had crossed the Channel, the note was published in the 'Moniteur.' On the same day the Council of State was again convoked extraordinarily, and in the morning I received a line from the Secretary of State informing me that I had been appointed by the First Consul, with two of my colleagues (Bérenger and Pétiet), to speak on behalf of the Government at the Tribunate.

All the Ministers were present at the sitting, which was presided over by the Second Consul. He informed us that, under present circumstances with regard to England, the Government had thought it well to communicate to the different bodies of the State the papers relating to the negotiations with England, beginning with the first steps taken shortly after the 18th Brumaire, comprising all that had taken place when preliminaries had been signed in London between M. Otto and Lord Hawkesbury, and the protocol of the Treaty of Amiens ; ending with the recent transactions from which the present rupture had resulted. After this, the message was read to us, and then the Councillors of State, who had been named beforehand to convey it to the various bodies, set out on their errand.

The message and the voluminous papers appended to it appear in the 'Moniteur' of the 1st Prairial. I examined them at the time with great care, but I sought in vain for what I had been told I should find there,—some positive information as to the manner in which England, during the negotiations at Amiens, had regarded events in Italy.* Nor could I find any confirmation of Russia's

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* The explanations, which the author sought in vain among the documents published by the 'Moniteur,' are to be found in the following despatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated February 9, 1803.

"Downing Street, February 9, 1803.

"In answer to your Excellency's despatch of January 27, relative to the enquiry made of you by the French Government, on the subject of Malta, I can have no difficulty in assuring you that His Majesty has entertained a most sincere desire that the Treaty of Amiens might be executed in a full and complete manner ; but it has not been possible for him to consider this treaty as having been founded on principles different from those which have been invariably applied to every other antecedent treaty or convention, namely that they were negotiated with reference to the actual state of possession of the different parties, and of the treaties or public engagements by which they were bound at the time of its conclusion ; and that if that state of possession and of engagements was so instantly altered by the act of either of the parties as to affect the nature of the compact itself, the other party has a right, according to the law of nations, to interfere for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential difference which such acts may have subsequently made in their relative situation ; that if there ever was a case to which this principle might be applied with peculiar propriety, it was that of the late treaty of peace ; for the negotiation was conducted on a basis not merely proposed by His Majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French Government, viz. that His Majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the Continent. This is a sufficient proof that the compact was understood to have been concluded with reference to the then existing state of things ; for the measure of His Majesty's compensation was to be calculated with reference to the acquisitions of France at that time ; and if the interference of the French Government in the general affairs of Europe since that period ; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guaranteed by them at the conclusion of the treaty of peace ; if the annexations consent to hold Malta as a deposit. This last circumstance has always been doubtful.

The following is the despatch addressed by Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, and alluded to in the preceding pages.

"Paris, February 21, 1803.

"MY LORD.—My last despatch, in which I gave your Lordship an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was scarcely gone, when I received a note from him, informing me that the First Consul wished to converse with me, and desired I would come to him at the Tuileries at 9 o'clock. He received me in his cabinet, with tolerable cordiality, and, after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, he desired me to sit down, as he himself did on the other side of the table, and began. He told me that he felt it necessary, after what had passed between me and M. Talleyrand, that he should, in the most clear and authentick manner, make known his sentiments to me in order to their being communicated to His Majesty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himself than through any medium whatever. He said, that it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him that the Treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and

which have been made to France in various quarters, but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory and increased the power of the French Government, His Majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the treaty of peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His Majesty, however, anxious to prevent all ground of misunderstanding, and desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe, as far as might be in his power, was willing to have waived the pretensions he might have a right to advance of this nature; and as the other articles of the definitive treaty have been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to have carried into effect the true interest and spirit of the 10th Article, the execution of which, according to its terms, had been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in His Majesty's power to control. A communication to your Lordship would accordingly have been prepared conformably to this disposition, if the attention of His Majesty's Government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul. It is impossible for His Majesty to view this report in any other light than as an official publication; for without referring particularly to explanations, which have been repeatedly given upon the subject of publications in the 'Moniteur,' the article in question, as it purports to be the report to the First Consul of an accredited agent, as it appears to have been signed by Colonel Sebastiani himself, and as it is published in the official paper, with an official title affixed to it, must be considered as authorised by the French Government. This report contains the most mistrust ; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue.

"He now enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the first line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by treaty.

"In this he said that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce ; and of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English publick prints ; but this he said he did not so much regard as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite this country against him and his Government. He complained of this protection given to Georges and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coasts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me, that two men had within these few days been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the Bishop of Arras, by the Baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a Court of Justice, and made known to the world.

unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter, insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would warrant His Majesty in demanding that satisfaction, which, on occasions of this nature, independent Powers in a state of amity have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of His Majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to and utterly inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace concluded between His Majesty and the French Government ; and His Majesty would feel that he was wanting in a proper regard to the honour of his Crown, and to the interests of his dominion, if he could see with indifference such a system developed and avowed. His Majesty cannot, therefore, regard the conduct of the French Government on various occasions since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the insinuations and charges contained in the report of Colonel Sebastiani, and the views which that report discloses, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare that it will be impossible for him to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication.

"Your Excellency is desired to take an early opportunity of fully explaining His Majesty's sentiments as above stated to the French Government. "I am, &c.,

(Signed) "HAWKESBURY.

"His Excellency, LORD WHITWORTH, K.B."
&c. &c. &c.

"He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind [I make use as much as I can of his own ideas and expressions] which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

"He now went back to Egypt, and told me, that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That, instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, by the falling to pieces of the Turkish Empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.

"As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed that after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him ; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion ; and such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise.

"He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, for to this amount it is, he said, to be immediately completed, all ready for the most desperate enterprises ; and England, with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. He said, that if he had not felt the enmity of the British Government on every occasion since the Treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate ; participation, in indemnities as well as in influence on the Continent, treaties of commerce, in short, anything that could have given satisfaction, and have testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the enmity of the British Government, and therefore it was now come to the point, whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the Treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled ; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers ; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies [alluding to Georges and persons of that description] must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty. He now made the tour of Europe to prove to me that in its present state there was no Power with which we could coalesce for the purpose of making war against France ; consequently it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said, it was not doing him justice to suppose that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him by any violent act of aggression ; neither was he so powerful in France as to persuade the nation to go to war unless on good grounds. He said that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other Powers, but he hoped that England, Russia, and France would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land than by plunder.

"In the little I said to him, for he gave me in the course of two hours but very few opportunities of saying a word, I confined myself strictly to the tenor of your Lordship's instructions. I urged them in the same manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand, and dwelt as strongly as I could on the sensation which the publication of Sebastiani's report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. He maintained that what ought to convince us of his desire of peace, was on the one hand the little he had to gain by renewing the war, and on the other the facility with which he might have taken possession of Egypt with the very ships and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo, and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them for the purpose of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

"I do not pretend to follow the arguments of the First Consul in detail ; this would be impossible, from the vast variety of matter which he took occasion to introduce. His purpose was evidently to convince me that on Malta must depend peace or war, and at the same time to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.

"With regard to the mistrust and jealousy which he said constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, I observed, that after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history has no example, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail: but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggressor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of Government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it must be admitted that we had such motives of mistrust against France as could not be alleged against us, and I was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when he interrupted me by saying 'I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "ce sont des bagatelles:" and it must have been foreseen whilst the negotiation was pending; "vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler à cette heure."' I then alleged as a cause of mistrust and jealousy the impossibility of obtaining justice, or any kind of redress, for any of His Majesty's subjects. He asked me in what respect: and I told him that since the signing of the treaty, not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman of that description had been so within one month after that period; and that since I had been here, and I could say as much of my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour of British subjects and property detained in the several ports of France and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice: such an order of things, I said, was not made to inspire confidence, but, on the contrary, must create distrust. This, he said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but he denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and right. With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed that they were given as a reward for past services during the war, and most certainly not for present ones, and still less for such as had been insinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British Government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other accessions which His Majesty might have obtained, I could take upon myself to assure him, that His Majesty's ambition led him rather to preserve than to acquire. And that with regard to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, His Majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity ; but that if His Majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies ; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase of energy to our own exertions.

"At this part of the conversation he rose from his chair, and told me that he should give orders to General Andréossy to enter on the discussion of this business with your Lordship ; but he wished that I should at the same time be made acquainted with his motives and convinced of his sincerity rather from himself than from his Ministers. He then, after a conversation of two hours, during the greatest part of which he talked incessantly, conversed for a few moments on indifferent subjects in apparent good-humour, and retired.

"Such was nearly, as I can recollect, the purport of this conference.

"It must, however, be observed, that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebastiani's mission to commercial motives only, but as one rendered necessary, in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the Treaty of Amiens.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,
(Signed) "WHITWORTH.

"P.S.—This conversation took place on Friday last, and this morning I saw M. de Talleyrand. He had been with the First Consul after I left him, and he assured me that he had been very well satisfied with the frankness with which I had made my observations on what fell from him. I told him, that without entering into any farther detail, what I had said to the First Consul amounted to an assurance, of what I trusted there could be no doubt, of the readiness of His Majesty's Ministers to remove all subjects of discussion, where that could be done without violating the laws of the country, and to fulfil strictly the engagement which they had contracted, in as much as that could be reconciled with safety of the State. As this applied to Malta and Egypt, he gave me to understand that a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish Empire would be so effectually secured as to do away with every cause of doubt or uneasiness, either with regard to Egypt or any part of the Turkish dominions. He could not then, he said, explain himself farther. Under these circumstances no one can expect that we should relinquish that assurance which we have in hand, till something equally satisfactory is proposed and adopted.

(Signed) "WHITWORTH.

"The Right Hon. LORD HAWKESBURY."
&c. &c. &c.*

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* The translators have referred, for the exact text of the two despatches, given above, to the official publication entitled, 'Papers relative to the Dissension with France, presented by His Majesty's Command to Parliament in 1803,' and printed by R. G. Clarke, Cannon Row, Westminster.

CHAPTER XV.

Commencement of hostilities—Severe treatment of the English in France—The First Consul's anger with England is shared by the great Bodies of the State—Disloyal conduct of the English Government towards France—French troops enter the Kingdom of Naples and occupy Hanover—A stricter etiquette is established by the First Consul—A theatrical representation at the Palace of St. Cloud is followed by the delivery of an Ode composed by M. de Fontanes—Adoption of the first chapters of the Civil Code—Remarkable share taken by the First Consul in the debates on this work—His journey to Belgium—Servility shown towards him by the authorities, Civil, Military, and Clerical—Disgust felt by the Parisians at such excessive flattery—The First Consul's onward progress towards supreme power—He causes propositions to be made to Louis XVIII., who declines his offers—Dissensions between Napoleon and his brothers—Disagreement between France and Russia—First preparations for an invasion of England—M. de Fontanes, President of the Legislative Body—Re-imposition of taxes on food, under the name of *droits-réunis*.

Hostilities followed quickly on the rupture. The English began them. Scarcely had the ambassadors of the two nations crossed the Channel before an order-in-council was issued authorising the pursuit of all French vessels and laying an embargo on those then lying in English harbours. English frigates immediately seized on some merchant vessels in the Bay of Andierne.* The First Consul replied by a violent measure, and one against all the usages of war. An act of the Government† ordered the arrest and imprisonment of all Englishmen over eighteen, and under sixty years of age, then in France ; all subjects of the king of England between those ages being considered as forming part of the English militia. This measure was carried out with the utmost rigour, and the English who thus became prisoners of war were deprived of their liberty for more than ten years; they regained it only in 1814.

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* The orders-in-council of which I am now speaking are dated May 16, 1803 (26th Floréal, year XI.).

† I would call attention to the fact that, in the month of Pluviôse of this year, the names of the Consuls cease to appear in the titles of the public acts of the Government. From this time they were drawn up in the name of the *Government of the Republic.* Until then they had been intituled : *The Consuls of the Republic*, which formula disappeared in all acts of high administration or of general interest. Nominations to places continued to bear the name of the First Consul. The motives for this change are sufficiently apparent.

The various documents relating to the measures of hostility adopted by the two Governments, were communicated to the Council of State in the sitting of the 3d Prairial (May 23). But this was a merely formal communication. The Government decree had been passed on the previous day, and was already being put into execution. Advice was neither wanted nor asked for. Moreover, it would not have been needed; irritation had reached its highest pitch.

About the First Consul nothing was talked of but a war of extermination and Revolutionary measures. A struggle to the death was commencing, and even Bonaparte's brothers were carried away, forsaking all moderation, and sharing this feeling of deepest resentment. It was the same with the highest bodies in the State. The Senate, the Legislative Body and the Tribunate vied with each other by the speeches of their several members in protestations of devotion and in pledges to support a war which involved the national honour. The three institutions afterwards proceeded in a body to the First Consul and solemnly renewed the protestations they had just made within their own walls. The English Government was accused of bad faith in the negotiations and of having falsified the papers laid before Parliament in justification of the declaration of war.* No means were neglected of inflaming and increasing animosity, more factitious, it is true, than real, but which was expressed with unbridled violence. England on her side did not give an example of greater moderation. She seized on ships at sea before the declaration of war could be known. Abuse and defamation of France, and of the family of her First Magistrate, filled the columns of the English newspapers, and not satisfied with declaring an open war against us, she waged a secret war very dishonourable to the English Government. She hired assassins, paid agents to promote agitation, fostered internal conspiracies, carried treachery and revolt wherever her gold could reach, and gave to the animosity which is justified by open war between two rival nations, that odious character of treason and disgraceful machination which is dishonouring to the most legitimate warfare, and which is reprobated by morality as well as by the Law of Nations, recognised in Europe, whosoever may be the enemy to be encountered.

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* The French Government caused a remarkable article to be inserted in the 'Moniteur' of the 4th Prairial, upon the communications made to Parliament by the English Government. This article quoted as an instance of the highest pitch of impudence and even of folly, an alteration in one of the most important notes sent over by Lord Whitworth, that one which bears date May 10, and in which the entire paragraph relating to the proposed cession of Malta to Russia was suppressed. True enough, at the first glance, the suppression seemed inexplicable and might lead to the belief, as the article in the 'Moniteur' pointed out, that the intention of the English Government had been to conceal an important part of the negotiations. But this accusation lost all its weight on a careful examination of the papers laid before Parliament, and afterwards printed. They contained in full Lord Hawkesbury's despatch to Lord Whitworth, in which the proposition to hand Malta over to Russia was named, discussed, and rejected as inadmissible, on account of Russia's refusal to garrison the island. This despatch, dated May 7, was inserted in the English parliamentary papers as No. 68, and contained the following phrase: "The French Government proposes that His Majesty should yield Malta to a Russian, Austrian, or Prussian garrison. If His Majesty were disposed to abate his demand to occupy the island temporarily, the Emperor of Russia would be the only sovereign, under present conditions, to whom the King would consent that Malta should be ceded. But His Majesty is informed that the Emperor of Russia

The First Consul feeling himself more at liberty since the declaration of war, and holding everything allowable in self-defence, set about extending his conquests on the Continent by way of compensation for the losses inflicted on our navy and our commerce. French troops re-entered the Kingdom of Naples ; Hanover was invaded, and barely five weeks had elapsed from the commencement of hostilities when all the coast of Italy on the Mediterranean, and the ocean coasts from Andaye to the mouth of the Elbe were in the hands of the French, and closed against the English.

While these military operations were taking place with all the rapidity which characterized the First Consul's method of carrying out the projects conceived by his daring genius, he was preparing to visit Belgium, that he might confirm the inhabitants of that wealthy country in their obedience, and strengthen their confidence in him at the beginning of a war which was so contrary to their interests and so destructive to their commerce. But in order, as it were, to prepare the public mind for the submission and the homage toward himself and his consort that he intended to exact during this journey, he held himself more than ever aloof from the other Consuls, and established a more marked difference between himself and his colleagues. The palace of St. Cloud had now

would decline to garrison the island." This last assertion might not be correct, although in the French documents, as I have said, there is nothing to prove that Russia had formally consented to occupy Malta, and all they contain is a further promise of mediation and of guarantees of peace. But it was not the less certain that the English Government could not be accused of wishing to conceal from Parliament and from the country the offers of France and the reasons of their refusal by the English Cabinet. The accusation was, therefore, illogical at least. But it passed without notice or remark.

become a punctilious Court, and access to it was rendered almost impossible by a rigid etiquette. A theatre was erected, and the performances, given by actors from Paris, were in all things regulated by the former ceremonial. The Diplomatic Body was invited in State ; the First Consul sat alone in a large box on the right of the theatre, his aides-de-camp and officers on duty stood at the back. A similar box on the opposite side was reserved for Madame Bonaparte, attended by her ladies-in-waiting. Others were occupied by the Consuls, Ministers, Ambassadors and their wives. Every one rose on the entrance of the First Consul and his wife, who bowed graciously to the assembly. The performances were heard in silence, without applause. I was present at one, on Sunday the 23d Prairial (June 12), and in addition to the novelties of etiquette which I have just described, the performance was marked by a curious circumstance.

The play was *Esther*. After the tragedy the curtain was lowered ; the spectators were about to leave the theatre, when the curtain was again raised. An actor made his appearance, with a roll of paper in his hand, and read an ode composed by M. de Fontanes. Some boldness was required to read verses to ears in which the enchanting harmonies of Racine's verses were still echoing. But that boldness was not so offensive as the subject of the poem. M. de Fontanes' ode was a bitter diatribe against the English, a pompous exaggeration of our successes and their defeats. I was on thorns the whole time, and, with the great majority of the audience, I considered it contrary to all propriety that the Corps Diplomatique should have been invited to listen to abusive satire on a nation with whom their respective Governments were at peace. I afterwards learned that the poem had been recited by the express order of the First Consul, who had read it, and had even required the author, who did it willingly enough, to make some alterations, not to soften the text, but, on the contrary, to increase the strength and point of certain passages.

Meanwhile, amid the commotion caused in the Government Councils by the rupture with England and the consequences it entailed, and amid the revival of etiquette and the puerilities of ceremonial, which the First Consul combined with the loftiest conceptions of war and policy, measures of administration and legislation which deserved the gratitude of the whole nation, were being carried out. The session of the Legislative Body had been employed in passing the first chapters of the Civil Code, and the continuous attention given by the First Consul to the debates on that admirable work, was an additional proof of the flexibility with which his genius could adapt itself to labours that demanded the application of faculties of the most opposite kind. The Code will ensure him to the end of Time a distinguished place among celebrated law-givers. Doubtless he received much assistance from men experienced in jurisprudence, but the selection he made of those men, without respect to political party, was in itself worthy of the highest praise. But besides this, he carefully followed the debates, and frequently threw a light on difficult questions, regarding them sometimes from a novel point of view, and with sagacity that astonished his councillors. One day in each week, the Thursday, was devoted to these debates in the Council of State, and Bonaparte was seldom absent from the sitting. The Civil Code is an exceedingly remarkable production, not only because it attains perfection as nearly as it is possible for the work of a human mind aided by experience and the progress of knowledge to attain it, but also because the period at which that Code saw the light, combined all the conditions proper to ensure such perfection. Former prejudices were destroyed, new ones did not yet exist. At an earlier date the Civil Code would have been *coloured* with Revolutionary ideas ; later, when Bonaparte entirely abjured the Revolution to return to the antique Monarchy, his reversion to the past would have introduced into the composition traces of despotism, of feudalism and of the nobiliary principles revived by him, and which reappear only too plainly in the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Proceedings which were drawn up under the Empire. These are unfortunately tempered by the necessities of the position he had taken up, of the absolute power which he had usurped.

The Session of the Legislative Body of year XI. had been closed on the 8th Prairial (28 May), only a few days after the adoption of the title of the Civil Code which treats of marriage, and after the communications that had ensued on the declaration of war. The Tribunate also had ceased to meet, and all legislative discussion being thus suspended, the First Consul was at liberty to leave Paris.

He set out on the 5th Messidor (June 24) for Belgium.* In the 'Moniteur' of that month, will be found the addresses which were presented to him, and accounts of his reception in the towns and even the villages through which he passed. Never had adulation been carried so far, and it is worthy of remark, that the flattery of bishops and other high clergy surpassed even that of the civil and military authorities. Almost equal homage was offered to Madame Bonaparte, and had the First Consul in making this journey merely wanted to test the servility of Frenchmen and Belgians, he must have been quite satisfied. He returned convinced that he might venture on anything, and made haste to act on the discovery.

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* He passed one day with his brother Joseph, at Morfontaine. He was preceded by a Prefect of the Palace, who was furnished with a list of the persons who were to be invited to Morfontaine ; on that list there was not a single friend of the master of the house. There were two tables, and the First Consul refused to admit to his own the ladies who had accompanied his mother and his sister Madame Bacciochi to Morfontaine ; he admitted only the ladies in attendance on Madame Bonaparte, his wife.

I took advantage of the First Consul's absence to join Joseph Bonaparte, who, with his wife and his sister-in-law, Madame Bernadotte, was passing the season at Plombières. Stanislas Girardin and Fréville were there also, and we made several excursions together in the Vosges, to the Lakes of Gerardmer and Longemer, and also to the Ballon d'Alsace. The aspect of those mountains and of the smiling valleys of the Moselle made a much more pleasing impression on me than the mingled admiration and awe evoked by the wild majesty of the Alps and the mountains of Corsica.

I returned to Paris in the early part of Thermidor (end of July). The First Consul was still absent, but his return was expected every day. Although my absence had been short, I perceived a considerable change in public opinion, and that if the homage rendered to the First Consul during his journey had added to his greatness in the countries through which he passed, it had produced quite a contrary effect in Paris. The excessive flattery, the almost divine honours he had exacted, or at least had been willing to receive, had greatly alienated the Parisians from him, and had inspired feelings akin to disgust in the more sensible inhabitants of the capital. It was even asserted that the Chief Judge had been obliged * to modify several reports from police agents which contained a too faithful account of the insulting language used in public places, reports which, had they reached the First Consul, would have presented too strong a contrast to the acclamations that had delighted him at every stage of his journey.

Bonaparte arrived at St. Cloud on the 24th Thermidor (August 12); on the 27th he came to Paris and received the civil and military authorities in great state. He was overwhelmed with speeches and harangues.† In the evening there were illuminations and

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* The Ministry of Police had been suppressed in the preceding year, and its business had been added to that of the Chief Judge or Minister of Justice.

† The Tribunate had at first resolved to go in a body to Dammartin to meet the First Consul, and to express their wishes in the following terms: "The Tribunate votes that the Consular dignity shall be hereditary in the Bonaparte family." But the First Consul objected to this. His motives will be seen hereafter.

a concert in the gardens of the Tuileries. The First Consul appeared on the centre balcony and was vociferously greeted. There was no great crowd, however, and there was but little general excitement and no gaiety.

At this epoch the First Consul seriously occupied himself in the realisation of the great projects he had conceived long before, and which seemed easy of execution since his progress in Belgium. This is, therefore, a fitting place in which to describe his mode of developing those plans, and the variations which he made in them. For although the goal to be reached was always that of supreme power, accompanied by a style and a title that should place him on a level with the other sovereigns of Europe, Bonaparte wavered long as to the system he should adopt, and the title by which he should be designated. Although it was generally believed that the securing of hereditary power in his family was a part of his plan, he was at first far from holding it as a principle, and he did not resolve on adopting it until he became aware that on such conditions only would the Senate consent to invest him with sovereignty. Heredity was the soundest guarantee which that body could obtain against the dangers of an uncertain succession, by which its own prosperous existence would have been endangered. For the details on the subject which I am about to give, and which I learned and noted down almost daily, I am indebted to Joseph Bonaparte, who kept me informed of every little circumstance that occurred. These details will reveal some of the drawbacks of greatness, and the heavy price at which it must be bought. And if, in my narrative, the hero and his family sometimes appear in an unfavourable light, it is because historical truth places them in that position. No spirit of satire shall pervade my story, but neither will I seek to disguise the truth respecting any of the characters in it. Ambition may perhaps be taught a useful lesson by my history of past events if it should ever seek such a lesson, or would be willing to profit by it. Bonaparte's first step was an overture to Louis XVIII., made at the beginning of 1803. Either the First Consul, shortly after the battle of Marengo, in October 1800, had really received a letter from that Prince, as Joseph Bonaparte assured me at the time, and that its contents had led him to hope for success in the proposal he was now about to make ; or he was led to take this step on account of the advantage he would have derived from a renunciation of the throne of France, which, by rallying all the Royalists round him, would smooth his own way to it. At all events, it is certain that in the month of Pluviôse, year XI. (February 1803), he had a proposal conveyed to Louis XVIII., who was then residing at Warsaw, that he should renounce his rights to the crown and require a like renunciation from the members of his family.* On these conditions the King was to receive a pension of two millions (francs) a year. The proposition was rejected by Louis XVIII., and his reply, dated February 26, 1803, is as noble as it is firm. It was published in all the English newspapers, accompanied by the adhesion of all the princes of the House of Bourbon then living.†

This negotiation, which, had it succeeded, would have given a certain colour of legality to Bonaparte's ascent of the Throne, having failed through resistance as generous as it was unexpected, he withdrew into himself, and relied only on his own genius and lucky audacity for the accomplishment of his designs. But what is to be the form of the new monarchy that he intends to found? Joseph Bonaparte spoke on this subject to Girardin, Fréville and me, during our stay at Plombières in the following terms:—

"To reign alone and to assume a title which shall harmonise with those borne by the heads of European States is with my brother a fixed idea. His letter to the pretender, his whole conduct, the honours which he had paid to him, those he exacts for his wife, are the results of calculation, and intended to familiarise public opinion with, and prepare it for, the great change that is impending. He believes that his best course is to obtain, from the docility and weakness of a populace that in his heart he despises for its servility, all that a sovereign can exact, before he assumes a sovereign's title; for he is convinced that when once the reality of power is obtained, the step which will confer a denomination of that power is easy. He has hesitated long between the titles of King and Emperor, but has at last decided on the latter. In the public opinion of Europe generally, the idea of a King implies a power, modified to a certain extent by an aristocracy, an intermediate caste, and an order of succession which compensates by its security and stability for the disadvantages of arbitrary power. He who bears the name of King is himself fettered, he is restrained by customs which he cannot always bend to his caprice; and an established system of heredity, by naming the successor beforehand, rallies malcontents round the heir-apparent and gives rise to hopes which are independent of the actual ruler.

"Such a system does not suit my brother. He intends that, with the exception of himself, all shall be equal; that his head only shall rise above the level at which all others without distinction shall remain; that no intermediate body shall interfere with his authority; that the peace and repose conferred on the nation shall be so exclusively his work that the imagination can conceive nothing but trouble and confusion on looking beyond him; that uncertainty as to his successor will embarrass contending parties; and lastly, that the power of appointing or changing that successor will be a powerful means of encouraging the hopes of the ambitious, and of attaching to himself all those whose fame or whose influence on public opinion might render them dangerous enemies, by the hope of so great an inheritance which he will dangle before their eyes.

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* It was believed at the time, in Paris, that this proposition had been made through the medium of Prussia, and that conjecture was correct. It will be seen hereafter how the First Consul represented this step, in his speech to the Council of State on the 3d Germinal, year XII. (March 24. 1804), on the occasion of the death of the Duc d'Enghien.

† See the 'Morning Chronicle' of July 25, 1803.

"The title of Emperor and the ideas formerly associated with that title, and which he intends to revive, suit those views. No heredity, no reigning family, no intermediate caste! No obstacles during his life to be offered by the ambition of military leaders; because, being their master in the art of war, he has no dread of their renown, which is surpassed by his own, and because he leaves them the hope of obtaining after his death the position he has created and occupies. No resistance from the State Bodies of which he is even now head, according to the present order of things! No apparent changes in that order; the Senate is to remain. Presided over by himself, and the submissive instrument of his will, that body will be responsible for the phantom of National Representation that may still be suffered to exist. Lastly, even the word Republic may survive. The vain semblance of that form of Government will still console those who go straying about trying to realise the dream of it in the midst of a frivolous and corrupt people, ruined by seductive theories."

These intentions of the First Consul, and especially his aversion to a hereditary system, which would have associated his family with his own greatness, were deeply displeasing to his brothers, and were the origin of the dissension and enmity that shortly afterwards broke out among them. The First Consul wished to make one of them Chancellor of the Senate, an office instituted by the Senatus-Consultum of the 14th Nivôse of that year. But both Joseph and Lucien, to each of whom the post was offered, obstinately refused it. They regarded the offer as merely a method of eluding promises that had been made to them, and of removing them from the supreme rank, by appointing them to functions, which mere Senators without any pretensions to such rank could as easily fulfil. Bonaparte's brothers conceived that by accepting they would have thrown in their lot with the crowd from which it was their ambition to separate themselves. On their refusal, the celebrated geometrician Laplace was appointed, and performed the duties of his post with a blind submission which never failed, until fortune turned against his benefactor ; then he found an opportunity of placing his officious suppleness at the service of the Bourbons.

When Joseph Bonaparte informed me that he had been offered the Chancellorship of the Senate, and that he was determined to decline it, I tried in vain to induce him to accept a position which was to my thinking by no means derogatory. But I could not overcome his resistance, which was encouraged by his brother Lucien with every argument that his fertile mind and his own inflexibility of purpose could suggest. My attempts to soothe his extreme indignation failed utterly. "He shall deceive me no longer," he exclaimed ; "I am sick of his tyranny, of his vain promises, so often repeated and never fulfilled. I will have all or nothing ; let him leave me in my privacy, or offer me a position which will secure power to me when he is gone ! In that case I would bind myself, I would pledge myself. But if he refuses this, let him expect nothing from me ! Is not the fatal power that he exercises over France, over Europe, which his insatiable ambition has disturbed, enough for him, without his dragging me after him as his slave, proposed first to the respect, and then to the scorn of his generals,* who, taking no orders but from him, will either trample me under foot, or bear my train, according to their master's orders ? What has he done for us as yet ? What powers has he conferred on us ? A prefect in my Department sets me at nought, and I have not the slightest influence in the district where I am a landowner. But I am a man, and I intend him to discover that there are some who dare to refuse submission to his caprices. Let him once more drench Europe with blood in a war that he could have avoided, and which, but for the outrageous mission on which he sent his Sebastiani, would never have occurred ! As for me, I shall join Siéyès, even Moreau, if need be—in short, every patriot or lover of liberty who is left in France—to escape from such tyranny !"

These words, uttered with deep emotion, revealed all the agitation of his soul. I discerned in them vehement indignation, excusable, no doubt, but strongly tinctured by an excessive ambition which he disguised perhaps even from himself, although he could not endure the idea that it was always to be disappointed.

This ebullition of passion was followed by confidential revelations. He told me that, wishing to induce his brother to adopt the hereditary principle, he had pressed him to put away his wife and to marry again, and that he had recapitulated the various arguments in favour of this proceeding which had been discussed in our former conversations. Then he added these remarkable words: "'You hesitate?' said I, to the First Consul; 'well, what will be the consequence? Why, that should any natural cause bring about the death of your wife, you will pass for her poisoner in the eyes of France, in those of Europe, and in mine, who know you well! Who is there that will believe that you have not done what it was so clearly your interest to do? It is better to forestall these disgraceful suspicions. You are not really married; you have never consented to have your union with this woman consecrated by the Church. Leave her for political reasons, and do not let it be believed that you have got rid of her by a crime.'

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* The "leaders" of the Senate, instituted by the Senatus-Consultum before mentioned, were to be chosen from among the Generals, and took precedence over the two great officers, the Chancellor and the Treasurer.

"I saw my brother turn pale," continued Joseph, "at this, and he answered me in these words: 'You make me conceive that which I should never have thought of, the possibility of a divorce. But towards whom, in such a case, should I turn my thoughts?' 'Towards a German Princess,' I replied, 'or the sister of the Emperor of Russia. Only take this step, and you change your own position at once, and ours, without our even having to wait for the birth of a child. All is settled by that alone, the family system is established, and we are all on your side.'" This advice, which was partly acted on afterwards, did not suit the private purposes then entertained by the First Consul. It was indeed natural that he should reject it so long as he continued averse to the hereditary system, and in addition to the motives I have already set forth, his objections were supported by his wife and the other Consuls, who were naturally and strongly opposed to a scheme of the kind. It must be admitted besides that the circumstances of the Bonaparte family were by no means favourable to the establishment of the hereditary principle. Its chief was united to a woman who could not bear him a child; his eldest brother Joseph had no son, and Lucien had just married * Madame Jouberthon, the divorced wife of a Paris stockbroker, by whom he had had a child in the previous year. He had therefore bestowed the name of Bonaparte on a woman whose beauty and wit were indeed remarkable, but whose reputation was not spotless in the eyes of the First Consul. Jerome, the youngest of the brothers, had married while in America, and before attaining his majority, a Miss Patterson, the daughter of one of the richest citizens of Baltimore, and belonging to a respectable family in the United States, but the lady was, in the estimation of the First

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* In the beginning of Brumaire, year XII. (end of October 1803). Lucien was a widower, he had two daughters by his first wife.

Consul, far below the rank to which he afterwards raised his young brother. Louis alone had contracted a union with the approval of his brother Napoleon ; he had married Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Madame Bonaparte, and she had borne him a son, for whom the First Consul displayed so special an affection, that it gave rise to the most scandalous reports. After the unfortunate expedition to St. Domingo,* his widow, Pauline Bonaparte, had married Prince Borghese,† and this was the only side on which the Bonapartes were connected with the great families of Europe. But that alliance, although illustrious, was not available in the sense of the establishment of heredity.

Lucien's marriage had thrown the whole family into consternation, and Joseph himself looked upon it as a serious personal calamity. How, indeed, would it be possible to confer rights over France on this son of Lucien, to claim for him her homage, to set him on the Throne, perhaps on some future day, when he was only made legitimate by the tardy marriage of his parents? "Destiny!" exclaimed Joseph, "Destiny seems to blind us, and intends, by means of our own faults, to restore France some day to her former rulers."‡

The First Consul, who was furiously indignant at Lucien's conduct, was at first for using harsh measures against him and his newly made wife. But the uncertainty of success, the fear of the scandal that would be caused by law proceedings to break the marriage, or by an arbitrary arrest, and lastly, the attitude taken by Lucien, who seemed disposed to defend himself publicly, made the First Consul relinquish an idea conceived in the heat of passion, and induced him to resort to a negotiation which Joseph undertook. It was agreed that the latter should endeavour to persuade Lucien to write a letter to his brother, in which he would pledge himself not to allow his wife to bear his name, not to introduce her to the family, and to wait for the legal publicity of his marriage, until time and circumstances should permit ; this, he was also to pledge himself, should never take place without the authorization of the First Consul. On the other hand Bonaparte would consent to receive his brother Lucien as if nothing extraordinary had occurred, would, after the interview, invite him to a play at St. Cloud, and, moreover, would consent to Lucien's wife residing with her husband.

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* It completely failed, and the reverse was attributed chiefly to the incapacity of General Leclerc, who was in command.

† The marriage was celebrated privately at Morfontaine, in the beginning of Vendémiaire, year XII. (end of September, 1803). Stanislas Girardin and myself were witnesses at the legal ceremony.

‡ These prophetic words were spoken to me at Morfontaine on the 5th Brumaire, year XII. (Oct. 28, 1803). I wrote them down on the same day.

Furnished with these instructions, Joseph commenced his negotiations, and succeeded in obtaining the letter exacted by the First Consul. But either that letter did not come up to his expectations, or satisfied with having it in his possession, Bonaparte no longer cared to keep his promises, for it is certain that none of the conditions to which he had bound himself were fulfilled, and the negotiator, indignant at this breach of faith, long and deeply resented it. Lucien took advantage of Joseph's anger to get him to visit his new sister-in-law, and his example was followed by some other members of the family. The First Consul could not forgive Joseph for so acting, and an open quarrel ensued between them which lasted a considerable time. Lucien resolved on leaving France, and set out for Italy on the 13th Frimaire (Dec. 5). On the eve of his departure, he wrote a note to Joseph, which I have read. It was in the following terms. "I am going to Florence, Rome and Naples. I have written to Mechin,* to have Bernadotte presented as a candidate for the Senate.† Do nothing during my absence towards reconciling me with the First Consul. I depart hating him. I leave a courier at your service, in Paris, whom you may despatch to me, if anything occurs."‡

Thus had discord in the family-circle separated its members, and those domestic dissensions, which could not escape the watchful eyes of lookers-on, increased the alienation of public feeling that had already been shocked by such arbitrary acts as the banishment of Madame de Staël from France,§ and the dismissal without trial of two assistants of the Mayor of Granville, announced in the 'Moniteur' of the 15th Vendémiaire, year XII., with the addition of the most insulting imputations. Lastly some very ill-timed acts of prodigality, among which were a marriage-portion of two millions bestowed on Princess Borghese, and a magnificent residence in the Faubourg St. Germain given to Eugène de Beauharnais, awoke universal envy and dissatisfaction. To these hostile sentiments, whose expression was restrained with difficulty by the vigilant and effective police, was added great uneasiness caused by the misunderstanding between France and the Northern Powers with which year XII. began. Russia in particular appeared ill-disposed. She announced her intention of supporting Portugal, which was at that time threatened by us. The First Consul was enraged at this interference, which had interrupted the negotiations, until then kept alive by a faint hope of pacification. At the first diplomatic audience of year XII., Sunday, 2d Vendémiaire (Sept. 25), he was very rude to M. Markoff, and a fortnight later he omitted to invite him to the play at St. Cloud, at which the other ambassadors were present.* M. Markoff, however, being anxious to avoid a complete rupture, looked about for some means of conciliation, and expressed to me his great wish to be placed in communication with Joseph Bonaparte. He complained bitterly of Talleyrand, who, he said, had injured him in the estimation of the First Consul, and who, having speculated on war, wanted to interrupt the mediation of Russia, by preventing the renewal of negotiations which might end successfully. "It cannot be to Russia's interest," he said, "to let the question between France and England be decided in favour of either of those Powers. In either hypothesis there will be danger for her; on the one side of a naval despotism, on the other of a continental despotism. Russia's real interest is to bring about peace. Nor does she wish to impose very hard conditions. I am convinced that all can be arranged on the very basis of the last propositions made by the First Consul.† But I am unable to negotiate; every path is closed to me; every means of communication between me and the Russian Ambassador in London has been stopped, though it is indis-

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* The Prefect of the Department of the Landes.

† Nothing could be more distasteful to the First Consul than this nomination. He had at that time a great dislike to Bernadotte; next to Moreau he was the General whom he most dreaded. Lucien Bonaparte, however, did not start immediately, as he had said. He remained in the neighbourhood of Paris, and only set out for Italy in April, 1804, when he had been definitively excluded from the Imperial succession.

‡ Lucien and Napoleon did not meet again until 1815, after the Emperor's return from Elba.

§ Madame de Staël had returned to France towards the end of September 1803. She was at once refused permission to live in Paris, and she took up her residence in a country-house near the capital. Shortly afterwards she received an order to leave France. The First Consul himself gave this order in a letter addressed to the Chief Judge, somewhat in the following terms: "I hear that Madame de Staël is in the neighbourhood of Paris. You will see that she receives an order to leave France within four-and-twenty hours, and you will take the necessary steps for the prompt execution of that order. To be accomplished without exposure." (The word *exposure* was scratched out, and *noise* substituted for it.) Matthieu de Montmorency, who displayed under these circumstances a truly courageous friendship for Madame de Staël, appealed to Joseph

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Bonaparte to endeavour to obtain a revocation of the order from his brother. Joseph was ready and willing, and tried his best, but without success.

* The other members of the Russian Embassy, and the Russians of note then in Paris, were invited, but one and all declined the invitation; all made common cause with the ambassador.

† These propositions were made with the object of placing Malta in the hands of Russia, and of accepting the mediation of that Power between England and France.

pensable that we should act in concert. I do not, however, aspire to conclude so important a negotiation, I only wish to renew it, and I think I might succeed if I could meet Joseph Bonaparte." I willingly undertook to contrive an interview ; and it took place, but availed nothing. Russia's distrust was increased by the information of a projected alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Prussia, that was being secretly negotiated in Paris, and every hope that the struggle with England would be terminated by Russia's mediation vanished.

Neither these political difficulties, however, nor the obstacles thrown in his way by the dissensions that had broken out in his family, could arrest the progress of the First Consul. At the same time that he attached the Senate to his own interests by the distribution of the new Senatorships, and that he flattered the national vanity by the distribution of various grades of the Legion of Honour, in which he included all men of mark, whether civil or military, with equal skill and judgment, and all those who had distinguished themselves in Science or Art, he was making astonishingly active preparations for a descent on England. An enormous number of flat-bottomed boats, rafts, gun-boats and vessels of all kinds came forth, as if by magic, from a thousand dockyards. Basins were hollowed out to receive this fleet, wooden forts were erected to defend it. Formidable batteries defended the Channel coast-line and forbade even an attempt from the enemy. Boulogne-sur-Mer was the centre of all these operations. In the early part of year XII., the First Consul visited the town several times, and his presence inspired the soldiers and the workmen with increased zeal. Yet it is doubtful whether he ever seriously intended to attempt this great enterprise. He was too good a judge in matters of the kind not to have recognised how small were the chances of success, and in any case I do not believe that he ever intended to undertake the invasion in person, to risk his fortune and his life on so slight a probability of victory.* But the imagination of the people required food, and beyond this, a pretext was needed for assembling an immense army at a short distance from the capital, so that, being surrounded by these devoted forces, he might, if necessary, be borne by them to the Throne. It was also well to remove his formidable armies from the eastern frontiers of France, and to crowd them along the coast from Ostend to the mouth of the Somme, so that Austria, emboldened by their departure, might attempt to repair her losses and to avenge the insults she had recently endured, by a sudden aggression, in which victory would seem certain to her. Thus war, the object of all the First Consul's desires—war, which only could save him from the critical position in which he stood—would again break out on the Continent.

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* Towards the end of Brumaire, on returning from one of his visits to Boulogne, Bonaparte had a conversation with Joseph on the subject of Lucien's marriage, in which he used the following remarkable words : "You think you are necessary while I am absent ? Well, what does it matter to me ? I will not go to England, I shall send Ney. Besides, there is another resource ; I will only make an expedition to Ireland ; thus I reduce it all to an ordinary war ; I will give back Ireland in return for Malta, and make peace."

The sequel has sufficiently demonstrated the wisdom of these various combinations ; but they escaped the notice at the time of even the most astute statesmen. Time alone has thrown light on them. At the period of which I am speaking, no one doubted that the expedition would take place. Whenever the First Consul left Paris, universal anxiety prevailed ; every moment we expected to hear that the flotilla had sailed, and when, for the first time, cannon announced Bonaparte's return, it was believed that the salute was fired in honour of our first successes at sea.

Preparations for the expedition, the movement of troops, and the coast-defences did not so entirely engross the attention of the First Consul as to make him neglect internal administration. His astonishing activity sufficed for all things. By a Senatus-Consultum of the 28th Frimaire (December 20, 1803) the usual form of opening the sessions of the Legislative Body was changed. For the future, the First Consul was to perform that duty, with a ceremonial imitated from that with which the English Parliament is opened, and to appoint the President of the Legislative Body from among a certain number of candidates. This was one more step towards monarchical forms. He, however, adjourned the alteration of the ceremonial until the following year ; the opening took place on the 15th Nivôse, year XII. (January 6, 1804) without any novel formalities. But he hastened to exercise his right of appointing the President. His choice fell on Fontanes, and he certainly could not have chosen better in his own interests. Never did a man realise more completely the expectations formed respecting him. The imperturbable admirer of all that Bonaparte did or wished to do ; so long as that extraordinary man wielded the sceptre, he placed the Body over which he presided, and the nation in whose name he frequently spoke, at the feet of an absolute master, whom he promptly deserted when fortune abandoned him. The appointment of Fontanes met, however, with general disapproval. Even the partisans of the Government were alarmed ; they perceived with regret the accessibility of the First Consul to servility and flattery ; they regarded the appointment as a reward for the ode that had been recited at St. Cloud, and whose violent declamations against England were all the more offensive as it was generally known that, after the 18th Fructidor, Fontanes had taken money and favours from that country, which had afforded him a secure refuge and generous protection.

The Government being assured, by the new system of the Senatus-Consultum, of the subservience of the Legislative Body, and no longer fearing even a shadow of opposition, obtained without difficulty the financial laws for the augmentation of the revenues of the State which the war on which he had entered rendered necessary. In the sitting of the Council of State on the 7th Nivôse, which preceded by a few days only the session of the Legislative Body, the First Consul presided, made a statement respecting the financial situation of France, and prepared the minds of his hearers with surpassing skill for the necessity of further taxation. The arguments he used for the re-establishment of indirect taxation, which had been abolished ever since the beginning of the Revolution, were as follows :—

" The needs of the State for the current year," said the First Consul, " will amount to seven hundred millions, and to meet them we have but five hundred and twenty-six millions, viz.,

Direct Taxation	295	millions.
Registration	180	,,
Customs	25	,,
Post-office	11	,,
Lottery	12	,,
Salt-pans	3	,,
Total	526	,,

" We must, besides, deduct from our estimated receipts the sums that are not actually recovered, and those we lose every year through the bankruptcy of Receivers-General. These cannot be estimated at less than four millions. We can barely reckon, therefore, on a receipt of five hundred millions. Thus, it becomes necessary to provide in other ways for what is wanting ; not with a view to reach the seven hundred millions that are necessary to us on account of the war, but to bring up the receipts of the Republic to six hundred or six hundred and fifty millions. It will never be able to hold the rank which its position and the extent of its territory assign to it in Europe without such a revenue.

" In order to obtain this, we must establish a system of finance, and create beforehand a system which, like the excise in England, will enable us to raise indirect taxes, and to establish, as the need arises, new branches of revenue.

" If I consulted my own popularity only, I should not speak of fresh taxation just now. You shall see that, owing to the extraordinary resources procured for us by our influence in Europe, I could perfectly well dispense with it for this year, perhaps even for year XIII., and reckoning, with some reason, on the probability of success in the war in which we are engaged, I might take the credit to myself of carrying on that war without imposing any extra tax. But we must think of the future, we must not place the Republic under the necessity of having recourse, at the first reverse to our arms, to bad financial measures, such as forced loans, war taxes, or additional centimes on the land-tax, which is already burdensome to agriculture.

"Thus the plan presented to you by the Minister of Finance comprises not only a provision for the needs of the present year, but further a scheme for the collection of several branches of indirect taxes, such as a new tax on all kinds of drink, an increased productiveness on tobacco, and other taxes."

After hearing this address, the Council of State decided on the bases of a law which established a new system of taxation on provisions, under the name of Customs.* It was adopted by the Legislative Body on the 5th Ventôse, year XII. (February 25, 1804), and is in full vigour at the present day, although the Government which succeeded that of Napoleon, in order to keep a foolish promise of abolishing that kind of taxation, changed its name to that of "indirect contributions." A clever invention in finance is always sure to prosper.

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* *Droits-réunis.*

CHAPTER XVI.

Reconciliation between Napoleon and Joseph Bonaparte—Réal, Councillor of State, is entrusted with the Superintendence of Police—Establishment of General Commissioners of Police in the principal towns of France—Debate on this subject in the Council of State—Plot against the First Consul's life by Georges Cadoudal and Pichegru—Complicity of Moreau—Details of the examination of the accused—The Chief Judge's report on the facts of the case is communicated to the Chief Bodies of the State—Their replies—Examination of Moreau's papers by Regnault de Saint Jean-d'Angely and the Author—State of the contributions levied by Moreau in Germany—Plan and intentions of the principal conspirators—Royalist character of the plot—Pichegru and Cadoudal are arrested—The discoveries made by the Police respecting this conspiracy compromise indirectly a great number of persons—Cares and troubles of the First Consul—The Duc d'Enghien is seized at the Château d'Ettenheim in Baden by a detachment of French troops—The Prince is brought before a military commission at Vincennes, is condemned to death, and shot — Consternation in Paris—Bonaparte's speech to the Council of State concerning this event—Ball given by Talleyrand three days after the death of the Duc d'Enghien.

EVERYTHING seemed to succeed with the First Consul ; everything, except the enmity of his enemies, seemed to yield before him. In despair of defeating him on the field of battle, they once more resorted to the weapons they had formerly employed. Conspiracies against his life were formed and subsidized in England. On learning the risks daily incurred by his brother, Joseph Bonaparte's affectionate nature drew him towards the First Consul. The good understanding that had been broken off by family differences was restored, and if it was not entirely proof against some fresh shocks that came to disturb it, yet, for the time at least, the need of sympathy and of giving vent to feeling, had renewed the old confidence on both sides.

In the course of a conversation which took place after their reconciliation, and which lasted late into night of the 30th Nivôse (January 21), the First Consul had freely disclosed his troubles. He made bitter complaints that in his family he met with neither support nor assistance ; and especially blamed his brothers, who took delight in criticising his conduct, in condemning him when he affected monarchical forms, and who, far from seconding any of his projects, made it their business, as it were, to run counter to them all.

"Nor," added he, "do I find more sincerity anywhere about me; I live in a state of continual distrust; each day brings forth a fresh plot against my life; each day I receive more and more alarming reports. The partisans of the Bourbons, as well as the Jacobins, aim at me only, and as both parties know perfectly well that their only chance is in my destruction, they are at any rate agreed on that one point. For a time I thought I had nothing to fear from the adherents of Louis XVIII., but I have now good reasons for believing that they too are conspiring against me. However, I have made up my mind, I shall try a descent on England. Victory would enable me to carry out anything I wished; while if, on the contrary, I should fall, it matters little to me what happens afterwards!"

The conversation continued long in this melancholy key, and when it was repeated to me on the following day, I could but acknowledge that the alarm of the First Consul was justified. He was so great an obstacle to the hopes which had been revived by the renewal of war; he had done so little to place his family, his partisans, or even the nation, in a position to defend themselves when he should be gone; and he had made himself so much feared and so little loved, that among these numerous elements of enmity, ambition and political combinations, the springing-up of dangerous conspiracies was inevitable.

It followed, therefore, that the need of an active and watchful police was urgent. The First Consul, however, would not re-establish an odious Ministry that he himself had suppressed two years before. But he substituted for it a Councillor of State specially charged with the direction of the Police, and Réal, to whom those functions were entrusted, contributed greatly by his activity and penetration to ward off the dangers that threatened the life of Bonaparte and the tranquillity of the State. The appointment of Commissaries-General of Police in the principal towns of France dates from this period, and the latter measure became the subject of a remarkable debate which took place in the Council of State on the 18th Pluviôse. While admitting the inconvenience of having to appeal to the Legislative Body every time that it became necessary to appoint a Commissary-General in any town, the majority of the Councillors of State were of opinion that it was indispensable to obtain a general law from the Legislative Body authorising the Government to appoint those officials according to the wants of the administration. I was strongly in favour of this opinion, as were also the whole section of the Interior of which I was a member. But the First Consul refuted it in the following terms:—

"We are no longer," said he, "in the period when the Legislative Body could be considered as representing the sovereign, and almost as the sovereign himself. That was the assumption acted on by the Constituent Assembly, and every one knows what misfortunes followed on that system, the confusion of power and authority that resulted from it, and the abyss into which France was thereby plunged. Let us return to wiser principles ! a Legislative Body is, from its nature and composition, unfitted to deal with the administration and to enter into its details. It cannot either know or judge of its requirements ; publicity of debate would deprive administrative measures of both the secrecy and the force of opinion which should attend them, and which alone can ensure their success. Only generalities should therefore be submitted to the Legislative Body, and these should be restricted to purely speculative subjects, such as the laws of the Civil Code, and of Procedure, with the addition however of those concerning Taxation, which should always be approved by it.

"By adhering to this system, it is evident that the resistance of the Legislative Body, either to consent to taxation, or to adopt important measures on which public opinion may have pronounced, would have such results that the Government would be obliged either to have recourse to the Senate to dissolve the Legislative Body, or to change its Ministers and its Council, on perceiving itself to have been led astray or carried too far by them. These are great and inevitable crises of which everybody can perceive the advantages and the dangers, and in which the nation is always in a condition to judge between the two parties.

"But to give to the Legislative Body the power of arresting the operation of the Government in details—and such would be the infallible result of obliging the latter to have recourse to it for those details—is to place the Government in the cruel alternative of either permitting itself to be impeded at every step, and thus to concur in its own gradual destruction, or to have recourse to violent measures not sufficiently justified by the importance of the matter, and which would ruin it in public estimation and favour.

"This being premised, I understand that, if the Legislative Body refuses a law of the Civil Code, or one concerning the general interests of Society on which opinion may be divided, we must yield and consider ourselves beaten without making any objection. The refusal, therefore, of a tax would alone oblige us to make use of the means of dissolution, because every one knows that such a refusal is a declaration of war against the Government, which in that case must defend its existence.

"But, in the special case which we are considering, let us suppose that the Legislative Body refuses the particular or general law that we should propose to it ; upon this matter, in the first place, we should have made it the judge of the utility of the measure, and, as it cannot be a good judge, in the absence of all information and of all light by which to guide itself in forming an opinion, a grave inconvenience at once arises ; one all the more grave because the Legislative Body is never responsible for its opinion. In the next place, it would have placed us in the alternative of which I have already spoken, by forcing us either to renounce a police measure which we feel to be necessary, or to take the extreme step of dissolving the Legislative Body, a step which should be reserved for extraordinary circumstances, and which in this case would not be recognised as needful.

"The Section of the Interior and Citizen Miot have therefore misapprehended the question in asserting as a principle that we must ask for a law. It is doing no service to the Legislative Body to call upon it to discuss and decide questions on which it can, in reality, have no opinion. This was all very well, when it invaded all the provinces of authority and regarded itself as sovereign. Such foolish theories have now passed away. The Government, the Senate and the Council of State represent the nation equally with the Legislative Body. We must follow the spirit of the Constitution, not the letter, and that Constitution, of which I have been one of the principal architects, never intended to confer on a deliberative assembly, essentially foreign to the administration, an influence on the direction of affairs which it has expressly, for the sake of the peace and stability of Europe, reserved to the Government."

After so decided a declaration, there was an end to discussion. The project of law was abandoned, and Commissaries-General were appointed by mere acts of the Government in some of the large towns, such as Marseilles, Bordeaux, Lyons, Nantes, &c.

Meanwhile, the Paris police, directed by Réal, were on the track of conspiracies formed in England against the life of the First Consul. They had arrested an individual named Querelle, and this man's revelations had led them step by step to the discovery of the person who had given shelter to the famous Georges Cadoudal, who was known to be in Paris. This person, an inhabitant of St. Leu-Taverny, in the valley of Montmorency, was arrested. But Georges had escaped. At the same time, thirteen men coming from England, and who were deceived by the use of signals, which Querelle, or another accomplice, named Picot, had made known to the police, landed on the coast near St. Valery, and were seized on the spot. In a short time, the prime movers in this vast conspiracy were reached, and the chief leaders, among whom were men hitherto totally unsuspected of a share in it, were discovered.

On the 25th Pluviôse (February 15) an extraordinary sitting of the Council of State was convoked. The Ministers were present. The First Consul presided, and after he had briefly set forth the leading features of the plot, he proceeded in these words :

"It is with great pain that I have now to tell you that some illustrious names are concerned in this conspiracy. That Pichegru, already accused and convicted of treason to his country, should have consented once more to serve our enemies, does not surprise me. But that General Moreau should have joined him, that they should have abjured their former enmity, to attack me in concert and overturn the Government, is what I could never have supposed, and have only come to believe after a long investigation. Unfortunately there is no longer room for doubting this complicity ; Pichegru has been in Paris for some days past. His purpose in coming was to guide the assassins, to rally the malcontents together, and to prepare a disturbance, and Moreau has seen him, has had several interviews with him. I know, in particular, that they met on Monday last (February 13) on the Boulevard, near the Madeleine. A man named Lajolais, whose wife was for a long time Pichegru's mistress, and at whose house in Paris he lodged, acted as a go-between for the two Generals, and arranged their interviews. I have had Moreau arrested. Lajolais and some other persons implicated are also in custody. Pichegru is followed.

"The Government has not acted on suspicion or vague alarms. Both writings and avowals are in our hands. The whole procedure will be conducted by the Tribunals, and everybody will be enabled to convince himself of the reality of the plot, and of the complicity of the persons I have named.

"All this is the work of England. I am astonished, however, that England has been able to bribe such men. Because, after all, is not Pichegru the conqueror of Holland ? Is not Moreau renowned for his victories ? Was it not Dumouriez who first conquered Belgium ? Is it not inexplicable that they could sacrifice so much glory to the passions of a party, which, if it ever gets the mastery, will but tarnish that glory, and bring to shame those who have gained it ?

"I have summoned the Council of State and the Ministers, to explain to them the causes of an event which is sure to make a great sensation, and to give them the means of informing public opinion, and of preventing it from going astray, or beyond the reality.

"Things are not yet sufficiently advanced for me to make them the matter of a message to the different State bodies. Before making the affair more public, we must wait until the course of procedure shall have discovered further facts, which will remove all possibility of doubt from even the most ill-disposed minds."

No one having spoken after this communication, the First Consul brought the sitting to a close.

The Councillors of State followed him to his Cabinet, to congratulate him on having escaped a fresh danger, and when the conversation afterwards became less restrained, he informed us of several remarkable circumstances. One of the men who had been arrested, after making some important disclosures, had hanged himself. Another, named Bouvet, one of those principally accused, had tried to strangle himself with his sheets, and as most important information was expected from him, it had been found necessary to promise him a pardon, and to send the Chief Judge to him to confirm it, so as to restore him to himself, and calm his excitement. General Moreau had been arrested on the high road, as he was returning from his country-house at Grosbois, by an officer of the Gendarmerie, who entered his carriage and drove with him to the Temple.

On the next day, the 26th Pluviôse, at the sitting of the Council of State, the First Consul, who was presiding, ordered Réal to read to us the result of the examinations of the principal persons accused of the conspiracy. I shall dwell in this place only on the depositions of Bouvet and Lajolais, which refer to Generals Pichegru and Moreau, and which are still interesting, since they may guide our judgment of these two celebrated men.

Bouvet, whom I mentioned before, was Adjutant-General in the Royalist army of La Vendée. He had come from England and landed on the French coast with Pichegru and Cadoudal, with the sole purpose of supporting the cause of the Bourbons. But he had speedily discovered that he was being tricked by Pichegru, who was working for himself and for Moreau, whom he meant to place at the head of the State with the title of Dictator.

Lajolais' information was more precise. The first part of his examination, in which he declared he had never left France, was, however, a tissue of falsehood. But on being more closely pressed, and perceiving that the truth was already known, in the second part of his examination he confessed everything ; he had been in England and had returned to France with Pichegru in the preceding January, and, together with another person named David,* he had acted as go-between for Moreau and Pichegru. The latter had at first lodged at Chaillot and afterwards in Paris, where he had three interviews with Moreau. The last had taken place on the Boulevard between the Madeleine and the Rue

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* This David had been arrested towards the end of Brumaire, year XII., at Calais, on his return from England, and removed, in Frimaire, to the Temple, in Paris.

Caumartin. Moreau had promised to come to the appointed place at nine o'clock in the evening. He came wrapped in a long coat, wearing a round hat. Lajolais recognised him, and went to apprise Pichegru, who, with Cadoudal, was waiting in a hackney carriage at the end of the Rue Basse-du-Rempart. Lajolais brought Pichegru to Moreau, and they walked together along that part of the Boulevard which is situated between the Rue Neuve-des-Capucines and the Rue Louis-le-Grand, which was out of the space brightly illuminated by the moonlight. Lajolais discreetly withdrew. He did not assert that Cadoudal was a party to this interview.

The Chief Judge, accompanied by the Secretary of the Council of State, had interrogated Moreau on the preceding evening. His answers, which were read to us, consisted merely of denials. He denied that he had seen Pichegru, and even that he knew he was in Paris. This system, which the General himself gave up shortly afterwards, seemed ignoble and unworthy of him.*

Two days later, the Chief Judge's report containing the statement of the facts I have just related, was communicated to the Senate, the Legislative Body and the Tribunate.

I was present with the Legislative Body on the 27th Pluviôse (February 17) when the report was read, but it was difficult to judge what impression it produced ; every one was on his guard. The reply of the President was well written, but full of affected warmth. The orator spoke of Charlemagne, and compared the Founder with the Restorer of the French Empire. When the Councillors of State who had been the bearers of the Message from the Government had withdrawn, the Assembly formed itself into a general Committee. Several orators, Vaublanc, Ramon, Coupé and others, spoke with approval of the measures taken by the Government. On a motion made by them, it was agreed that a deputation should be sent to the First Consul.

On the same Message being read to the Tribunate, General Moreau's brother, who was a member of that body, rushed into the Tribune and made a fiery, but incoherent speech. He accused the Chief Judge's report of being calumnious and untrue, and still more General Murat's † order of the day, which had been promulgated the day before. He strongly asserted Moreau's innocence, proudly recalled the victories of a hero so unjustly attacked, and ended by demanding judges and a public trial for his brother. Some sensation was produced by this speech. Curée, one of the members of the Tribunate, replied to his colleague, and lauded the extreme feeling he had displayed. Treilhard, a Councillor of State, one of the Government orators, ascended the Tribune a second time, and promised that the proper judges for General Moreau should be entrusted with this important trial.*

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* He afterwards relinquished this system of denial, and on the 17th of the following Ventôse he wrote to the First Consul, acknowledging himself guilty of *some acts of imprudence.*

† General Murat had been made Commandant of Paris on the 24th Pluviôse. The order of the day referred to above is very insulting to Moreau. It was not published in the 'Moniteur,' but may be found in the "Publiciste" of the 27th Pluviôse.

On the next day, the 28th Pluviôse, the Council of State was summoned to the First Consul's Cabinet, to be present at the reception of the deputations from the Senate, the Legislative Body and the Tribunate. The discourses of the Senate and the Legislative Body, pronounced by Berthollet, Vice-President of the Senate, and Fontanes, President of the Legislative Body, consisted chiefly of platitudes. The First Consul responded in similar terms; but, for the first time, he read his replies. Hitherto on these occasions he had always spoken extempore.

The address of the Tribunate contained a sort of apology to General Moreau. Not only did it throw doubt on his guilt, but it did not even refer to him as accused, but made use merely of the word "denunciation." This speech deeply offended the First Consul, and he allowed his feelings to appear in his reply, which he pronounced extempore. "The greatness of Moreau's former services," he exclaimed, "is not a sufficient motive for removing him from the control of the law. There can be no Government, if a man, by reason of his past services, is to be held to be above the laws, which should apply to him as to the merest private citizen. What! Moreau is already regarded as guilty by the first Bodies in the State, and you do not even treat him as accused!"

On concluding his reply, he abruptly dismissed the deputation from the Tribunate, and when it had retired, he continued to converse for some time with us. He was greatly disturbed; his agitation and displeasure were evident.

In the 'Moniteur' of the succeeding day, which contains an account of these deputations, the address from the Tribunate was entirely altered. Everything that had offended the First Consul was suppressed, and Moreau's name did not even appear. The article added that the First Consul had replied to the Tribunate in almost the same terms as to the Senate and Legislative Body, which, as I have just shown, was far from the truth.

Meanwhile the investigations of the police threw fresh light daily on the conspiracy in which Moreau was implicated, and left no doubt, if not of his guilt, at least of the fact of his recent intercourse with Pichegru, and his approval of the projects formed for the overthrow of the Consular Government. At the time of the General's arrest, the papers found in his house were handed over to Regnault de Saint Jean-d'Angely, who requested that I might be associated with him in the task of examining them. We therefore undertook this labour jointly, but I could discover nothing in any of the documents which were examined by me that had any reference to the conspiracy under investigation. I found some satires and a few epigrams on Bonaparte and his family in various letters addressed to Moreau by sundry dissatisfied Generals, but they were not worthy of attention, and I said nothing about them. One document was remarkable enough, but as it had no concern with the matter before us, I let it also pass in silence. This was an account of the contributions raised in Germany during the years VIII. and IX. They had amounted to forty-four million francs. Of this sum, nine millions had not been recovered, and various other sums were also missing. In short, the net receipts from these contributions amounted to twenty-four millions paid over to the Paymaster-General, and eight millions paid over for Moreau's private use, and of which he had given no account. Of the latter sum, a certain portion, estimated at half, had been spent on secret or extraordinary service, and distributed as rewards to the Generals and other officers of the army. The surplus had apparently remained in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief.

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* The above is reported briefly and incorrectly in the 'Moniteur' of the 28th Pluviôse.

I was soon relieved from this painful duty. Shortly after Regnault and I had commenced the investigation, the papers were all handed over to General Savary by order of the First Consul, and I heard no more of them.

But I had been made acquainted by this occurrence with some of the reports made by the police, and had an opportunity of forming an opinion on the whole matter, and on Moreau's share in it.

To begin with, I became convinced that the plot against the First Consul's life had really existed ; that it had been hatched by partisans of the Bourbons, suborned by England, although no Englishman had taken an active part in it. In the next place, it became equally clear to me that the authors of the conspiracy would not be satisfied with striking at Bonaparte, unless they were provided with a man to put in his place, to occupy the interval that must necessarily exist between the fall of Bonaparte and the restoration of the Bourbons. It was evident that, after striking so great a blow, to leave the result to chance would be to run the risk of allowing their greatest enemies to reap all its fruits. On the death of Bonaparte, a member of his own family might succeed him ; a new convention might be formed ; the Republican party might resume the ascendant; the army pronounce in their favour, and thus the Bourbons be permanently, or at least for a long time, put aside. The Royalists therefore required a man who, when Bonaparte was no more, would easily obtain the suffrages both of the army and of the nation, whom the Senate could openly select, and whose appointment would be approved by public opinion. At the same time this man must be one who would hold out greater hopes to the Bourbons than Bonaparte, for he had realised none of the expectations that he had for a moment allowed them to entertain. Moreau, on account of his enmity to Bonaparte, the spell of his victories, the weakness of his character, and the laxity of his principles, was the very man that was wanted. Thence the imperative necessity of making sure of him. Pichegru, already in communication with him through the intrigues of David and Lajolais (for he would scarcely have ventured on coming to Paris, if such communications had not taken place), had undertaken the negotiation, and it had succeeded. I did not indeed believe that Moreau had taken any active part in the scheme of assassination; but that he had concerted with Pichegru what was to ensue upon the event, and the means of taking advantage of it, seemed to me to be beyond a doubt.* I also believe that he had not given his consent to the return of the Bourbons, and that the possibility of retaining the supreme power for himself, or, at the most, of sharing it with Pichegru, had occurred to him, and inspired him with the hope of reaping all the benefits of the crime committed by the partisans of the Bourbons. Thus, he was clearly not working for them, and if he served them, it was without his knowledge. Moreover, Pichegru would probably not have insisted strongly on the point; in the first place, because he recognised the necessity of a less abrupt transition between Bonaparte and the Bourbons; and secondly, because the matter of real importance was to raise Moreau to the first rank, to make sure of his numerous partisans, and above all to get rid of the Bonaparte family and the generals of the army of Italy. I was the more confirmed in my opinion that the coalition between Moreau and the Royalists had been made with that reservation, because, independently of the prize thus offered to Moreau's ambition in the future, he could not doubt that the adherence of a considerable number of his partisans, and the approval of the Senate must depend on the certainty they would feel that he had no intention of bringing back the Bourbons.

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* Réal had told me that one of the accused, named Rolland, when under examination said that Moreau, in reply to an overture that had been made to him concerning the plot, had used the following significant words: "Let Pichegru undertake to rid me of the three Consuls and of the Governor; I am sure of the Senate."

Even Cadoudal must have been made a party to the transaction, and must have consented to it; because, although the fall of Bonaparte and the rise of Moreau would not bring about the immediate restoration of the Bourbons, it was nevertheless a great step in their favour. But it had been impossible to confide all these things to Cadoudal's followers, or to make them understand the necessity for this modification. At the first suspicion of an agreement between Moreau and Pichegru which had not for its objects the immediate recall of the Bourbons, they would naturally take alarm and manifest dissatisfaction. In such a conjunction of things, if one of them was apprised of the truth, it followed that he would betray Moreau and Pichegru. This was precisely what occurred on the arrest of Bouvet, who, desiring to labour for the Bourbons only, did not hesitate, on receiving a promise of pardon for himself, to make admissions that implicated Moreau. Without those admissions the General's name would not have appeared in this affair.

Such is the light in which I regarded at that period the whole conspiracy and the machinery which had put it in motion. The sequel confirmed my first impressions, and I now remain convinced that the design and progress of the plot were such as I have just indicated. The causes of its failure are equally plain. The web, no doubt, was strongly woven, and its ramifications were widely extended; for such men as Dumouriez (who, although he remained in the background, had a great part in its execution) and Pichegru would not have gone so far, if they had not been certain of strong support from within. The readiness with which returned or amnestied *émigrés* accepted places, their influence in the electoral colleges, which they entered in crowds, announced, not indeed their conversion to the system then prevailing in France, or their gratitude to the First Consul, but their hopes of a restoration of the former order of things, and their desire of a complete counter-revolution. If Moreau would have consented to lead the army in the same direction (which his military renown might perhaps have made it easy for him to do) he might have played the part of Monk, for which he was, by character, more fitted than Bonaparte, who had always rejected and despised it. But unity of design was wanting to this great conspiracy. Moreau wanted, by overthrowing Bonaparte, to avenge himself and to usurp his place; he took no account of the Bourbons. The exclusive partisans of the Bourbons desired their restoration only, and would consent to no compromise on that point. The medium party, which hoped either to share the supreme power with Moreau, or to make use of him, so as to bring back the Bourbons at a later period, stood between the two extremes, and was suspected by both. Thus, so soon as the conspiracy was detected by spies, and one of its members was arrested, the police had but to flatter personal interests, or to excite personal resentments, in order to lay hold of the thread. This was accordingly done, and Moreau appeared on the scene. Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal were betrayed by their own followers, and fell into the hands of the police.* Notwithstanding the suppression of trial by jury in the case of crimes against the State, a suppression that had been decreed by a Senatus-Consultum ; notwithstanding further modifications in the usual manner of conducting criminal trials, proceedings could only be taken against individuals actually accused of having taken part in the conspiracy, and could not therefore touch all those persons who were indicated by the police reports as being, if not actors, at least secret abettors of the attempt against the existence of the Government and the person of its Chief. The greater number of these were returned *émigrés*, who had been sufferers by the events of the 18th Fructidor, year V. ; some of them were even members of the Senate.

These discoveries and the suspicions which they excited deprived the First Consul of all repose. His troubles increased daily. The Bourbon Princes were said to be ready to return to France ; he was asked to believe that some of them were already in Paris. He was made to feel the impossibility of baffling so many conspiracies by the simple machinery of ordinary law. Some strong measure, some *coup d'État* was needed to bring these constantly recurring troubles to an end, and to tranquillise, not only the partisans of the Revolution, but also members of the old noblesse, and those returned *émigrés*, who, having accepted appointments, in the army, the administration, and even in the household of Bonaparte, all equally dreaded the return of the Bourbons.

The First Consul, thus urged by two opposite parties, who for the moment united to attain a common end, influenced also by the instinct of self-preservation, and above all by the hope of raising an enduring and insurmountable barrier between France and the Bourbons, resolved on striking a decisive blow, for which Talleyrand prepared the way.

It was known in Paris that the Duc d'Enghien was residing at the castle of Ettenheim, in the Margravate of Baden, with the Princess Charlotte of Rohan-Rochefort. The presence of the Duke in such close vicinity to the French frontier might, in the present difficult conjuncture, be supposed to be a reasonable cause of uneasiness to the Government by contributing to encourage the hopes of its enemies. Nothing therefore could have been more simple than to require from the Margrave of Baden the dismissal of a guest whose presence had become an obstacle to the continuance of a good understanding between the two countries. Such a request would have been reasonable, and doubtless it would not have been refused. But this measure, the only one that justice could approve, was indecisive and insignificant. More than this was required, or at least Bonaparte thought so, to satisfy and tranquillise the few remaining Jacobins and also those members of the nobility who had come over to his side. Talleyrand, who was at the head of the "noble" party, and at the same time Minister of Exterior Relations, did not shrink from taking steps in the latter capacity to arrive at a far more definite result. He wrote to the Margrave of Baden, in the name of the First Consul, informing him that a detachment of French troops had orders to arrest the Duc d'Enghien, and the letter, which was afterwards published, and some portions of which were known in Paris at the time, contained the following remarkable sentence. "The conduct of the Bourbons towards the First Consul gives him a right to pursue and to take them in every place, and by any means whatsoever." A false and odious maxim, subversive of the first principles of the rights of man, and of the reciprocal independence of nations!

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* Pichegru, having been betrayed by a stockbroker named Leblanc, was arrested on the 8th Ventôse in the Rue de Chabanais. Georges Cadoudal was arrested on the 18th of the same month, after a desperate resistance. The gates of Paris had been closed for several days, and this measure ensured the capture of Cadoudal.

Caulaincourt, who was ordered to arrest the Duc d'Enghien, set about his task with the greatest despatch. He sent a detachment from the garrison of Strasburg to the castle of Ettenheim. The Prince was taken by force, was removed first to the fortress of Strasburg, and taken from thence, travelling post, to Paris. I heard these particulars on the evening of the 28th Ventôse (March 19) from Joseph Bonaparte, who had been in complete ignorance of the affair until then. We puzzled our brains over the motives of this extraordinary proceeding; we were very far from foreseeing its end.

On the following day, some of the newspapers announced the arrest of the Prince, but the "Moniteur" made no mention of the fact.

The next morning, the 30th Ventôse (March 21), I, and some of my colleagues, were at Regnault de St Jean-d'Angely's house; Joseph Bonaparte was there also. We were discussing what ought to be done about the Prince who had been arrested at Ettenheim; and endeavouring to forecast the effect that would be produced by either severity or clemency. But while we were thus conversing, the fate of him of whom we spoke was already decided; that unfortunate Prince was no longer in existence.

According to accounts we received while we were still at Regnault's house, the Duc d'Enghien, accompanied by an officer of gendarmerie who had shared his carriage from Strasburg, arrived on the preceding evening at the barrier of Pantin. An officer in command there ordered the carriage to be turned back. Some uncertainty as to the execution of that order had caused a short delay. Finally an orderly officer brought positive instructions that the Prince should be taken to Vincennes. This was done by driving round the outskirts of Paris, along the fortifications. He arrived at his journey's end at seven in the evening, and was imprisoned in the Keep. A few hours later a court-martial * was formed, the Duc d'Enghien was brought before it, and sentence was pronounced on the spot. † The Prince was unanimously condemned to death, taken at daybreak to the castle moat, and shot by the gendarmes.

It would be difficult to describe the sensation which this occurrence produced in Paris. Disturbance, dismay and consternation prevailed. People did not dare either to speak together or to ask any questions. This first blood shed under circumstances so terrible and revolting, this first stain on a character that until then had been free from all reproach of cruelty, this adoption of the forms of the Revolutionary Tribunals during the Convention, created profound alarm. It looked like a sign of interior change, like the development of evil passions, of which this deed was but a first manifestation. People feared that the First Consul, having once entered on this sanguinary path, would not be able to draw back from it. They trembled to see him surrounded by servile instruments, and judges who were ready to condemn the accused before he had been brought before them. Happily these sinister forebodings were not realised. The blood spilt on that fatal occasion was precious, that cannot be disputed ; the sentence was iniquitous ; but it is the solitary instance in which, during the whole of his tenure of power, Bonaparte deserved such a reproach.

On being brought before the Court, the Duc d'Enghien had at once admitted that he had borne arms against France. "I have been proscribed," he said, "for fifteen years, and, having no longer a country, I have made war on France, but I have made it honourably."

He denied that he had any part in the projected assassination of the First Consul, and declared that he had never been implicated in any plot of that nature.

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* The Court consisted of five officers of the rank of Colonel, a Captain of Gendarmerie acting as reporter, and a Captain of Infantry of the Line as Registrar. Their names are given in the 'Moniteur' of the 1st Germinal. The President of the Court was General Hullin.

† As the sentence was passed after midnight, it is dated the 30th Ventôse, year XII. (March 21, 1804).

On learning his sentence, he demanded to speak with the First Consul ; but an interview, which would perhaps have prevented a crime, was refused to him.

During the rest of the week marked by this fatal catastrophe, Bonaparte remained at Malmaison alone with his wife, an officer of the Guard, a Prefect of the Palace, and a Lady-in-Waiting. No other person had dined with him, and Madame Bonaparte was forbidden to receive any other lady.

It was said at the time that she had urgently interceded with her husband to obtain the life of the Duc d'Enghien, but that all her entreaties had failed to shake his determination. But, although her well-known kindness of heart places it beyond a doubt that she would have made every effort to save the Prince, had she known of his impending fate, it is difficult to believe that she had an opportunity of doing so. How, indeed, could she have made the attempt, however natural it would have been, in the short time that elapsed between the sentence and the execution ?*

Fouché had at first been named among the dangerous advisers whose counsels had been followed by Bonaparte ; but, in addition to its being very unlikely that the First Consul asked the advice of any one, a rumour prevailed that Fouché had been opposed to the death of the Duc d'Enghien, and he was said to have made use of the expression, which has since then become famous : "It is more than a crime, it is a blunder." Talleyrand was said to have been in favour of the death-sentence, and to have gone too far for retreat. But I cannot speak with certainty on this point. Joseph Bonaparte, the only person who could have enlightened me, either did not know the facts, or did not choose to confide them to me.

Several papers had been seized at Ettenheim ; among them was a list of persons in France on whom the Prince might have relied. This list was said to contain the names of certain Councillors of State, such as Barbé-Marbois, Siméon, Portalis and others. It has been proved by subsequent events that these imputations were not unfounded ; it is therefore all the more remarkable that no injury resulted from them to the persons involved. They continued to enjoy Bonaparte's favour and to serve him so long as his power lasted. These reports, however, whether true or false, had spread general alarm ; the most absurd rumours were circulated. A Bourbon Prince was, it was said, concealed in the house of the Austrian Minister, who had given him an asylum ; Duroc had gone to Vienna to negotiate for permission to search the ambassador's house, &c. In short, general alarm prevailed, and, as the Government had restricted itself to publishing an account of the court-martial at Vincennes in the "Moniteur" of the 1st Germinal without adding any explanation, that alarm was increased by all that Parisian credulity chose to add to the reality.

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* The sentence had been pronounced at Vincennes between two and three in the morning, and at four o'clock it was executed. See note by the translators in the Appendix.

The First Consul emerged at last from his retirement. He appeared at the Council of State on the 3d Germinal, and delivered the following speech, which I consigned to writing on the same day :—

"I can scarcely conceive that in so enlightened a city as Paris, in the capital of a great empire, such ridiculous rumours can be credited as those which have been circulating for the last few days. How can any one believe that a Bourbon Prince is here, that he is hiding at the German Ambassador's house, and that I have not dared to have him arrested ! People who believe this must know me very little ; and must have a poor idea of the policy that should guide the Government. If the Duc de Berry, if any Bourbon were in hiding at the house of M. de Cobentzel,* I should not only have had him seized, but shot on the same day, and M. de Cobentzel with him. If the Archduke Charles were in Paris, and he had afforded an asylum to one of those princes, I should have done the very same thing ; he should have been shot. We live no longer in the time of sanctuary. We are not obliged, as were the Athenians,† to respect the temple of Minerva, which had to be unroofed so that a general who had fled thither might be seized because the people dared not take him within the precinct. Europe and the nations are ruled by other ideas at the present day. To suppose that I have despatched Duroc (who has not left Paris) to the Emperor to obtain permission to search the house of his ambassador, when one of our greatest enemies is supposed to be in hiding there, is to degrade France to the level of the pettiest republics of Europe, to that of Genoa or of Venice ; and yet even the latter ordered the arrest of the Marquis de Bedmar.‡ Such rumours, such suspicions as these are derogatory to me, and also to the ambassador of whom I have no reason to complain. I have therefore thought it right to make the Council of State acquainted with the whole truth, so that the men who compose it may rectify public opinion and direct it towards more reasonable conclusions."

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* Count Philip von Cobentzel was at that time Austrian Ambassador in Paris.

† This quotation is incorrect. The circumstance occurred at Sparta with regard to Pausanias, who had taken refuge in the temple of the Minerva of Chalcis.

‡ There is an error here also. The Marquis de Bedmar was not arrested by the Venetian Senate ; but his house was searched, and he made loud complaints on the subject. He appeared before the Senate to defend himself in person against the accusation in question. The Senate could only protect him from the fury of the people by sending him under escort to the place of embarkation.

These errors are of no real importance, and do not detract from the rude eloquence of this remarkable speech.

"I have, moreover," continued the First Consul, after a short interval, "caused the Senate to be informed of the particulars of the correspondence organised by Drake;* they also shall be laid before the Council, which will be enabled to judge of the principles by which the English Ministers are guided, and whether we owe much consideration to those, who under the cloak of diplomacy organise assassination and atrocious crimes. We shall see what is due to a family whose members have become the base tools of England. Let not France deceive herself! For her there will be neither peace nor quiet until the last Bourbon shall have been exterminated. I had one of them seized at Ettenheim. On my first request, the Margrave consented to my seizing him, and how, indeed, should the law of nations be claimed by those who have planned an assassination, who give orders for it, and pay for it? By such a deed alone they put themselves beyond the pale of European nations.† And then people talk to me of the right of sanctuary, of violation of territory! What utter nonsense! They know me very little. My veins run with blood, not water.

"However, I am bound to state, that in this city of Paris those men found neither shelter nor partisans. None of the returned or amnestied *émigrés* are implicated. Hitherto, I protest I have had no reason to complain of them. Perhaps in their hearts they may have desired a change, but it belongs to God alone to look into the conscience; I can only judge of actions.‡ Therefore I am far from changing the maxims of Government, far from condemning a number of people in a mass. I shall seize and I shall strike guilty individuals, but I shall take no wholesale measures. I repeat it, the maxims of the Government shall not be changed.

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* Drake, an envoy from England to Munich, where he was residing in 1803 and 1804, gained celebrity as a spy, and by the intrigues which he carried on during his various missions. Papers relating to a correspondence he had organized in the interior of France were laid before the Senate. They were also sent to all the members of the Diplomatic Body in Paris, who replied, in the name of their respective Courts, by assurances of absolute adhesion to the First Consul. These replies may be seen in the 'Moniteur' of the 7th Germinal, year XII.; they vie with each other in adulation. See also the 'Moniteur' of the 4th Germinal, in which these documents are published, also a pamphlet, by Méhée, which appeared at this time with the title of 'Alliance des Jacobins avec le ministère Anglais.'

† This is the dangerous maxim laid down in Talleyrand's letter to the Margrave of Baden.

‡ Such a principle cannot be too much praised in the head of a Government.

"I ordered the prompt trial and execution of the Duc d'Enghien, so that the returned *émigrés* might not be led into temptation. I feared that the long delays of a trial, the solemnity of condemnation, might revive sentiments that they could not have refrained from exhibiting ; and that I might have been obliged to hand them over to the police, thus extending instead of narrowing the circle of the guilty.*

"The Duke was, moreover, tried by a court-martial, to which he was amenable ; he had borne arms against France, he had made war on us. By his death, he has repaid a part of the blood of two millions of French citizens who perished in that war. It will be seen by the papers we have seized that he had established himself at Ettenheim so as to carry on a correspondence with the interior of France. I arrested him in the Margravate of Baden. Who knows whether I might not also have seized the other Bourbons who are living at Warsaw ? Do people suppose that they live there without my knowledge ? On the contrary, they live there entirely because of my consent. Paul,† who was a man of logical mind, after making peace with me, himself proposed to banish the Bourbons from his states. Austria would shelter none of them, and I shall not make peace with England until she consents to the total expulsion of the Bourbons and the *émigrés*.

"But, as it was necessary to allow them to live somewhere, Warsaw was named, and I consented to this. I went even farther ; on the proposition of the King of Prussia, and in order to withdraw the remaining members of the family from the influence of England, I was resolved on making them a suitable allowance, and I believe that in so doing the Republic would have made a political sacrifice favourable to its tranquillity. I am aware of the ridiculous rumours to which this negotiation has given rise ; it was said that I had exacted from those princes a renunciation of the Throne,‡ and that their refusal to comply with that condition had caused the whole negotiation to fail. There is not a particle of truth in this absurd story ; the facts are those I have just laid before you."

The First Consul paused after the above words ; he then transacted some business of little importance and broke up the sitting at an early hour.

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* He had said to Truguet, two days before, "Well, there is one Bourbon the less ! I wished to spare him the terror of death by having him shot at once."

† The Emperor of Russia, who was assassinated in March 1801. He had, in truth, conceived a passionate attachment to Bonaparte.

‡ This alludes to his letter to Louis XVIII.

On the following day, Sunday, the 4th Germinal (March 25), he held a reception at the Tuileries, at which the various authorities, generals and other persons of distinction hastened to present themselves. He conversed with everybody, repeated in part what he had said to the Council of State, used the same arguments, and seemed on the whole to be seeking for general approbation. A deputation from the Legislative Body, which had risen on the previous day, was also received by him, and President Fontanes, who was spokesman, delivered an emphatic panegyric of the First Consul, but did not in any way allude to the terrible event that was in the thoughts of all. The words "Republic" and "Bourbons" did not even occur in his speech.

Meanwhile the gates of Paris remained closed, and the prosecution of all those who had taken part in the conspiracy was carried on. Two of the Polignacs, M. de Rivière, and several others, had been arrested.

Amid all these scenes of terror and alarm, M. de Talleyrand found means to distinguish himself by a piece of egregious flattery. On the 3d Germinal, three days after the death of the Duc d'Enghien, he gave a ball. Two months previously Madame de Talleyrand had refused to be present at a ball, inadvertently fixed by M. de Cobentzel for the 21st January, the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. "How could one dance on such a day as that?" she had said. And M. de Cobentzel postponed the festivity. What then can we think of such scrupulousness, and of the indecency of giving an entertainment, as it were, to the crack of the muskets which had just shot a near kinsman of that same Louis XVI. ! Nevertheless, the keen and painful sensation created in Paris by that grave catastrophe rapidly subsided, or at least it was carefully ignored by the habitual courtiers of power. As for the people of Paris, their curiosity was soon attracted to other subjects, and they forgot an event which at first had strongly moved them. Besides, it must be owned, they neither remembered nor loved the Bourbons, of whom they had quite lost sight. And they had, unfortunately, been too long accustomed to scenes of bloodshed, for this one to strike them as more extraordinary or more distressing than so many others which they had witnessed.

CHAPTER XVII.

The First Consul is obliged to accept the principle of heredity in the succession to the supreme magistracy—Address from the Senate, asking for that guarantee of stability—Public opinion is in favour of Heredity—Preliminary debate on the date of the adoption of that principle, and on the title to be assumed by the Chief of the State—Bonaparte makes it a point that hereditary power should be offered to him by the Revolutionary Party—Restrictions placed by him on the hereditary system—The question is discussed by the Council of State—The First Consul reverts to the idea of adopting the son of Louis Bonaparte as his successor—He makes an overture to Louis with that view—Indignation of the latter and of Joseph Bonaparte—The First Consul is reconciled with his brothers, and resolves to include them in the succession—Louis is appointed General of Division, and Joseph accepts command of a regiment of the line—A Privy Council summoned at St. Cloud adopts heredity, and decrees that Bonaparte shall assume the title of Emperor, and shall be consecrated and crowned as such—The First Consul sends a message to the Senate to elicit a clearer statement on the new institutions that are to be established—The Senate appoints a Committee for that purpose—At the Tribunate, a motion, offering the Crown to Bonaparte, is made by Curée, and seconded by Simeon—The Senatus-Consultum adopting the proposition of the Tribunate is submitted to the Council of State, and is definitively adopted by that body—The Senate conveys to the First Consul at St. Cloud the law proclaiming Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French.

The danger incurred by the First Consul through the machinations of the conspirators who were now in the hands of justice, naturally recalled his thoughts to the execution of his projects for supporting his authority by a more imposing title than that of Consul, and one which, according to his notion of the influence of names on the mass of mankind, would render his person more inviolable. The addresses of congratulation that poured in upon him daily from all parts, and filled the columns of the 'Moniteur;' the submissiveness of the Senate, secured by his liberality and expressed in the obsequious utterances of Fontanes; the fresh glory he had acquired by the promulgation of the Civil Code, which had been completed in the recent session; the marble statue decreed to him in the name of the French nation by the Legislative Body, as a mark of gratitude for so great a boon; all these things contributed to confirm him in his intentions, and the efforts of his enemies to destroy him had but accelerated his progress towards the Throne, by ridding him of his only formidable rival. For, whatever might be the decision of the Tribunals, Moreau was for ever ruined in the estimation of the army. His at least apparent complicity in murderous plots, or in schemes for the restoration of the Bourbons, had deprived him not only of the confidence of the troops, but also of that of the Patriots, in spite of the uneasiness excited among that party by Bonaparte's ambition ; and, moreover, it had cost him the esteem of all generous minds, to whom betrayal, under whatever mask, is always abhorrent.

The First Consul was too clever not to turn these circumstances to account. He perceived that the Senate in general, many of whose members would have failed him had Moreau been more successful or more adroit, had feared for their own existence at least as much as for that of the Government ; and that having escaped that danger, it was ready to take any steps to prevent a recurrence of it, and would not be averse to bestowing a crown, if under shelter of that crown it might be certain of enjoying in peace the wealth which it owed to generosity that had a corrupting influence.

To satisfy the exigencies of the moment, it was, however, necessary to modify the plan originally concocted by the First Consul. The arguments adduced by the Senate to prove the necessity of filling up the void left by the Constitution of the year VIII., and the subsequent Senatus-Consultum respecting the mode of succession to the supreme magistracy, were principally as follows : So long as the manner of succession should not be defined, the First Consul would be the only object of attack, whether from within or without, and were that successful, everything must come to an end with him. If, on the contrary, his successor were to be declared, if after his death everything was to remain *in statu quo*, if the progress of government was not disturbed, the fall of its actual head would become of less importance ; for, failing him, there would still be security for others. Hence, there would be fewer conspiracies to fear, since even if successful they would be fruitless ; and hence also would come repose and security, that until now had been wanting.

Heredity, therefore, and its accompanying advantages had become the great necessity of the time, and whatever had been Bonaparte's dislike to the system, he found himself obliged to accept it. We shall see, however, that, owing to family circumstances and the divisions existing among his relatives, he was not able to adopt it simply and openly, and we shall also see by what means he modified it, and what forms he essayed before he adopted that system which he finally selected.

The veil which had until then hung over these projects was first lifted by the Senate, four days after the closing of the legislative session. On the 7th Germinal (March 21) the Council of State was convened for an extraordinary sitting. We were introduced into the Cabinet of the First Consul, and shortly after our arrival the Senate, in a body, was introduced. At its head came Senator Lecouteulx de Canteleu, the Vice-President, who read the address that the Senate on the preceding day had decreed should be presented to the First Consul.

The address began by acknowledging the receipt from the Government of the documents relating to the secret correspondence carried on by Drake, the English Minister. The Senate, while expressing their indignation at the disgraceful conduct of that diplomatic agent, glanced at events then taking place in the interior of France, where they descried criminals guilty of high treason, but with none to judge them. This was a flaw in the constitution, for the great genius who had framed it had shrunk from believing a crime of that nature to be possible, and therefore had not provided for its repression. But if gratitude was due to him for that which he had done and even for that which he had not done—since the omission proceeded from a noble magnanimity—the Senate nevertheless could not refrain in the present conjuncture from demanding that it should be repaired. They proposed, therefore, the establishment of a High Court and a National Jury, for the special purpose of trying crimes of high treason. The speaker added: "It would not be sufficient, Citizen Consul, thus to punish crimes of which the safety of the State demands the suppression; in addition to this, all hope must be abandoned by those who might be tempted to imitate such an evil example. At the very least, crime must be made unprofitable to those who venture on it. We feel the need of institutions that will ensure to our children the happiness we ourselves enjoy, that will consolidate your work and render it as immortal as your glory. In short, it is indispensable that the vessel of the State should run no risk of losing her pilot, without being provided with anchors which in so dire a misfortune would prevent her from becoming a total wreck."

The First Consul answered in a few words; that he was touched by the sympathy of the Senate, and by the sentiments expressed through their Vice-President. He continued: "I recognise, as you do, that there is a defect in the constitution, with respect to punishment of crimes against the State, and that it must be remedied. The Government will attend to this during the coming year. With regard to anything that might tend to consolidate the present system, I shall always be ready to take the opinion of the Senate, and to act in concert with them."

Neither the address of the Senate nor the First Consul's reply was published in the 'Moniteur,' but rumours of this unusual event were in circulation everywhere and produced a very great sensation. It was generally believed to have been a preconcerted affair, and such was my own opinion. Joseph Bonaparte and Roederer, whom I saw in the course of the day, protested, however, that this was not the case, and that Boissy d'Anglas and Fouché, two members of the Committee entrusted with the reply in acknowledgment of Drake's correspondence, had suggested the two principal points of the address : the first, by proposing the creation of a national jury, in order to try crimes of high treason ; and the second, by asking for a pledge of future stability. The other members of the Committee had been induced to adopt both propositions, without clearly perceiving the drift of the second ; and as the actual word *heredity* was not contained in the address, these members were quite surprised that others should discover in it what they themselves had failed to see, although it was obvious enough.

The signal was given, and every one was full of the self-evident results of the step taken by the Senate, one which Fouché was much too clever to have suggested, unless sure beforehand that it would not be displeasing. No one discussed the first part of the address, which was regarded merely as a means of transition to the second. Who could believe, moreover, in the guarantee to be given by the institution of a National High Court ? The condemnation of the Duc d'Enghien, the law-proceedings without a jury in the case of General Moreau, the power of altering the ordinary forms of justice by the Senatus-Consultum, or even by simple acts of the Government, were instances of too recent a date to allow us to persuade ourselves that the new tribunal would offer a serious obstacle to the enterprises of a power which had hitherto never recognised any, or had overleaped them all.

But the proposal to establish heredity was regarded in quite a different light, and I must admit that, on the whole, it seemed reassuring rather than alarming. Not that any personal affection toward the First Consul disposed the people to look favourably on this fresh accession of greatness to himself and his family—never had he been less liked—but there was such pressing need of repose and stability, the future was so gloomy, the general apprehension so great, the return of the Bourbons with so many injuries to avenge was so much dreaded, that they eagerly strove to avert dangers against which they felt themselves defenceless. The national spirit, moreover, had been broken by a long series of misfortunes and revolutionary excesses. The friends of liberty and philosophical ideas had lost even hope ; their long-cherished dream of a Republican Government had faded, and, wearied with useless efforts, they only sought to escape from two misfortunes, equally inevitable on Bonaparte's death, the return of the Terror, or that of the Bourbons.

Thus, however revolting it might be to see heredity established in a new family over the bleeding corpse of a Bourbon, and by means which threatened illustrious soldiers with the scaffold, the prospect was not unwelcome, because of the apprehension which then prevailed throughout society. Nor did Paris stop at mere conjecture, but, half in earnest, half in irony, the capital sketched out beforehand and after its own fashion a plan for the new order of things then in preparation. It was now the beginning of spring, and the drive to Longchamps, in obedience to the dictates of Fashion, which just then consisted in a return to past customs, was more crowded and more brilliant than ever. After an inspection of the faces and the toilettes as they passed by, the critics occupied themselves with the great political changes now impending. Everything was regulated and settled. "Bonaparte to be Emperor; the dignity to be hereditary in his family; the two Consuls to be abolished; Lebrun to retire to his country seat; Cambacérès to be Chancellor of France; Madame Bonaparte to be repudiated, and the Margrave of Baden, who had acted so efficiently as sergeant to Bonaparte on the occasion of the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien, was to provide him with a wife, in the person of one of the princesses of his family. Citizen Bonaparte would then be brother-in-law to the Emperor Alexander. He would have a child; it would be a boy. Time would soon have spread a veil over the origin of all these things. The theatre was ready; only a few persons had been behind the scenes, and spectators willing to pay would not be wanting. The curtain might be drawn up."

With such levity as this, such carelessness of the past and the future, did we familiarize ourselves with so momentous a change. A few witticisms, a few epigrams, a little ridicule cast on the coming titles, sufficed to console the Parisians for the loss of liberty.

In presence of so fickle a nation, why should the First Consul have hesitated? He was more than ever convinced that the time had come, and he did not let it slip. Two days after the presentation of the address from the Senate, he had a conversation with Lecouteulx de Canteleu, which the latter, on returning home, committed to writing, and repeated to Joseph Bonaparte on the 11th Germinal (April 1). I was present on the occasion, as were also Senator Roederer and Stanislas Girardin.

The First Consul had admitted the necessity of confirming the actual order of things, and did not disguise from himself that heredity was one of the surest means of attaining that end. But was this the right opportunity, while war was being carried on, and before the conclusion of the trial in which Moreau was implicated?

Could such a step be taken without the concurrence of the people, which had been obtained for the Life-Consulship? Should not so great a distinction be the reward of a splendid victory, or of a peace?

Such were the questions raised by the First Consul, and, as the reader perceives, they did not touch the theory which was already conceded, but only the choice of an opportunity, and the influence of circumstance.

Lecouteulx had answered these objections. He had pointed out to the First Consul that the question was not so much his own personal convenience, as that of the nation, and especially that part of it which had been active in the Revolution; that circumstances called for a speedy solution; that the death of the Duc d'Enghien, and the trial of Moreau, far from banishing these ideas, had made them more familiar to every one, and their execution more urgent; that the Senate had committed itself; that all the great bodies of the State were in like case, and, in short, that to hesitate was to increase the danger.

The First Consul seemed to yield to Lecouteulx's arguments, and a conversation ensued on the title to be assumed by the Chief of the State. It was from the first admitted that he could not retain one which was common to the two other Consuls; but the choice of the title he should assume was a difficult point. Bonaparte asserted that he did not wish to take that of Emperor, and that a denomination analogous to the title of Stadtholder would be more suitable. In short, would it not be better to retain the name of Consul, and confer a different title on Cambacérès and Lebrun? The interview ended, and the First Consul had not yet distinctly declared himself. Yet it was obvious enough that the principal difficulties had been smoothed away, and that since the only subject in dispute was the fitting time and title, an agreement would soon be come to on all points.

When Lecouteulx had finished reading his MS., of which the above is a faithful abridgment, Joseph Bonaparte proposed to discuss the two points that had been left undecided.

As to the first, concerning the date at which the new system was to be established, we were of opinion that since the proceedings of the Senate had been made public, the result could not be too soon accomplished; that there would be a great disadvantage in leaving the people in a state of uncertainty at a moment when their feelings towards the First Consul were less warm than formerly, and the necessity of immutable institutions had never been more strongly felt. On the one hand, the Revolutionists (and with them must be included those nobles and returned *émigrés*, who had attached themselves to the First Consul), feeling easy, since the death of the Duc d'Enghien, as to the return of the Bourbons, their one great subject of fear, were quite satisfied to see the supreme power fixed in a family which afforded them pledges on this head that could not be offered by any other form of Government. On the other hand, the moderate part of the nation, seeking for protection both from Jacobins and Bourbons, found the security it required in heredity. Partisans, of the ancient dynasty only, might therefore look with aversion on the new institution, but there was little to fear from them at that moment ; there were even grounds for believing that the new system once founded, they would lose all hope, and would find it impossible to engage in further conspiracies.

As to the title which should be assumed by the Chief of the State, opinions were divided. And although I already knew which would be preferred, I thought it my duty to express myself openly on the subject. "It appears to me," I said, "that the First Consul should retain the title he now bears, and bestow another on his two colleagues. By so doing there is a possibility of preserving for the State at least the *name* of Republic, held dear by a large part of the nation ; and although the reality has already disappeared, we shall avoid offence to prevailing ideas by allowing the survival of the word. To this advantage we may add another, that of avoiding objectionable comparisons. A Consular family may be anything you please, there is no fixed idea as to what it ought to be, but people in Europe know what an Imperial family is. Comparisons will be made, to which there will be a ridiculous side. The members of the new family, uncertain of their part, will never know exactly how to behave, and will display either the awkwardness or the childish vanity of *parvenus*. But on the other hypothesis, on the contrary, everything can be most easily arranged. The power is as great, the advantages of heredity will exist, and Time will bestow on the title of *Consul of France* that touch of grandeur, that magic dignity that it has given to the names borne at the present day by the heads of other European States."

I did not go farther than this ; and my opinion was neither adopted nor contravened. But when I found myself alone with Girardin, after the conference, I could not forbear from expressing the painful thoughts to which it had given rise. "This, then," I said, in the bitterness of my heart, "this is the outcome of that Revolution which was commenced by an almost universal outburst of patriotism and love of liberty ! Is all the blood that was shed on the battle-field and spilt on the scaffold—are all the ruined lives, all the sacrifice of what is dearest to mankind—to end only in a change of masters, only in the substitution of a family, altogether unknown ten years ago, and barely French at the beginning of the French Revolution, for a family that had reigned over France for eight centuries? Is our condition so wretched that we have no safety save in despotism; that in order to escape the evils that threaten us, we must concede everything to the Bonapartes, asking nothing from them in return; that we must raise them to the greatest throne in Europe, and give them the sovereignty over one of the first nations in the world as an inheritance, without venturing to impose the smallest condition on them, without binding them by any engagement, without setting up any new institution in place of those which have sometimes served as barriers to the caprices of our former masters? For it is not in a debased Senate, in a removable and ill-constituted Council of State, in a dumb Legislative Body, in a timorous Tribunate, begging for place, in a despised Magistrature, that a counterbalance against the immense powers confided to one man will be found. And yet we must take this step, however painful it may be, for fear of falling to-morrow into the hands of still worse enemies! Dreadful alternative!"

But it was useless to discuss the question, we felt ourselves coerced by necessity, and could only mutually encourage each other to submit to it. Not that we felt any certainty that this last concession on the part of France, however complete it might be, would procure entire security. We were far from flattering ourselves that the remedy was infallible, we foresaw only too clearly the still remaining chances of foreign war, provoked by a never-resting ambition, and even of civil discord, if our troops encountered reverses. But the remedy, although insufficient to guarantee the future, at least deferred the danger for a time, and the French at that period had neither the spirit to propose anything better, nor the energy to execute it, had they even ventured to think of opposition.

Meanwhile, events were hastening on. The First Consul, having resolved to carry out at once the designs he had so long entertained, occupied himself exclusively with their realization. The Senate, by the bold step it had just taken, had, as it were, opened the ball. But its lack of independence was too well known for Bonaparte to consent to receive the supreme power from its hands alone. It was his desire to receive that from the Revolutionary Party, and thus to hold the Sovereignty as it were from the hands of those who, twelve years before, had overthrown royalty in France. "I always intended," he said to his brother Joseph,* "to end the Revolution by the establishment of Heredity; but I thought that such a step could not be taken before the lapse of five or six years. I see now, however, by the representations made to me, by the eagerness of all those about me to carry this point, that I was mistaken, and that the thing is possible earlier than I had thought. Nevertheless, before deciding, I want to be sure that it is really desired, especially by those who took a great part in the Revolution. I want to know the opinion of the Patriots, and even of the Terrorists, and I will risk nothing until I am sure of their approbation. It is for this reason that I mean to ask for the opinion of the Council of State, not in order to have that of persons attached to my family, nor of men who for the last four years have formally expressed their wish for some sort of sovereignty, as the only means of consolidating my Government, but to obtain the opinion of the members on whom I cannot count so securely, and who, during the Revolution, exhibited sentiments of a totally opposite nature, such as Treilhard, Berlier, Lacuée, Réal, etc. The request must be made and supported by men of that class."

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* This conversation between the brothers took place on the 12th Germinal (April 2).

After this, Bonaparte entered with his brother into certain details of the execution of the scheme. Joseph perceived that while adopting, at least outwardly, the system of Heredity, the First Consul was far from admitting it pure and simple, and that he intended to introduce great modifications. At first he proposed to exclude his brother Lucien from the succession on account of his marriage ; but on Joseph's declaring that in that case he would refuse to stand in the order of succession, he contented himself with the exclusion of the children of marriages not approved by the Head of the State. Some difficulties likewise arose respecting the Regency, in case of a minority, and Joseph Bonaparte, on informing me of the result of the interview, requested me to draw up a basis for that Institution in the form of articles. I did so, but it was labour thrown away : the ideas that the First Consul had confided to his brother, were far from expressing all his mind on the subject.

In a second interview, two days later, on the 14th Germinal, Joseph Bonaparte thought he perceived that the First Consul wished to revert to his first plan, viz., to declare himself Emperor, at the same time to adopt as his successor the son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense Beauharnais, and to appoint Joseph Bonaparte guardian of the child in the event of a minority, and co-regent with the two other Consuls. This arrangement had been suggested by Madame Bonaparte, who discerned the fiat of her divorce in the adoption of a regular system of hereditary succession, and was ardently desired by all the Palace Party. As it fell in with the secret inclinations of the First Consul, there were great hopes that it would be carried out.

In the state of uncertainty into which this recurrence to ideas that he had believed were given up, threw Joseph Bonaparte, he begged me not to speak in favour of Heredity, as had been agreed between us, at the Council of State, in which the reply to be given to the First Consul, who had requested the general opinion of the Council on the subject, was to be discussed.

We met on the 15th Germinal. Defermon opened the proceedings. He said that the First Consul's desire was to know the true and free opinion of the Council; that he wished personal consideration for him to be put aside; and that the Council should point out the course of greatest advantage to the nation and most in accordance with public opinion; but he should hold himself quite aloof from the discussion.

After this exordium, Defermon proposed three principal points for our deliberation:

1st. Is Heredity a better means of ensuring stability than an elective system?

2d. Admitting Heredity to be preferable, is the present a favourable opportunity for proclaiming it?

3d. How can the hereditary system be reconciled with the existing institutions which must be retained: liberty, equality, the forms of a Republic, in short all that exists at the present time as the result of the Revolution?

The debates in this conference and in those that followed were not very animated. We all felt that something was kept back, since, among the questions put to us, there was no mention of the title to be assumed by the Head of the State, and yet on that title would depend the new form of Government, and the final decision between the Republic or a Monarchy.

Defermon had begun by pronouncing himself in favour of Heredity. Berlier, on the contrary, though with great moderation, expressed his repugnance to it. How is it possible to combine, he said, two such contradictory ideas as Republicanism and Heredity! Fourcroy spoke in reply, and defended the opposite view, but his arguments were weak. Portalis spoke on the question with his habitual abundance of words, and refuted, or at least believed himself to have refuted, Berlier. Pelet and Bigot de Préameneu supported Portalis. Berlier's sentiments were shared by Boulay (de la Meurthe), Treilhard, Dauchy and Béranger. The rest were silent; but it was evident that, on the whole, the majority of the Council was opposed to the sure system, though they hesitated to express their opinions. Several members only wanted in reality to make sure of the First Consul's views on the subject in order to conform to them.

While these languid deliberations were proceeding, and public opinion was still uncertain, the First Consul endeavoured to ascertain for himself how far he might go with some chance of success towards the execution of the plan of which I have already spoken, viz., the restriction of the Hereditary system to the nomination of Louis Bonaparte's son, as his successor. I will now give the particulars of the singular steps taken by him, as they were communicated by Joseph Bonaparte to Roederer, Girardin, and myself. In this narrative, written out by me on the very day on which I heard it (the 18th Germinal), the reader will find a lively but faithful picture of the feelings by which the principal persons interested in the attempt were actuated.

The following account was given us by Joseph Bonaparte of a conversation between himself and his brother Louis on the morning of the 18th Germinal.

On the preceding day the First Consul, accompanied by his wife, had paid a visit to Louis Bonaparte. He went in state, escorted by a cavalry guard of thirty men, with drawn swords. Louis was not at home when his brother arrived, and returned only just as the latter was taking leave. He was surprised at this unusual visit and at the display with which it had been made. The First Consul's manner was cold and embarrassed; but his wife, taking Louis aside, gave him to understand, by a series of hints, that they had come to acquaint him with an important project, and that he must act like a man under the circumstances. She then informed him, first, that a law establishing Heredity had been framed; she then added that when a law was made, it must be obeyed, and that it would be even more advantageous to him than to others; that, according to that law, the right of succession could be conferred only on those members of the family whose age would be, at least, sixteen years less than that of the First Consul; that his (Louis's) son was the only person who fulfilled this condition; it was therefore on him that the inheritance would devolve, since she (Madame Bonaparte) could not give an heir to her husband; and that moreover, this arrangement offered a prospect of sufficient grandeur to the father, to console him for not being himself included in the succession.

Louis, who, in spite of the influence that Napoleon had exercised over him from childhood, and of the dependence in which he had always been kept, was a high-minded man, rejected this proposal. It recalled the offensive rumours which had been circulated concerning Hortense Beauharnais before their marriage, and although by comparing the date of that marriage with the date of the birth of his son, he must have been convinced that those rumours were groundless, he felt that the adoption of the child by the First Consul would revive them all. He had therefore previously refused to listen to the suggestions of his wife's mother, and declared to his brother Joseph that he would never consent to the proposal. But, he now added, was his consent necessary? The law might be passed, under colour of the general interest. Force was there, to be used for carrying out that law, and even for snatching his son from him, that the child might be brought up in the palace. Madame Bonaparte had already hinted that such an arrangement would be necessary with regard to an heir-presumptive. Louis, losing all self-restraint, in a transport of anger, gave way to violent fury against his mother-in-law, and brought charges against her which the most inveterate enmity would hardly venture even to utter.

Joseph Bonaparte, when describing to us the vexation and anger of Louis, did not attempt to disguise his own indignation at the First Consul's project. He discerned in it the ruin of his own future. No inheritance, no more power for himself or his children! By this most perfidious scheme he was disappointed in all his hopes, excluded from the business of Government, and beyond this, he was deprived of rights which would have been conferred upon him by the good-will felt for him in the Senate. That body would certainly have appointed him to succeed to his brother, if the choice of a successor had been left to the natural course of events. As he spoke, his anger increased, and presently becoming passionately excited, he gave vent to his feelings in extremely violent language. He cursed the ambition of the First Consul and wished for his death as a blessing to his family and to France, and notwithstanding all our endeavours to soothe him, he left us, still in a state of intense irritation, and went to the house of his brother Lucien.*

We, the recipients of these details, were deeply pained by all we had heard. We could not disguise from ourselves that we were being driven towards a precipice. The reflections which we interchanged were sombre indeed and full of the presentiment of future misfortunes. In all these projects we saw plainly that France counted for nothing. There was no question of security or repose for the nation, nor of a political institution; this was a conquest, a prey over which a disunited family were quarrelling. Amid intrigues such as these, we no longer discerned the representatives of a great nation offering to a great man perpetuity of power as a reward for his services or as a security against the troubles that would be caused by his death; the reality that met our view was a group of women and venal schemers taking a child from the arms of his nurses to place him on a throne.

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* Lucien, who had left Paris in December, 1803, did not set out for Italy until April, 1804, a few days after the conversation reported above.

The absolute refusal of Louis Bonaparte to consent to the arrangement proposed by his wife's mother, the dissensions that arose in consequence of that extraordinary proposition, the disapprobation of all those in the family or the immediate circle of the First Consul who were not entirely devoted to Madame Bonaparte, obliged Bonaparte to modify his plan. He did not absolutely renounce it, yet he dared not encounter the universal discontent to which its execution would have given rise.

He therefore recurred to simpler ideas, and became reconciled to his two brothers Joseph and Louis, whom he resolved to place in the line of succession, thus acceding, at least outwardly, to the wishes of the Senate. Yet he reserved to himself the power of reverting to the son of Louis, by means of adoption, a new combination introduced by him into the Senatus-Consultum, which constituted the Imperial system.* With this intention, he appointed Louis General of Division and Councillor of State, so as to render him conspicuous both in Civil and Military rank. At the same time he gave Joseph to understand, that in the existing state of things, it would be impossible to place a man entirely unconnected with the army in the line of succession, that the Generals would scorn to obey one who had not shared their dangers and their glory. By this powerful argument he induced his brother to accept the command of the Fourth Regiment of the Line, until he could appoint him to be Colonel General of the Swiss Guard,† an honour which he had already offered him six months previously, so as to elevate him to the level of the last king's brothers, one of whom, afterwards Charles X., had held that post. Joseph had refused it at the time; but in the position of affairs in which he now found himself, the desire of removing any obstacle to his admission into the line of succession, and, as he said, the hope of taking the First Consul in his own net, if his proposal were not sincere, induced him to accept it. Braving, therefore, the ridicule that attaches to a man who at the age of six and thirty enters the profession of arms for the first time, he set out at the beginning of Floréal to take the command of his regiment.

His departure, and the silence of Louis, which the First Consul had purchased by the honours he had newly conferred on him, left Bonaparte more free in his movements, and gave him greater liberty to ripen and carry out his plans. The Council of State, consulted by him, had not been able to come to an agreement on the advice which they should offer, and the First Consul asked each member separately for his private opinion on the three questions that had been submitted to them. The majority, in which I include myself, were for the adoption of the hereditary system, leaving to the Government the power of deciding whether the present moment was opportune for the establishment of the new order of things. All kept silence respecting the title to be assumed by the Chief of the State, since that question had not been submitted to them.

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* This child, the object of so much solicitude, and destined by the affection of the First Consul to a most brilliant future, died young, and his death left the emperor no resource but that of divorce, in order to obtain a direct heir.

† In consequence of a capitulation concluded the preceding year with the Swiss Cantons, several Swiss regiments had entered the service of France.

The First Consul having collected and examined these individual opinions, and being satisfied with them, summoned a privy council on the 3d Floréal (April 23d), consisting of the two Consuls, the Ministers of Marine and of Foreign Affairs (Decrés and Talleyrand), the Chief Judge (Regnier), the Senators Lecouteulx de Cantaleu, Fouché, Roederer and François de Neufchâteau; the Councillors of State Portalis, Regnault de St. Jean-d'Angely, Ségur, Boulay (de la Meurthe) and Treilhard, and lastly of Fontanes, President of the Legislative Body.

At that Council, which was held at St. Cloud, the question of Heredity was debated first, and adopted without difficulty. Next, it was decreed that the First Consul should bear the name of Emperor, that he should be given the title of Majesty, and the members of his family that of Highness, and that the Emperor should be consecrated and crowned. Fontanes proposed that the sword of Charlemagne should be brought for the occasion from Aix-la-Chapelle, and the ceremony was appointed to take place on the 14th of July.* The subject of the Regency was also discussed. The First Consul wished the reigning Emperor to have the right to confer the Regency on any member of the family whom he might select, and it was in vain to point out to him the advantages of an Hereditary system of Regency such as had been framed by the Constituent Assembly in the Constitution of 1791; he persisted in his opinion. He likewise proposed to associate the two Consuls in the Regency, and expressed a desire that they should retain the titles they were then bearing. He even proposed to confer it on the heir presumptive, and to grant to the Consuls precedence over the other members of the family. But this apparent generosity was not accepted. Fouché rejected it resolutely, and spoke strongly of the inutility of the functions and the inconsistency of the title of Consul under the new system. And, as he was probably in the secret of the First Consul's real wishes, he caused this proposition to be rejected, thus sparing him in the eyes of his colleagues the ungrateful task of removing them to a rank lower than that which they had hitherto held.

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* That date, recalling events so little in harmony with the new Imperial ideas, was soon afterwards altered.

After this the discussion turned on the institutions that it would be desirable to found, in order to consolidate the hereditary system, and Roederer was of opinion that *viva voce* deliberation on the laws should be restored to the Legislative Body, and that the Senate should be constituted into an Upper Chamber, which should sanction the acts of the Legislative Body, with which the Tribunate would be associated. He proposed, in addition, that the Senate should retain the right of electing the Members of the Legislative Body.

Regnault, while agreeing with Roederer as to the first part of his discourse, differed from him on the last, and pointed out, with justice, that the Senate could not retain the right of electing deputies for the departments, if the acts of the latter were to be subject to the Senate's approval. He contended that their election should be entirely independent, and committed to a body of Electors taken from among the nation. He insisted, besides, on the necessity of various other guarantees equally liberal in tendency, such as the formation of a National Jury, consisting of members of the Senate and of the Court of Appeal, for the trial of crimes against the State. Lastly, he urged an improved organization of the Council of State, in order that appeals from Ministerial Acts might be carried thither directly.

Fontanes delivered his opinion in short sentences. He said that there must be monarchy in the Chief of the State, aristocracy in the Senate, and democracy in the Legislative Body. He dilated somewhat on this theory, reverted to the sword of Charlemagne, and even alluded to Charles the Fifth's crown, proposing to send to Brussels for it.

Cambacérès, deeply offended by Fouché's remarks on the inutility of the functions of the two Consuls, strongly expressed his indignation.

The other members of the Council scarcely spoke at all. Bonaparte, without expressing himself decidedly, seemed to approve, on the whole, of the suggestions that had been made,* but he announced at the same time that the principle of Heredity being conceded, he wished to be left at liberty to regulate all that related to his own family ; that he only understood them, and could judge what steps it would be well to take, and lastly, that he himself needed guarantees. "Moreover," added he, "I admit the necessity of haste, if the affair is to be concluded by the Civil Power, for the army, I know, is ready to proclaim me Emperor ; I have already received petitions signed by more than thirty thousand soldiers, and it is for that reason that I do not now join the army."*

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* It must be noted, however, that all the propositions made by Roederer and Regnault with regard to the Constitutional framing of laws, were rejected by the definitive Senatus-Consultum.

The principal points of the drama having been prepared in this Privy Council, and our ears at last accustomed to the word Heredity and the title of Emperor, which had at first sounded so discordant, it remained only to put the piece on the stage and begin the performance. On the 6th Floréal (April 26), therefore, the First Consul sent a message to the Senate in reply to the address which that body had presented on the 7th Germinal. The object of the message was to induce the Senate to pronounce decisively upon the nature of the institutions which had been declared necessary by the Address, and in this way to elicit a more precise statement. On receiving the message, the Senate hastened to appoint a committee with instructions to draw up a report on the subject. The names of the members composing it were submitted to the First Consul and approved by him. It consisted of Senators Lacépède, François de Neufchâteau, Roederer, Fouché, Laplace, Vernier, Lecouteulx, Vaubois, and Boissy d'Anglas.

The reply had been foreseen. But it was not enough that the Senate should declare itself.† This interchange of messages and addresses had too much the appearance of a preconcerted arrangement to please the First Consul. As he had already informed his brother, it was necessary, in addition, that the empire and the crown should be offered to him by a body which was believed by the nation to be more independent than the Senate, and that the offer should be proposed and seconded by the members of that body, who, during the Revolution, had been the most noted for their democratic opinions, so that those very men who had founded the Republic, should now be its destroyers. Among the number there must also be a man well known as the active partisan and agent of the Bourbons, and even to have suffered in their cause—

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* These words were evidently uttered rather as a stimulant than in the interests of truth. I went to Boulogne shortly afterwards, and then had opportunities of ascertaining that the project of proclaiming Bonaparte Emperor had never entered the heads of the soldiers.

† The First Consul had also asked for the private opinion of the Senators as well as of the Councillors of State, and had obtained similar answers. That of General Davoust was remarkable ; it contained a diatribe against divorce, and a panegyric of Madame Bonaparte.

that very man must now proclaim their disgrace from the steps of the Tribune and declare them for ever unworthy to reascend the throne of their ancestors.

Bonaparte obtained all these things by promising three or four places in the Senate or the Council of State,* and by holding out a prospect of prefectures to about a score of ambitious tribunes. Curée, a former member of the Convention, was then chosen to propose the matter at the Tribunate,† and Simeon, who had been deported after the 18th Fructidor, as an adherent of the Bourbons, undertook to second him.

The draft was made on Monday, the 3d Floréal (April 23), and was to be read a week later ; but the First Consul wished to see it first, and it was taken to him at St. Cloud by Fabre (de l'Aude), the President of the Tribunate. The manner in which it had been drawn up did not meet with Bonaparte's approval, and Fabre, instead of discussing the point, said to him : "Well, then, draw it up yourself. Curée will read it, just as you like to put it." And he left the document on the table. On the following day, Fabre received a note from Maret, asking him to come to St. Cloud. He accordingly went, and received the draft from Maret's hands ready drawn up in the form in which it was to be read. On his return home, he read it through, and perceived that it ended with these words :

"I propose that the Tribunate should express their desire :

"1st. That Napoleon Bonaparte, at the present time First Consul, be declared Emperor, and as such that he retain the Government of the French Republic ;

"2d. That the Imperial dignity be declared hereditary for his descendants."

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* Shortly afterwards the tribunes, Curée and Fabre (de l'Aude), were created senators, and Simeon, also a Tribune, entered the Council of State.

† To these motives must be added a special one, which caused the First Consul to insist on Curée's proposing the motion at the Tribunate. Curée, who had been until then of little note, had always believed that Bonaparte was working for the Bourbons, and that his real intention was to act, sooner or later, the part of Monk. After the death of the Duc d'Enghien, he came to the Tribunate, and while the majority of the tribunes were deploring that tragical event, he drew near to some of his colleagues and rubbing his hands exclaimed, "I am delighted ; Bonaparte now belongs to the Convention." This reached the ears of the First Consul, who naturally had spies of his own in the Tribunate, and who wisely judged that the man who had so stoutly declared himself against the Bourbons, was the most fit to raise him (Bonaparte) to the empire. An emperor from the ranks of the convention would, of course, in Curée's estimation, be the strongest guarantee against the return of the ancient dynasty, which was what he most feared.

He perceived, therefore, that the word *descendants* had been substituted for that of *family* which had appeared in the original motion drawn up by Curée. This alteration struck the President of the Tribunate, and he hastened to call the attention of Maret to it. Maret assumed an air of surprise, and then affected to consider the use of either formula as a matter of indifference. It was, nevertheless, agreed upon between them that the alteration should be pointed out to the First Consul, and that if he consented to the substitution of the word *family* for that of *descendants*, the draft should be sent back in the course of the day (9th Floréal) with that change. Fabre waited in vain the whole of that day, and it was late at night before the document was returned to him, but without alteration, or any sign that his remarks had received attention. He understood from this that it was desired that the word *family* should not be used, and as he foresaw all the consequences of such a determination, and that moreover he was disposed in favour of the First Consul's brothers, and, in particular, of Joseph, to whom he was friendly, he acted on his own responsibility, erased the word *descendants*, restored the word *family*, and returned the draft in that form to Curée, who, being unacquainted with what had taken place on the subject, did not hesitate to read it aloud just as he had received it.

But this incident, which became known, aroused alarm in the family. Bernadotte called on me on the morning of the 10th, and expressed the greatest uneasiness. True it was, that if the word *descendants* had been retained in the motion of the Tribunate, the First Consul might have drawn a powerful argument from it in favour of his favourite project, and could have made use of that expression to limit the right of succession to his descendants, either natural or adopted. But Fabre's resolution caused the attempt to fail, and as I was informed of it early in the day by one of my former colleagues in the Tribunate, to whom it had been confided by Fabre, I was enabled to allay the fears of Bernadotte.

The motion was made in the Tribunate on the 10th Floréal (April 30) as had been arranged beforehand : it was seconded by Simeon and by a considerable number of the other Tribunes. Carnot only spoke against the scheme, and Gallois, in a speech of few but weighty words, insisted on the maintenance of the results of the Revolution, and demanded institutions favourable to liberty and equality. The motion was adopted on the report of Jard-Panvilliers, and signed by more than fifty Tribunes, among whom, strange to say, was the brother of Moreau, then under trial. The name of Carnot is not among the signatures.*

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* Nor do we find the name of my friend, Stanislas Girardin. He was

The motion of the Tribunate was carried before the Senate, who received it with approval, and replied on the 14th Floréal (May 4th) to the message it had received from the First Consul on the 6th of the same month, by expressing, like the Tribunate, a formal desire that the Imperial dignity should be conferred on the First Consul and made hereditary in his family. Lastly, although the Legislative Body was not sitting at the time, the President gathered together the members then present in Paris in the Salle de la Questure, and this incomplete assembly expressed a desire similar to that of the Senate and the Tribunate. Fontanes forwarded it to the First Consul with an address no less emphatic than his own speeches.

After these solemn proceedings nothing remained but to make the expressed wishes of the Senate and Tribunate into a law, and give them their necessary development. For that purpose an extraordinary meeting of the Council of State was convened at St. Cloud on the 21st and 22d Floréal (May 11 and 12) and the project of the Senatus-Consultum laid before it. As that project was scarcely altered, except in the wording of a few phrases, for the sake of greater clearness, and as no discussion took place on the principles involved in the new doctrines, I refer my readers to the Senatus-Consultum itself which appeared in the 'Moniteur' of the 30th Floréal, year XII. I will only mention that the reading of that act was listened to in profound silence, and that although all present assumed an appearance of satisfaction, surprise rather than joy was expressed on every countenance, especially when the Article of Heredity, the exclusion of Lucien and Jerome Bonaparte was announced and the power of adopting an heir was conceded for this time only to the Emperor. The First Consul in vain urged the members who were in the habit of speaking most frequently to speak now. There was a general silence, and no important debate ensued. The Councillors of State expected to be appointed for life, but that favour for which they had been led to hope, was restricted, if not revoked, by a condition in the Senatus-Consultum that to receive a life nomination members must have served five years in the ordinary way. As the Emperor reserved to himself the right of regulating every half year the ordinary and extraordinary service of the Council, and of appointing members at his choice to one or the other, and as not one of the Councillors fulfilled the prescribed condition, they all, as a natural consequence, considered themselves ill-used and were dissatisfied.

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then at the Boulogne camp, whither he had accompanied Joseph Bonaparte, and out of regard for him, had resumed military service. The First Consul had appointed him captain in the Fourth Regiment of the Line.

Yet they only protested feebly against this arrangement, and the First Consul paid no attention to their timid objections. Finally, after two sittings, the Senatus-Consultum was definitively decreed on the 22d Floréal.

On the following day, the First Consul summoned another Privy Council, composed of the two Consuls, the Chief Judge, the Minister of Finance (Gaudin), the Minister of the Treasury (Mollieu), the Minister of War (Berthier), Senators Lacépède, François de Neufchâteau, Fargues, Vimar and Lefebvre, and Councillors of State Portalis, Treilhard, Lacuée and Defermou. The Senatus-Consultum was read and adopted by that Council, without alteration, just as it was supposed to have been framed in the Council of State. The next day, the 26th Floréal, it was carried by three State Councillors to the Senate, who referred it to a Committee, and again assembled on the 28th, under the presidency of Cambacérès. Senator Lacépède, on being ordered to report on it on behalf of the Committee, moved its adoption, and, no dissentient voice having been raised, it was at once put to the vote. The Senatus-Consultum was accepted, with the exception of three votes,* and the Senate decreed that they would proceed to St. Cloud in a body, to carry it to the new Emperor.

The Council of State, the Generals of the Guard, and the officers of the Household had received their instructions, and were in readiness at St. Cloud by noon. Every window was occupied ; great agitation prevailed ; and all seemed waiting with impatience for the decision of the Senate. At length the sound of cannon announced the moment when the Senatus-Consultum had been made Law. It was nearly three o'clock. Shortly afterwards we beheld the arrival of the Ministers, who were vying with each other in speed. Berthier and Talleyrand were the first to reach St. Cloud, and to enter Bonaparte's presence. The others arrived in quick succession. The Councillors of State and the Generals of the Guard were assembled in the Great Cabinet. Towards five o'clock, the Senate came in sight. They were escorted by a regiment of Cuirassiers, and preceded by mounted officers of the Divisional Staff. Cambacérès and Lebrun occupied the same carriage, they had no special guard of honour, and were undistinguished from the rest of the Senate.

When the Senators had arrived, Bonaparte entered the Grand Cabinet and placed himself in the centre of a circle composed of the Councillors of State and the Generals ; behind him stood the Ministers, among whom Consul Lebrun took his place.

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* Those three negative votes were supposed at the time to be given by Grégoire (Bishop of Blois), Garat and Lanjuinais

Cambacérès, at the Head of the Senate, pronounced a discourse in which the words *Sire* and *Imperial Majesty* were several times repeated. His speech concluded with these words : "*The Senate proclaims Napoleon Bonaparte at the present moment Emperor of the French.*" A cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* arose in the Assembly and some applause, but it was neither loud nor hearty.

The Emperor replied in a firm and clear voice. He appeared the least embarrassed of any. Among those present, there was evident awkwardness, which he alone did not share. After his reply, addressed to all present in general, he went up to Cambacérès, to whom he spoke, as it seemed to me, with much affection ; but I could not hear what he said. Then he addressed a few words to Portalis and several other Councillors of State in succession. Some answered according to the new etiquette, using the words "Sire" and "Majesty," and Portalis was one of these. Others became confused between the old and the new formulas, beginning their phrases with "Citizen First Consul" and then stumbling over those they had forgotten, and ending with "Sire" and "Majesty." The whole ceremony did not last half an hour. The Emperor brought it to a close by withdrawing into his private room. On leaving the Grand Cabinet, the Senate proceeded in a body to visit the Empress, to whom Cambacérès made a speech. The State Council did the same, and Bigot de Préameneu, President of the Committee on Legislation, was spokesman. The Empress replied with evident emotion, and in a trembling voice thanked us with a few kind but almost inarticulate words ; we then withdrew and got into our carriages to return to Paris. It was nearly six o'clock.

The roads were crowded as we drove along. The firing of cannon and the extraordinary concourse of carriages had attracted many sightseers. But in the evening there were neither fêtes nor illuminations. The people were either ignorant of what had taken place, or they took no interest in the event.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Creation of the great Dignitaries of the Empire—the denomination of *Citizen* is abolished and the title of *Monsieur* restored—Failure of a tragedy by Carrion-Nisas at the Théâtre Francais—New oath taken by members of the great authorities of the State—New seal of State—Trial of Georges Cadoudal, Pichegru, and their accomplices—Suicide of Pichegru—Verdict—Moreau is condemned to two years' imprisonment—Clemency of the Emperor—Eagerness of the numerous place-hunters, and seekers after favour at the Imperial Court—Negotiations in Rome to induce the Pope to come to Paris and consecrate the Emperor—Dissensions in the Council of State respecting the date and ceremonies of the coronation—Debate on the framing of the Criminal Code—Attempt of the Government to abolish trial by jury—The author visits Prince Joseph at Boulogne—Simplicity of the habits of the latter; his affected disdain of the high rank to which he is raised by the elevation of his brother Napoleon—The army at Boulogne—Preparations for the descent on England—The author, summoned to St. Cloud, is appointed by the Emperor to undertake the High Police of the Northern Departments of France—His conversation with Napoleon on the subject of Prince Joseph.

On the 29th Floréal, the new appointments of Arch-chancellor and Arch-treasurer became known. The 'Moniteur' regulated the etiquette; the great dignitaries of the Empire were to be *My Lord* and *Serene Highness;* the Ministers were once more *Excellencies;* lastly, the denomination of *Citizen* was abolished, and the use of the word *Monsieur* was revived, after having been banished from conversation and written communication for twelve years.

Public opinion, however, seemed at first little in favour of these innovations, and the very persons who in the beginning had been most adverse to the name of *Citizen* now thought it wrong to give the title of *Monsieur* to revolutionists and low republicans, and affected the use of the word *Citizen* in addressing persons whom they presumed to belong to those classes. On the other hand, the wit of the Parisians exercised itself on the new dignities and the new great people. Epigrams and clever sayings abounded in all directions, and were eagerly circulated.* The first performance

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* The following are some of the epigrams then in circulation.

"L'indivisible citoyenne (la République)
Qui ne devait jamais périr,

of a tragedy by Carrion-Nisas, at that time a member of the Tribunate, took place on the day following that of the proclamation of the Emperor, and afforded a good opportunity of judging of the public feeling. The play, though not deficient in merit, was received with the utmost disfavour, and it was clear that the author was to be punished for the political opinions recently expressed in the Tribune by Carrion-Nisas on the establishment of the Imperial system. Apart from this, it was a blunder to have risked the piece under the then existing circumstances. The subject was taken from the History of Peter the Great, and included coronations, thrones and empires ; the constant allusions to which the tragedy gave rise were received with extreme disapprobation. The effect produced by the piece was understood too late, and it was not again acted.

But no signs of disfavour, no ineffectual murmurs of the crowd, arrested the Emperor's proceedings. He pursued his course with his accustomed firmness, and everything fell quietly into its place under the new laws which now regulated France. While waiting for the nation to express its opinion on the question of Heredity—for according to the Senatus-Consultum of 28th Floréal it was to be referred to the nation—things went on as if it had already consented.* On the 2d Prairial (May 22), the Tribunate came in a body to an audience of the Emperor. The Tribunals and the Magistracy presented themselves likewise ; a new oath was imposed, and all the great authorities took it individually. The same ceremony was gone through by the Council of State on the 2d Prairial.

The councillors were presented one after the other by the Arch-chancellor of the Empire, Cambacérès. The Emperor was seated in an armchair by a round table ; on his right was his brother, Prince Louis, and on his left, the Arch-treasurer, Lebrun. Maret, Secretary of State, registered the oaths in the order in which

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N'a pu supporter sans mourir
L'opération césarienne."

"Grands parents de la République,
Grands raisonneurs en politique,
Dont je partage la douleur !
Venez assister en famille
Au grand convoi de votre fille
Morte en couche d'un empereur."

"C'est une belle pièce ; mais il y a *vingt scènes* (Vincennes) de trop."
"Le sénat, après sa séance, est venu à Saint Cloud *ventre à terre*."

[*] The results of the scrutiny of the registers in the Departments were not published until the 18th Frimaire, year XIII. (December 1, 1804), the eve of the coronation of the Emperor.

they were taken. When the ceremony was over, the Emperor presided at a Council of State in which it was decreed that a certain number of prisoners, chosen from among soldiers and refractory conscripts, should be set at liberty in honour of the Emperor's *joyful accession ;* an ancient custom hastily revived. Lastly, at the same sitting, the Emperor appointed a committee from among the councillors for the purpose of determining the ceremonial of the coronation and consecration, and to decide on the robes that should be worn by those persons who were to take part in the function. On the same occasion also the State Seal was discussed. It had become necessary to change it, as the former symbol of the Republic, a standing female figure, leaning on a spear surmounted by a Cap of Liberty, was no longer appropriate. The Gallic cock was proposed, likewise a lion or an elephant, finally the Emperor suggested an eagle as the emblem most analogous with the future destiny of France, and this was adopted.

I have now reached the close of the special facts that came to my knowledge during the course of the long travail that brought forth the Empire. All is accomplished ; the new order of things is established, and is following its natural course. I shall now retrace my steps, and recall various events which I have omitted, in order not to interrupt the thread of my narrative during the continuance of the debates on the establishment of the Imperial system. The preliminaries of the trial in which Moreau or Pichegru were implicated dragged along slowly, and had been marked by the tragical death of the latter General, Pichegru, who was arrested on the 8th Ventôse (Feb. 28) and imprisoned in the temple, and was found dead in his prison on the morning of the 16th Germinal (April 6). Round his throat was a black neckerchief, with which he had strangled himself by means of a piece of stick taken from a bundle of firewood. By means of this he had contrived to draw the knot sufficiently tight to destroy life, a mode of suicide which at that time seemed most extraordinary. In fact, it was difficult to understand how he had retained strength enough to continue to hold the stick during the agonies of death. On the table beside Pichegru's bed was an open volume of Seneca, which he appeared to have been reading before he committed the fatal act. This event created a very unfavourable impression, and suspicions fell on the First Consul. But they were entirely unfounded. Joseph Bonaparte, who was with his brother when Savary brought the news, told me that the First Consul seemed greatly troubled, and so expressed himself as to preclude any idea of his participation in the crime. Besides, a few moments' reflection will convince any one that it was by no means in the interest of the government to bring about the death of Pichegru, an event which deprived the prosecution of one of its most essential witnesses, and of a prisoner whose avowals would have thrown the strongest light on the existence and nature of the conspiracy under investigation. The suspicions that had been entertained by the ill-disposed were soon dispelled, and had only a transitory influence on the public mind. Pichegru's body was exposed at the prison gates, but it was greatly changed, and Savary, who had frequently seen the General in life, could scarcely recognise his features.

After a long instruction, which lasted nearly three months, the act of accusation against Moreau and the numerous accomplices of Georges Cadoudal and Pichegru appeared on the 28th Floréal (May 15), and the extraordinary tribunal* commenced the hearing of the accused. Great crowds were present each day, and public opinion was openly in favour of Moreau. Several circumstances excited quite opposite feelings to those that the Government would have wished to prevail. Picot, one of the chief prisoners, retracted publicly all the avowals he had signed, and declared first that he had been induced to make them, by an offer of five hundred louis, and then that on his refusal, torture had been inflicted. This had forced him to assent to everything that was asked of him. He accused Bertrand, a police officer, of this barbarous treatment of him, and exhibited his hands, still bruised and wounded by the violent usage they had received. But Moreau attracted the greatest interest. The act of accusation had convinced no one of his guilt; the evidence appeared to be forced to a conclusion, and to be incoherent in several parts, and Moreau was repeatedly applauded for his replies, which were made with dignity. He recalled his victories, and gave his word of honour in support of various denials made by him. "My word," he said, "that Europe has long been accustomed to respect."

Nevertheless, the public feeling thus displayed in favour of Moreau and of the other prisoners was by no means the result of a moral conviction of their innocence. The plot, the intended assassination, the treasonable acts, the contemplated crimes, were in fact too evident to allow of any doubt of their existence. But the trial began on the very same day that bestowed an Imperial crown on Bonaparte. The contrast between the fate of the two Generals whom France had hitherto looked upon as illustrious rivals, between whom the glory of her arms equally divided, and of whom one was ascending the throne, while the other was advancing towards a scaffold, attracted towards the less fortunate of the two, the compassion due to misfortune, and there is little doubt that had Bonaparte remained First Consul, greater severity, or, at least, less partiality towards Moreau, would have been displayed.

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* That tribunal took the name of *Tribunal criminel et spécial du département de la Seine.* There was no jury.

After pleadings lasting nearly a month, the verdict, so long awaited, was pronounced on the 21st Prairial (June 9) at four A.M. Twenty-one of the accused were condemned to death. Moreau and some others were sentenced merely to two years' imprisonment, as a penalty incurred under the Correctional Police. The other prisoners were acquitted. Among those condemned to death were Armand de Polignac and De Rivière. The Empress interested herself warmly on behalf of the former, and Madame Murat and her husband were not less solicitous on behalf of Rivière. Their entreaties were listened to by the Emperor, who was himself disposed to clemency, and were crowned with success. Using the prerogative secured to him by the Senatus-Consultum that had raised him to the throne, the Emperor summoned a Privy Council on the 4th Messidor (June 22), in which he granted a pardon, not only to Polignac and Rivière, but to eight others who had been condemned to death. The remainder, among whom was Georges Cadoudal, were executed. As for Moreau, instead of keeping him in prison during the two years of his sentence, the Emperor gave him permission to proceed to the United States; and to make it easier for him to settle there, purchased from him his house in the Rue d'Anjou, Faubourg St. Honoré, for a sum of eight hundred thousand francs (£32,000), far beyond its real value, and presented it to Bernadotte, who made no difficulties about accepting it. The amount was paid over to Moreau from the Secret Police Fund before his departure.

Such was the end of this great affair. It marred not a little the pleasure that his successes in other directions and the great title he had just acquired afforded the new Emperor. It was remarked, however, and not without appreciation, that his first use of the supreme power to which he had just attained was a deed of clemency and generosity towards his enemies.

As is generally the case, and more perhaps in France than elsewhere, the trial of Moreau and all its attendant circumstances were soon forgotten. The Emperor himself, although he had acutely felt the attitude taken by the people of Paris during the proceedings, and had in consequence conceived a secret aversion for that city, which had even inclined him to contemplate the removal of the seat of government, was aware that this would not be an opportune moment at which to show his displeasure, and he endeavoured to turn the public mind from the subject. Favours and largesses, the usual attendants of a new reign, were abundantly lavished on all those who had had a share in raising the edifice. The Council of State and the Senate opened their doors to Tribunes who, to obtain that favour, had promised to use their influence and had kept their word. Senatorships were distributed; a new court offered many brilliant posts; the highest families in France endeavoured to obtain them, and once more crowded to the antechambers and saloons of the Tuileries and St. Cloud. The nomination of members of the Legion of Honour supplied additional food for ambition. That distinction, which at first had been despised, became greatly coveted, and was most eagerly solicited, while addresses of congratulation and adhesion to the Imperial system succeeded each other without intermission, and once more filled the columns of the patient 'Moniteur.' Amid this universal infatuation only a few persons ventured openly to evince their disapprobation, and among these, we remark in particular Laréveillère, Lepaux and Anquetil-Duperron, members of the Institute, who resigned, in order to avoid taking the oath of allegiance to the Emperor that was required of their colleagues. Nepomucene Lemercier, author of 'Agamemnon,' resigned in like manner his nomination to the Legion of Honour.

At the creation of the Empire, the discussions in the Council of State turned principally on the programme of the ceremonies of the consecration and coronation. The Emperor was particularly tenacious of that vain ceremony. He was deeply persuaded that a religious anointing would render his person sacred, and he was most anxious to receive the unction from the Sovereign Pontiff, the head of that religion which three years before he had re-established in France. This was the price of the Concordat, and immediately after the Empire was conferred on him, he entered into negotiations with Rome to bring Pius VII. to Paris in order that he might pour the holy oils on his brow. While these negotiations were being carried on, either by flattery or promises, and sometimes also by threats, the principal points of the ceremonial were settled at a sitting of the Council of State, which took place at St. Cloud on the 26th Prairial (June 14), and at which I was present. It was arranged that the ceremony should take place in Paris, and the date was fixed for the 27th Thermidor (August 15). Moreover, the Champ de Mars was selected for the scene of the ceremony, and from that day, it was to be known as the *Champ du Gouvernement.* The solemnity was to be both civil and religious. The Pope, who should be invited to Paris, would officiate at Mass, and bless the Imperial robes. The Emperor would receive neither robes nor crown from the hands of any one whomsoever. He was to appear, wearing the crown on his head, the sceptre in his hands, only divesting himself of those insignia to have them blessed ; he would then take the oath, and reinvest himself with the crown and robes. He was to wear a long purple mantle, embroidered with gold bees and lined with ermine. The dresses of the Princes of the Imperial family, of the great dignitaries, of the Senate, and of the State Council, were, in like manner, prescribed with great magnificence, and mantles of ceremony, of greater or less length, were to be worn by those personages.

The Emperor sanctioned the whole arrangement, making very slight objections, though he was far from approving it. The date did not coincide with the arrival of the Pope, who had not yet signified his consent, and who could not in the space of a month, prepare for and accomplish so long a journey. A ceremony in the open air recalled in too many ways that of the Federation of the 14th of July, 1790, and, by reason of the immense crowd it would attract, involved much to which it would be imprudent for him to expose himself. But as the Emperor could always manage to secure delay, he made no serious objection. The words crown, sceptre, throne, all these discordant expressions had been uttered by councillors, who, until very lately, had been stern Republicans : this was the essential point ; for the moment he desired nothing more. But in other sittings which preceded or followed this one, more serious questions were discussed, and I had an opportunity of perceiving that the Emperor would show scant respect to institutions that had been respected by the First Consul. I saw clearly that, had the Civil Code not been passed some months previously, it would have been modified so as to bring it into more harmony with the monarchical system, which he was already trying to complete by the restoration of the nobility, and by unequal shares in inherited property, both of which were attained afterwards by an organic Senatus-Consultum. But if the recent promulgation of the Civil Code made a circuitous method necessary, it was not so with the Criminal Code, which was as yet scarcely framed, and means were taken to complete it in such fashion as to render it a potent weapon in the hands of despotism. Meanwhile, the progress made in its compilation depended on the adoption of one or two vital principles, which would not perhaps have been questioned a few months earlier, but which, under the monarchical system on which we had just entered, had become a subject for discussion. I shall only narrate one single circumstance bearing on this matter, but it is as characteristic as it is remarkable. The Council of State was convened for seven A.M. on the 16th Prairial (June 4), four days before the verdict in Moreau's trial was given. The sitting took place at St. Cloud. The Emperor, who presided, was very gloomy. He showed great annoyance at the conduct of the lawyers employed for the defence of Moreau, and the other accused, and expatiated bitterly on the feeling displayed by the inhabitants of Paris in favour of the latter. He found fault with the Tribunal, with the forms of procedure, and although that one that was about to pass sentence had been changed into a *special Tribunal*, without a jury, he disapproved of the slowness of the proceedings, and of the irresolution of the judges. The sitting having been opened in this way, Cambacérès, so soon as the Emperor had ceased speaking, explained the real object of the meeting. "Before entering on the debate on the Criminal Code," he said, "it is needful that the Council should decide some preliminary questions. Among these, the most essential is the following: '*Shall trial by jury be retained in criminal proceedings?*'" On hearing these words, our surprise was great. Very few of us were in the secret, and the majority could not have imagined that a question on the subject could be raised. But we were soon undeceived. Portalis, who was the habitual mouthpiece of the Government, on all questions of jurisprudence, whether civil or criminal, began to speak, and in a long and prolix discourse, such as he was accustomed to deliver, inveighed forcibly against the institution of juries, reverted to the teaching of our ancient jurisprudence, and spoke of the necessity of a technical education in order to judge criminal matters; of the security afforded to criminals by juries, who were either ignorant or governed by motives of mistaken humanity; above all, of the danger of committing the trial of political crimes to that mode of proceeding, and finally of its incompatibility with the return to the monarchical system, that France, happily for herself, had just inaugurated. Bigot de Préameneu, another confidant of Cambacérès, supported Portalis with arguments of the same nature, but with greater moderation. It then became quite evident that the whole thing had been concerted with the Government, and that Cambacérès had promised the Emperor that the Council of State should decide the question according to the views of the two speakers, who, on account of the estimation in which they were held for ability and judgment, exercised a great influence over their colleagues in deliberations such as these. Opinions, therefore, were undecided, when Berlier in a methodical, though unprepared discourse, full of force and reasoning, triumphantly refuted the sophistry of Portalis and Bigot, and taking up their arguments one by one, demolished them by arguments which he propounded with as much calmness and dignity as his opponents. Portalis, in particular, had shown temper and want of method in his attack. Finally, it was put to the vote, and the majority of the Council were for the retention of trial by jury. At the moment that the hands of the Councillors of State were raised to signify their votes, Cambacérès put up his eye-glass to count them, and when doubt could no longer remain, after a moment of mingled hesitation and surprise, he turned towards the Emperor, and stretching out his arms as if to say, "I did not expect this," announced to him the result of the votes.

During the whole debate, which lasted nearly two hours, the Emperor had been thoughtful, taking no part in it; but so soon as he heard the result, he closed the sitting abruptly and withdrew. His displeasure was undisguised.

It is to this memorable decision, the details of which were little known at the time, that France owes the continuance of trial by jury. The Imperial Government having failed to overthrow it openly, attacked it on the flank, inflicting many wounds; but, nevertheless, it still exists, and the share taken by the Council of State in the preservation of this salutary institution should not be forgotten.

A few days after the sitting of the Council of St. Cloud, of which I have just given the particulars, I asked and obtained a three weeks' leave to visit Prince Joseph * at Boulogne-sur-Mer. The wish that I felt to see him and to hear his opinion on the great events that had taken place since his departure from Paris, and my equally strong desire to witness with my own eyes the immense preparations for the expedition which was keeping all Europe in suspense, had determined me to undertake that journey; I had every reason to rejoice that I did so.

I reached Boulogne on the 1st Messidor (June 19). I found the Prince established in vast barracks on the left wing of the camp, on a height overlooking the sea and the harbour. He was hard at work at the new duties imposed on him by the command to which he had been appointed; he frequently inspected his regiment, the Fourth Infantry of the Line, one of the finest and most distinguished corps in the army, and was beloved by all his officers, whom he treated with extreme kindness. His habits had not been altered by his recent elevation; he was as unaffected and as accessible as ever; the rank to which he had risen, and of which he refused to receive the honours and the title, † was indicated only by the favours and benefits he lavishly bestowed. This amiability of character, this philosophic moderation which appeared sincere, this native goodness, never failed for a single instant during the time I stayed with him at Boulogne. I had the pleasure of seeing my

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* Since the promulgation of the Senatus-Consultum of the 28th Floréal, Joseph Bonaparte had received that title. In his capacity of Grand Elector, he was, in addition, a Grand Dignitary of the Empire, and part of the Luxembourg was assigned to him as a residence.

† He would not allow himself to be addressed by any other title than that of *Colonel;* even his servants spoke of him by that name only.

friend Stanislas Girardin at the camp, attached as a Captain to the fourth of the Line, as I have already said he had resumed military service to avoid being separated from the Prince. In the intervals of their duties we walked in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, and had long talks which were both delightful and instructive to me. This confidential interchange of thought enhanced the interest of the circumstances in which we were placed. I perceived that Prince Joseph was deeply mortified by the Article of Adoption, and that he could not forgive it. He expressed himself on that subject with extreme bitterness, and frequently in terms most insulting to the Empress. The seeds of dissension between the two brothers had not been destroyed by the admission of Joseph into the line of succession. That concession had failed to reconcile the two.

I was convinced by all that passed in our numerous interviews, that the great changes which had recently taken place in the organization of the Government, far from having been brought about by the troops, were scarcely known to them, and that their execution had created no great sensation. Even Moreau's trial, though it had excited some interest, had not produced the profound impression I had supposed, and this confirmed me in the opinion I have already expressed, that Moreau's dealings with English agents, and partisans of the Bourbons, had lowered him in the estimation of his former comrades in arms. Besides this, the French soldiers, well treated and kept hard at work, had little time to think about any subjects outside the camp. The officers were endowed with a greater perspicacity, but they were restrained by the habit of discipline, and by the hope of rapid promotion, and they continued to display an excellent military spirit, although they had received with coldness, and even with a certain repugnance, innovations which were opposed to the ideas of equality they had hitherto cherished. But the name of Bonaparte was still stronger than those ideas, and exercised a powerful sway over the imagination of all. There was therefore, no doubt, that if the expedition took place, men and officers would bring to it all the zeal, devotion and courage which might be justly expected from a French army. And truly when one contemplated those brilliant troops, proud of so many victories; of that coast bristling with cannon, of those docks built as if by magic, and filled with countless vessels ready for sea; when one remembered the shortness of the passage, and the goal, which on a calm day, and beneath a serene sky, seemed so very near, the coolest heads were seduced into a belief in the possibility of the enterprise. It seemed impossible, whatever might be the naval superiority of England, that she could destroy all the vessels which would spread over the channel, and prevent the larger number, if favoured by fine weather and a well-chosen opportunity from reaching the opposite coast. But I could not share the confidence inspired by the numerous fleet of gun-boats that were to protect the transport vessels. Such frail barks, unable to brave bad weather, could not sustain an encounter with English ships, and a few successful engagements which I witnessed, and under favour of which the convoys that had sailed from various ports of Picardy and Flanders, effected a meeting at Boulogne, did not make me alter my opinion. In such encounters as those, our formidable coast fought for us, and decided the victory ; but the disasters that befell the fleet a month later, under the very eyes of the Emperor, in spite of the courage and skill of the crews, was a sufficient proof of the inadequacy of our means. Moreover, I always felt sure that Napoleon would not make the expedition in person.

After remaining a fortnight at the Boulogne camp, I took leave of Prince Joseph, on my return to Paris, and reached that city on the 16th Messidor (July 5).

On the following Sunday, the 19th, the Emperor came to Paris to give audience to the Ambassadors who were to present their new letters of credit. The German Ambassador was however not present. Some difficulties had arisen with regard to his letters, but they related less to the recognition of the title of Emperor of the French, than to that of King of the Lombards, which Napoleon wished to add to it, and which the Court of Vienna refused to accord. These difficulties were removed shortly afterwards.

All the ancient etiquette of Versailles had been revived on the occasion of this solemn audience. M. de Ségur, recently appointed Grand Master of the Ceremonies, took great pains to satisfy the various claims to rank, and to the right of entry to the different salons. It was a regular day of battle for him, but, thanks to his excellent memory, he came out of it gloriously, and with as much success as if his talents had not fitted him for far higher tasks.

The Emperor perceived me among my colleagues, and spoke to me about my journey, asked affectionately after his brother, and told me that he intended setting out to join him almost immediately. This gracious reception, to which I was not accustomed, somewhat surprised me, but I was much more surprised when the next day I was summoned by the Emperor to St. Cloud. I proceeded thither the same evening at nine o'clock, and a long conversation took place between the Emperor and myself, of which I will here set down the chief particulars.

He informed me at the outset that he thought it necessary to re-establish the Ministry of Police, but that he had some new ideas about it. "It is my intention," said he, "to distribute the whole territory of the Republic between four Councillors of

State, and of these I intend you to be one. I believe that for the next thirty years it will be impossible to dispense with a system of police in France ; we must absolutely have recourse to it. But I purpose to direct that branch of the administration quite otherwise than has hitherto been done, I even propose to change its denomination. Through the institution which I contemplate I hope to obtain accurate and exact information on the state of public opinion in the Departments, and to learn of what men the tribunals, the administrative authorities, and the electoral colleges are composed. In short, we are very busy just now with the material statistics of France, but for my own part I wish to procure its moral statistics and its moral geography. You can help me in carrying out this plan, and for that reason I have chosen you.''

I was quite unprepared for this proposal, which was, of all those that could be made me by the Emperor, the least agreeable to me. Nevertheless, I thought it my duty not to decline it. However uncongenial my new occupations might be to my tastes and habits, I felt that in the discharge of my new duties I should meet with frequent opportunities of fulfilling my great desire to do some good.

When he had received my consent and assured me I should have nothing whatever to do with the secret police, the Emperor resumed the conversation and told me he had thought of Fouché as Head of that Ministry. ''He has rendered me great services,'' he continued, ''and is thoroughly accustomed to police business, for which he has remarkable talents.''

''No doubt,'' I replied, ''it is not to be denied that Fouché deserves the kind of praise your Majesty has just now bestowed upon him ; but he bears a dreaded name, and his appointment will not be popular.''

''But,'' replied the Emperor quickly, ''by appointing you, and by selecting another Councillor of State with the same views, such as Dauchy or Pelet (de la Lozère), or Bigot de Préameneu, I shall counterbalance the nomination of Fouché, and also that of Réal, who is to retain his present functions as one of the four Councillors of State.'' *

My objections being thus disposed of, and the Emperor having decided on Pelet (de la Lozère), on my association with whom I could not but congratulate myself, the conversation took another turn, and the Emperor reverted to my stay at Boulogne. He inquired minutely into the conduct of his brother, and, after hear-

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* Dubois, the Prefect of the Paris Police, was the fourth, but his jurisdiction extended only to the Department of the Seine.

ing the details which I gave him, and the praise with which I accompanied them, he complained of the line taken by Prince Joseph in placing himself in opposition to what had just been done in Paris, and in affecting Republican manners and customs at a moment when he (the Emperor) might have hoped to have been seconded by his brother in the great changes that had been effected. "Does he think," said the Emperor, "does he believe, I made these changes for myself alone; that I care greatly for the titles he appears to despise; that I do not appreciate them at their true value as he does? I only assumed them in order to re-enter Europe. The popular imagination must be acted on by those means which have the most action upon it. Is it not a great success for me, to have reached, from the point from which I started, a position in which kings write to me 'My brother,' and to require and obtain respect from Electors in the formulas of their letters? And Joseph, instead of appreciating all the advantages of this new order of things, spends his time in writing philosophical epistles to Regnault and Jourdan. To Jourdan! Does he think he can trust him and some day perhaps have his support? Let him undeceive himself! Joseph bears a name which cannot be made to suit either the partisans of the Bourbons or the Terrorists. For him there is no middle course! After me, the Throne or nothing. To me, on the contrary, he writes cold letters which distress me. But the truth is he is not so good-hearted as I. It is true that at the first moment I am passionate, but I cool down again, and an appeal can always be made to my feelings; Joseph is more resentful."

I replied to these complaints with reserve. I assured the Emperor that no one could be more attached to him than was his brother; that the difference of opinion between them was not so decided as he supposed, and that it resulted in great measure from their separation; that, made by nature to love each other, one hour's friendly conversation would explain away all the misunderstandings caused by absence, and that when they should have met again, in their respectively changed relations, their differences would be removed.

The Emperor replied that he recognized in what I said the sincerity of my friendship for his brother; that he had nothing to complain of in the sentiments Joseph had at various times expressed, but that he failed to understand how it was that his brother invariably acted against the advice of those friends in whom he placed his confidence. This reflection led the Emperor to speak of Joseph's refusal of the Chancellorship of the Senate some months previously. "I had prepared everything," he continued, "for his residence at the Luxembourg, and for his using that dignity as a first step by which he should rise to the position he is now holding. I had put the 'Prêteurs' before him, expressly to conceal my hand and to avoid startling anybody. You know his conduct at that time, his speeches at home, and at that same Luxembourg to which he now wants to return in the very capacity he then rejected.* His refusal compelled me to make a soldier of him; a curious idea, but it was my only remaining resource. Besides there is no great harm in it. For the next thirty years a soldier will be needed to govern France, and it was necessary Joseph should become one. Now, at least, he knows what it is; epaulettes don't frighten him; he can get on horseback and command like anybody else. He must stick to that; he must get promotion; a decent wound, and a reputation. It is not so difficult as you might think. I shall do for him what I did for Moreau; I will give him a bigger army than the enemy's; he shall have everything that is easy to do; I will keep the rest for myself. With all this, he can win a battle, and there he is on a line with the other military leaders."

I demurred to this last idea. "I do not believe," I said to the Emperor, "that Prince Joseph can think of seriously beginning a military career, at his age, or of seeking for glory in one. There are, at the present time, too many established military reputations to leave a hope of making one at so small a cost. That which was possible at the beginning of the Revolution is no longer possible. Besides, Prince Joseph is the natural head of the Civil system: that is his place; and although I anticipate a good result from his residence in camp, his true place—where his success, I believe, will be certain—is the Presidency of the Senate and the Councils."

The Emperor interrupted me. "I intend," said he, "to recall him almost immediately, and to provide him with a suitable establishment."

And then, after dwelling strongly on his affection for his brother, who, he said, had always been his favourite, he dismissed me.

On the following day the Council of State was summoned to meet at St. Cloud. The Emperor presiding, announced the re-establishment of the Ministry of Police, with the modifications of which he had already informed me, and proposed to change its name to that of Ministry of Interior Relations. All was approved of except the last proposition, which Cambacérès opposed as a mistake, an uncalled-for scruple of delicacy, and it was negatived. I had greatly desired that the Council should adopt it, and from what the Emperor had told me, I hoped that they would have done so. But although I was disappointed in this, I had gone too far to draw back, and I entered at once on my new duties. In the division of the territory of France assigned to me were included the departments of the North, and especially those on the left bank of the Rhine, inhabited by industrious and, generally speaking, peaceful people, whose moderate opinions had kept them aloof from the political agitation which had so often disturbed the Southern and Western provinces. The departments under my charge asked only for peace and for protection in their industrial pursuits, or rather, for permission to carry them on without interference. So far as these benefits depended on my influence, they enjoyed them. I neither permitted inquisitorial espionage, nor disturbed the manufacturers or their workshops ; and during the time that I retained my post, there was never any occasion for the interference of the police. I had, in fact, to temper the zeal of certain prefects, who, in order to prove their devotion to the new order of things, created more enemies than it really had, so that they might have the glory of combating them. Among these over-zealous persons was M. de Vaublanc, then Prefect of the Department of the Moselle, who never thought he had sufficiently proved his devotion to the Emperor, unless he had awakened his suspicions of all those under his administration who either did not share his sentiments or displayed them with less warmth and enthusiasm than his own.

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* As Grand Elector, Prince Joseph would preside over the Senate under certain circumstances, and his new duties were in some sort similar to those of the Chancellorship that he had scorned to accept.

I have little to say about my new duties, which, as I have before observed, lay quite apart from affairs of police properly so called, which were exclusively reserved to Fouché and Dubois. My occupations increased, and filled up almost every moment of my time, without in any way extending my opportunities for observation. I shall therefore continue to record matters of more general interest, and which may thereafter serve as materials for the history of a memorable epoch.

CHAPTER XIX.

The ceremonial of the distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour in Paris—The Emperor proceeds to Boulogne and performs the same ceremony at the camp—His return to Paris is followed by that of Prince Joseph—Russia and England—The Emperor's satisfaction at the prospect of a Continental war—He discloses gigantic projects to his generals in order to stimulate their ambition—He detaches himself from the Republican party, and inclines to the old nobility—The ambassador of Austria is furnished with new letters of credit to the Emperor of the French—The Pope consents to come to Paris for the Coronation—That solemnity is definitely fixed for the beginning of December—The formation of the Emperor's household and of those of his brothers—Curious omission in the wording of the National Vote on the Imperial succession—Discussion on the ceremonial of the Coronation—Violent altercation between Napoleon and Joseph—An explanation takes place between the Emperor and Prince Joseph at Fontainebleau, in consequence of which the latter conforms to the views of his brother—The result of the votes of the people on the Imperial system is taken in State to the Tuileries by the Senate—Coronation and consecration of the Emperor and Empress, followed by numerous fêtes—Solemn opening of the Legislative session—Addresses from the Legislative Body and the Tribunate—An incident relating to the terms used in those addresses.

Before setting out for Boulogne, where he was anxious to show himself to the army, and to receive from the acclamations of his soldiers the confirmation of the title conferred on him by the Senate, the Emperor resolved to make a display of all his grandeur on the occasion of distributing the decorations of the Legion of Honour, and thus to usher in the military pomp which was to attend the same solemn celebration at the camp.

The ceremony took place in Paris, on Sunday, the 20th Messidor, Year XII. (July 16, 1804), in the Church of the Invalides. On his way thither, the Emperor was, on the whole, more warmly received than I had expected. Public feeling seemed less hostile, either out of weariness or because people remembered the great and useful deeds which Napoleon had done. The appearance of the church, hung with the trophies of the numerous victories associated with the name of Bonaparte, was magnificent. Every face beamed with joy and satisfaction. The Emperor, seated on his throne, distributed decorations to all the members of the Legion then in Paris, and the strange medley of men who received them made a deep impression. It was gratifying to see services so diverse, merit and talent so different, rewarded with the same honours. The idea was a grand one, and ought to ensure the duration of an institution established on so noble a principle. Time has confirmed that happy augury, and, notwithstanding the numerous attacks it has sustained since its foundation, it still exists. Of all institutions of the kind, it is, in fact, the only one that, strictly speaking, can be regarded as reasonable.

So soon as the ceremonies were concluded in Paris, the Emperor set out to renew them at the Boulogne Camp with a military display of the greatest magnificence. The subaltern officers and soldiers who had previously obtained arms of honour received the same decoration as their officers, and this uniformity of reward, among classes hitherto held apart by ancient prejudice, kindled fresh ardour in the troops. Policy had never made a better calculation ; never had deeper devotion or more of that emulation which gives birth to prodigies of valour been aroused in the soldier. It is true that it involved a substitution of the love of glory and distinction for the love of liberty by which the soldier had been animated in the early years of the Revolution ; but the former feeling served the purpose of the monarch and the conqueror better than the latter, and if, as citizens, we cannot praise the end that Napoleon desired to attain, as philosophers we cannot withhold our admiration from the means he employed.

The two brothers met again during the stay of the Emperor at Boulogne, and from what Girardin wrote to me, the interview was not unfriendly. A few days after the Emperor's arrival in Paris, Prince Joseph also returned thither. He assumed his various dignities, presided over the Senate on one occasion as Grand Elector, and took up his residence in the apartments of the Luxembourg that had been reserved for his use. I visited him, and, in the course of a long conversation, I gathered much information, both on the state of our foreign relations and on the intentions of the Emperor.

The political horizon was darkening at the close of Year XII. and we were already threatened with a rupture with Russia. England had cleverly made use of the dissatisfaction created at St. Petersburg by the death of the Duc d'Enghien—a dissatisfaction increased by M. de Markoff's dispatches—to contract a fresh alliance with Russia. The two powers were united by resentment against France ; but Napoleon, placed between the two alternatives of peace or of attempting a descent on England, and having little hope of succeeding in the first, even had he sincerely desired it, while dreading the uncertainty and the danger involved in the last, and conscious meanwhile of the necessity of regaining popularity by some brilliant action that would dazzle the imagination of the people, Napoleon, I say, looked with very little alarm on the prospect of a Continental war. Such a war would afford him the only honourable escape from the difficult position in which he found himself, and in his heart he desired much more than he feared it. Full of confidence in his great military talents and in the temper of his soldiers, he saw in war a means of resuming the struggle on ground that suited him, and where fresh triumphs would atone for the elevation to which he had reached. He therefore took great pains to revive the ambition of his generals, who were beginning to feel a longing for rest, by opening up to their imagination a new and splendid career. "What I have accomplished hitherto," he said to his brothers and to a few general officers with whom he was on familiar terms, "is nothing. There will be no repose for Europe until she is under only one Head—an Emperor whose subalterns should be kings, who should distribute kingdoms among his lieutenants, making of one, the King of Italy, giving Bavaria to another, raising a third to be Landamman of Switzerland, and a fourth to be Stadtholder of Holland, while all of them should hold places in the Imperial Household, with titles of Grand Cup-Bearer, Grand Butler, Grand Equerry, Grand Huntsman, etc. It may be said that this plan would be an imitation of the Empire of Germany, and that the idea is not a new one ; but there is nothing absolutely new : political institutions do but revolve in a circle, and it is often necessary to return to what has been done before."

"Nor," added the Emperor, "do I regret having acted as I did towards the Duc d'Enghien. Only thus could I remove all doubt as to my real intention, and destroy the hopes of the Bourbonists. In short, I cannot disguise from myself that I shall only be secure on my throne when not a single Bourbon is in existence ; and there is now one less of them. He was the last of the great Condé's blood ; the last heir of the grandest and fairest name of that house. He was young, bright, courageous, and consequently my most dangerous enemy. It was a sacrifice absolutely necessary for my safety and my greatness. At the present moment there remain but the two sons of the Count d'Artois, both without children, one of them unmarried, and not likely to find a wife even among our enemies. England has refused him one of her daughters ; Russia will have none of his alliance, because both powers know that some day peace must be made, and that entanglements of that kind would render it impossible. I have thus, as far as it was practicable, reduced the number of chances against me. And not only would I do what I have done over again, if necessary, but to-morrow, if I had the chance, I would do the same by the two last scions of the family.''

In such fashion as this, in conversation with his brother and his trusty generals, Murat, Lannes, Ney, and a few others, did the Emperor unfold the future, and by means of brilliant prospects for themselves, make them partners in his Titanic designs. But in proportion as he gained the affection of the army and its chief officers, he began to separate himself from the Republican party. He was glad to have lowered it in public opinion by the concessions he had obtained from it in favour of the Imperial system; and, so soon as he regarded it as no longer necessary to him, he began to give it the cold shoulder and to turn towards the old nobles. He appointed them to places at his Court, and thought he could bind them to himself by the favours he bestowed. This was a strange mistake, and he afterwards experienced its fatal consequences.

Meanwhile, every European Power, with the exception of England and Russia, was yielding to his newly-acquired rank, and recognising him as the Emperor of the French. Austria, who had hesitated for a while, but who felt herself as yet unequal to the aggression she contemplated, and which in fact she attempted a year later, despatched her ambassador to Paris with fresh letters of credit in the month of Fructidor; and Napoleon, in return for that concession, endeavoured to allay the uneasiness of the Emperor of Germany concerning the title of King of Lombardy. He announced his formal intention of separating that part of Italy from the Crown of France, and of erecting it into a kingdom, to be bestowed on his brother Joseph, if that Prince, on accepting it, would renounce his right of succession to the Imperial Throne of France. It will be seen hereafter that Joseph's refusal to consent to this renunciation, by disconcerting Napoleon's project, became the occasion of further and more serious dissensions between the brothers than those that already existed.

Although the Emperor felt his seat on the throne more secure after his recognition by foreign Courts, who thus, as it were, legitimized his elevation, he did not consider himself altogether a sovereign so long as a religious ceremony had not consecrated the crown he had placed on his head. The date of this solemn ceremony, which had been fixed at first for the 26th Messidor (July 14), had been postponed to the 18th Brumaire, Year XIII. (Nov. 9, 1804). But certain of the reasons that had caused the rejection of the former date were equally opposed to the adoption of the latter. That date would also have recalled recollections little in harmony with the recent changes. In particular, it would have brought to mind the services of certain men who had greatly contributed to the success of the day, the most remarkable being that same Lucien Bonaparte who was now struck out of the line of succession and had been sent into exile. Moreover the Pope still hesitated to undertake a journey to Paris. Caffarelli, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, who had been despatched to Rome to obtain the consent of Pius VII. to the journey had been obliged to have recourse to threats in order to wrest it from him. At length, the Pope was about to set out, but it was impossible to insist on rapid travelling for an aged man, especially at so late a season of the year, and in any case it was impossible for the Pontiff to arrive before the end of Brumaire (middle of November). The consecration was therefore definitely fixed for the beginning of December.

It is remarkable that at the very time when he was soliciting the Pope to come to Paris for the consecration, Napoleon was strongly opposing the return of the Jesuits, who were coming back to France under the name of *Pacanaristes*, *Fathers of the Faith*, etc. On the 18th Vendémiaire, Year XIII. (October 10, 1804), he gave positive orders to the Minister of Police to oppose their establishment in France, as well as that of any other religious association of men, of whatsoever kind. "I will have no religious militia in France," he wrote.

In the interval, before the coronation, the Emperor employed himself in forming his own and his brother's households on the following principles. "Both my household and yours," said he to Prince Joseph, "if they are to be worth anything, must consist only of military men and of the ancient nobility. You must select from among the Senators and Councillors of State, of whom you have already thought, those only who fulfil at least one of these conditions; the others must be excluded, and their wives also. You must choose your officers and your ladies of the palace among the old nobility, especially among the nobles of countries recently united to France, such as Belgium and Piedmont. Follow my example; I have chosen Salms, Arembergs, La Rochefoucaulds, Montesquious, for my household and my wife's. Do the same; there are plenty of noble names left, among whom you can suit yourself."

In this way did the Emperor reprove his brother, who had thought of Boissy d'Anglas, Jaucourt, Girardin, and me, for he showed great friendliness towards all of us, and wished to attach us especially to himself, either in our own persons or that of our wives. The Emperor blamed in particular his choice of Boissy d'Anglas and of Jaucourt, on account of their religion. "It is scarcely the moment," said he to Joseph, "when I am sending for the Pope to consecrate me, for you to surround yourself with

Protestants." The Prince persisted, nevertheless, in a part of his design. Girardin and Jaucourt were appointed to his household, the former as First Equerry, and the latter as First Chamberlain. My wife was made Lady of the Palace to the Princess. But this diversity of views soon occasioned further grave domestic dissension.

A curious incident which occurred a few days after the above conversation also contributed to darken the clouds now lowering in the Imperial Family. During the month of Brumaire, the Senatus-Consultum was being prepared which was to announce, prior to the coronation, the return of the votes of the French people, recognising the succession of the Imperial dignity in the family of Bonaparte. It was Roederer's duty to make this report, and in drawing it up, he thought it well to insist on the advantages of the established mode of succession, particularly on the Article which conferred the Imperial dignity on the brothers of the Emperor, in case of the death of the latter without leaving either children, of his own, or by adoption. But on examining the terms of the vote, he perceived that this very disposition was wanting, and that consequently the nation had voted only for the descendants of the Emperor's brother, and not his brothers themselves. The vote, in fact, was drawn up in the following terms :

"The people desire the Heredity of the Imperial dignity to be vested in the direct, natural, legitimate and adopted descendants of Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the direct, natural and legitimate descendants of Joseph and of Louis Bonaparte, as regulated by the Senatus-Consultum of 28th Floréal, Year XII."

This provision formed Article XVI. of the Senatus-Consultum, but on comparing it with Article II. treating of the succession, it will be seen that it is incomplete, and that before the words, "*in the descendants of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte*" these others are wanting : "*In the persons of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte.*" Through the omission of these, the individual rights of the two brothers to the succession were not made to rest on the National will, but only on the provisions of the Senatus-Consultum, a far less solemn guarantee than that which would result from a vote given by the people and publicly proclaimed with the greatest pomp. From this defective wording, it followed that Joseph having no son, the succession reverted to the son of Louis, even had he not attained the age when he might be adopted ; thus systematizing the Emperor's favourite project, which had already caused so much alarm to the rest of the family, and which they had found it so hard to circumvent.

Now, was this omission—or this restriction—whichever it may be called — the result of mere unnoticed carelessness, or of design? It was difficult to suppose it could have escaped the piercing glance of the Emperor, and the pains he took to remove everything from the report on which Roederer was engaged that might have repaired the blunder, proved that at least he intended to keep in reserve the power it afforded him. These curious particulars were given me by Roederer, on the 13th Brumaire (Nov. 4). On the preceding day he had had a long conversation on the subject with Napoleon, which, treating as it did, of the most delicate matter that could be discussed with the Emperor, had been very impassioned and full of bitter complaints of his brothers, more especially of Joseph. Napoleon protested that, in spite of all their endeavours, his wife should be crowned, and that he would seek for support in her family since he could not find it in his own.

Such was the state of feeling on both sides, when the Emperor, as the arrival of the Pope drew near, summoned a final council at St. Cloud, on the 26th Brumaire (Nov. 17), for the definitive regulation of the ceremonial, and the various circumstances of the consecration and coronation. The Council consisted of the two brothers of the Emperor; of Arch-chancellor Cambacérès; Arch-treasurer Lebrun; Champagny, Minister of the Interior; Talleyrand, Grand Chamberlain; Ségur, Grand Master of the Ceremonies; Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Court; and Caulaincourt, Grand Equerry. A great number of points were discussed, and agreed to without difficulty, and the regulations as to costumes, which had been decreed by the Council of State on the 26th Prairial, were confirmed with very slight alterations. But the sitting did not terminate as peaceably as it had begun. The Emperor, reverting to the question of costumes, suggested that the attire which had been arranged for the Princes of his family, and for the high dignitaries, and which principally consisted of a long mantle, almost like his own, and of even a more brilliant colour, would cause something like confusion between him and them, and that with the exception of himself, no one present, whatever his rank and dignity, should appear in a long mantle. The Arch-chancellor listened in consternation. "What would the public think when they did not see the costumes they had already heard of and expected? What would the tailors and embroiderers think, who had already begun their work, and whose labours would have to be stopped? If only this alteration had been made, before the first arrangement had become generally known, it would have been easy to agree to it; in that case it would have been merely a private affair, and few persons would have been aware of the change." The Emperor seemed very little affected by these lamentations, and, turning to Prince Joseph, asked him for his opinion.

The Prince saw no objection to the proposed alteration, and gave his reasons readily. "The grand mantle," said he, "the ermine-bordered mantle, was always an attribute of sovereignty. Formerly, it is true, it was worn by dukes also, and by princes who did not reign; but under certain circumstances they represented sovereigns, and it was a kind of fiction by which recollections of the past were perpetuated. At the present day, I know of no recollections to be perpetuated, and no fictions to be kept up. There is now but one Head of the State, one First Magistrate, and he alone should display the distinguishing signs of sovereignty. For my own part, I look with pleasure on the alteration. My mantle must have been borne by some of my grand officers, and I should have been greatly averse to receiving that kind of service from them. I cannot forget that, until quite lately, these same persons were my equals, and my friends."

Several parts of this reply seemed to displease the Emperor; he was especially offended by the word *Magistrate;* he even interrupted his brother, with the words, "Why do you not say *Sovereign?*"

Prince Joseph's opinion, in which he was supported by the Arch-treasurer, who declared himself in favour of anything which would tend to curtail the ceremony, was agreed to without difficulty. But a violent altercation arose on a proposition made by Prince Joseph, as a natural consequence of the principle that had just been laid down. "Since it is admitted," said he, "that with the exception of the Head of the State, no other person, of whatsoever rank, can be held to participate in the honours of sovereignty, and that we ourselves in particular are no longer treated as princes, but only as great dignitaries; it would not be just that our wives, who henceforward are only the wives of great dignitaries, should carry the train of the Empress's court mantle, as if they were princesses.* It must now be borne by her ladies of honour, or the ladies of the palace."

The Emperor listened impatiently, and the Councillors present hastened to refute Prince Joseph's argument, and to quote several examples, especially that of Marie de Medicis.

Prince Joseph, who was prepared for this objection, displayed an unexpected knowledge of the subject. He proved that Marie was only *accompanied* by Queen Marguerite, and by Madame, the sister of Henri IV., but that the train of her mantle was carried by a distant kinswoman; that Queen Marguerite had certainly displayed noble generosity by being present at the coronation of one who had taken her place, and who, more fortunate than herself, had given heirs to the king ; but that although she was the highest in rank among the company, still neither she nor even Madame, had been required to bear the train of Marie de Medicis, who nevertheless had a right to every possible honour ; for, being a mother, she possessed the strongest title by which queens can claim such honours, and the people grant them.

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* This was one of the provisions of the ceremonial as previously arranged.

Nothing on earth was more calculated to incense the Emperor than such words ; they wounded him to the quick. He lost all control over himself, and, rising abruptly from his seat, he roughly apostrophized his brother, reproaching him with his popular opinions, and the friends who encouraged them, with equal vehemence and bitterness. His anger, in fact, rose so high that the Prince was several times on the point of offering his resignation. But he restrained himself, and the sitting closed without any definite result.

After the Council was over, the Emperor withdrew to his private room, with his two brothers, and the Grand Dignitaries, Cambacérès and Lebrun. There he resumed the conversation with the same heat ; and the quarrel became more and more violent. Prince Joseph thought it his duty to do now what he had prudently abstained from doing at the Council, he offered to send in his resignation to his brother, and to retire into Germany. This proposition calmed the Emperor's agitation ; he cooled a little, and the brothers parted coldly, indeed, but more peaceably. Six days after this angry scene, the Emperor, without having again seen his brother, set out for Fontainebleau to receive the Pope, who arrived there on the 3d Frimaire (Nov. 22). But he summoned Prince Joseph to Fontainebleau, and entered into an explanation with him, of which I will now set down the principal points as I wrote them out on the day (the 8th Frimaire) that they were communicated to me by the Prince. He repeated the Emperor's own words.

"I have reflected deeply," he said to his brother, "on the differences that have arisen between you and me, and I will begin by owning that for the last six days they have deprived me of one moment's rest. I have been unable to sleep, and only you can influence me to such an extent. I know of nothing else that could so disturb me. It is because of my old affection for you, because I remember yours for me from my childhood ; and I am much more influenced by this kind of feeling than you think. I am attached to you also because of my belief in the excellence of your character, and of your heart. I know that you are incapable of a crime, and that whatever the benefits to be conferred on you by my death, you would never purchase them by an attempt on my life.

"I am now going to lay before you the result of my reflections on our respective positions. Three courses are open to you; that of sending in your resignation, withdrawing bonâ fide from public affairs and renouncing everything; that of continuing to enjoy princely rank, and yet of remaining as hitherto in opposition to my policy; and lastly that of frankly joining me and being, to speak plainly, my first subject.

"The first course is practicable, and although it does not altogether fall in with my views, yet I can contrive to make it suit me. Send me in your resignation quietly, without scandal, on the pretext of ill-health; retire to Morfontaine; act the invalid during the winter; nurse your rheumatism. I will grant you a million; two, if necessary; you will buy an estate in Italy, near Turin; in the spring you will travel in Germany or in Russia. You have nothing to fear from me. I am not a family tyrant. I shall never commit a crime, since I have not committed one, by separating from my wife, by accomplishing a divorce which I felt to be necessary and had resolved on in my mind, until I took that journey through Normandy and Belgium which gave me an opportunity of learning all the meanness of the French and convinced me that, without going so far as that, I could obtain whatever I chose from their servility.

"As for me, I would, after your renunciation, have the son of Louis declared heir, by a Senatus-Consultum, but he should not succeed me before he had attained the age of eighteen, and I would appoint a Regency, of which Louis should be the head, Cambacérès and Lebrun the members.

"I repeat, however, that although I can make these arrangements, they do not quite please me. I am not ignorant that when you are gone, I shall be entirely in the hands of my wife and her family; that there will be no curb on the latter, and that Louis's character, being too weak for opposition, I shall be exposed to the chance of having done such great deeds, endured such great labour, taken so much pains, only perhaps to call to the throne a man of another name than mine. But, at any rate, this course would be a complete one, and that which is complete is always good. You do not care for power, you renounce it. I do not blame you; no one can know better than I, how heavy is the burden of it. But from the moment in which you withdraw from public affairs, the nation, or at least that part of the nation which approved your politics, has no hope in you. I no longer fear to see you at the head of a party, because you no longer belong in any way to the system of Government; I dread you no more, and I continue my advance, though less easily, towards the goal which I desire to reach.

"The second course, that which you have hitherto followed, is on the contrary, no longer endurable.

"If you refuse to come to the consecration, and there to discharge the functions assigned to you as Grand Elector and Prince, and nevertheless you persist in retaining those titles, with their prerogatives, you are thenceforth my enemy. And what are your means of attack? Where is the army you can bring against me? Who will help you to dispute the Empire with me? You possess nothing, and I shall crush you. For, after all, you will have to appear at the Tuileries; on seeing you I will call out 'Good day, Prince Egalité!' and that word will kill you. I will cast you back among the crowd of courtiers; I will converse with the other dignitaries and I will not speak to you. You could not stand this even for a couple of years; you will take some passionate step, which will place you at my mercy, and your ruin will be complete. I foretold you this same thing concerning Moreau, and so it happened. Besides, I am determined to dispel, from the beginning, the smallest cloud that appears on the horizon. You know how at the slightest sign of opposition I struck down Chenier and Carnot. I know the risk of innovators, and I will have none of them. I speak frankly, because you are clever enough to understand me, and have too much principle to attempt a crime, which on the hypothesis we are now discussing, is the only risk I could incur from you.

"The third course is the simplest, the most proper, and the one on which you should decide; take your place in an hereditary monarchy, and be my first subject! It is rather a fine part to play, that of the second man in France, perhaps in Europe. Everything becomes justified by the importance of its results, and you do not yet fully estimate those results. I am called to change the face of the world, at least so I believe; something of fatalism, perhaps, tinges this idea, but I do not reject fatalism. I believe in it, and that confidence gives me the means of success. Keep your place, therefore, in a system of hereditary monarchy, which promises you so many advantages. Look upon yourself as necessarily my heir, and whatever you do for me is thereby authorized in your own future. This system, as you know, was not mine, I preferred the Imperial-Electoral system. In that, I should have been free; there would have been no heir apparent attaching a party to himself, there would have been no hopes or fears independent of me; I should have been master both of the present and of the future, since that future must depend on a choice that it was mine to make. However, things are as they are, and we will keep them so; the advantages are sufficient to make me accept the situation. But the line you have adopted, your opposition, have made me take several steps not usual in an hereditary monarchy, many that I should not otherwise have taken. But for you I should not have decided on the consecration and coronation of the Empress. But, mark you, you must take your rightful position under a Monarchy ; do my will, follow the same path as I : do not flatter the Patriots while I repulse them ; do not snub the nobles while I am inviting their approach — establish your household on the plan of mine ; invite ladies of the old nobility to attend on your wife, not women of the middle classes or wet-nurses ; * be a prince, in short, and don't be scared at the consequences of that title. When you succeed to the throne, you can return, if you choose, to your favourite ideas. I shall be no more.

" On these conditions we shall get on well together, and I don't mind owning to you that the third course is the one I should wish you to adopt, though, I can, if need be, put up with the first ; but I shall not allow you to follow the second. You have now heard me."

This explanation induced Joseph to conform to the views of the Emperor, as regarded the coronation, and although he did not adopt the third course as heartily as might have been wished, yet he proved more tractable than he had yet been. On the occasion of the coronation, which took place soon after, he accepted and discharged the functions assigned to him by the ceremonial. The Princess, his wife, conformed cheerfully to them also, only in the official report, in order to spare their feelings the words *to support the mantle*,† were used, instead of to *bear the train*.‡ To such straws will vanity cling for its rescue from mortification.

On the 10th Frimaire (December 1), the Council of State was summoned to the Tuileries, to be present at the reception of the Senate, who were bringing in State the list of votes for the Heredity of the Imperial dignity in the Bonaparte family. The reception took place in one of the salons in which a long platform surrounded with a gilt balustrade had been erected. On this was placed a magnificent throne, surmounted by a purple canopy embroidered with golden bees. The whole thing was very handsome, but not in the best taste, and too large in proportion to the size and shape of the room. The eyes of all were turned on this novel construction ; the Emperor alone seemed quite at his ease. The Senate having been introduced, François de Neufchâteau, the Vice-President, made a speech, or rather a long dissertation that lasted nearly three quarters of an hour. The Emperor's reply was short, but remarkable, because in speaking of the nation he used the words "my People." This was the first time he employed that expression. I observed great surprise on the faces round me, when these words were pronounced, but every one was silent.

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* The latter expression referred to one of Princess Julia's ladies, to whom she was specially attached, and who was excessively stout. By his allusion to women of the middle class he meant my wife.

† *Soutenir le manteau.*

‡ *Porter la queue.*

After this last proceeding on the part of the Senate, there could be no further delay. Everything was sanctioned by the National will so solemnly expressed. The coronation was fixed for the ensuing day; the order of it was prescribed in an exact programme, the production of M. de Ségur. In the first draft of this important composition, at Article 46, Title IV., were these words: "Their Majesties will receive Holy Communion;" but in the copies sent officially to the various authorities, they were altered by hand, to "If their Majesties receive Holy Communion." And in the copy of the Programme published by the 'Moniteur' of the 9th Frimaire, the whole phrase is suppressed and there is no allusion to Communion. It was asserted at the time that the impossibility of ascertaining the condition of the consecrated bread and wine that would have been given to the Emperor was the reason of this alteration, and that it was thought imprudent to trust the Italian Prelates in such a matter.

The day that had been prepared for by so many schemes dawned at length, and on Sunday, the 11th Frimaire, Year XIII. (Dec. 2, 1804), leap-year, the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Joséphine were solemnly crowned and consecrated at the Metropolitan Church of Notre Dame de Paris, by Pope Pius VII. I was present at the ceremony; but I will only narrate here the particular circumstances that came under my own observation, the writings and newspapers of the time having given a sufficient description of every detail.

On the whole the affair went off well. The procession was magnificent and good order prevailed. During its progress through Paris some cheering was heard, but it was neither frequent nor enthusiastic. The people, however, seemed to be in good spirits; the cross-bearer, who preceded the carriage of the Holy Father, mounted on a mule, especially excited the hilarity of the lookers-on. The windows were hung with garlands and tapestries, and, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, were filled with spectators.

The scene in the cathedral was imposing. The Emperor, at the moment of his entry, was extremely grave and composed; but during the course of the ceremony, on hearing the applause that burst forth several times, he unbent, and let it be seen that he was gratified by the flattering homage: he bowed right and left to the various authorities.

The Empress bore herself with modest dignity and exquisite grace. She seemed made for the part she was performing.

The Pope received some applause along the route, and must have been satisfied with his reception. His presence, however, did not awake the religious admiration displayed by the multitude in former times towards the Roman Pontiffs. The respect paid him was addressed rather to the white hair of the venerable old man than to the tiara on his brow.

There were beautiful illuminations at night. The people thronged the streets, and amused themselves as they always do, no matter what may be the occasion on which they are treated to shows and illuminations, or whom the individual honoured.

To this opening day succeeded a fortnight of fêtes, receptions, and State audiences, either at the Tuileries or at the Hotel de Ville. The Emperor seemed to take pleasure in this display. He had issued commands to all the authorities not to appear at Court during this period, except in the state-costumes worn on the Coronation Day. No accident or vexatious circumstances interfered with this long series of festivities. A singular incident disturbed for a short time the fête of the 14th Frimaire (Dec. 5), when eagles were distributed to the various detachments of the army who had come to Paris in order to receive them. From twenty-five to thirty thousand of the finest French troops were assembled for this solemn ceremony on the Champ de Mars, and the Emperor, surrounded by his court and the great bodies of the State, was seated on a throne, placed on a semicircular platform in front of the Military School. In the middle of the ceremony, a young man advanced towards the steps of the throne, and exclaimed in a loud voice: *No Emperor! Liberty or death!* He was immediately arrested, and I never heard his name. The circumstance, however, made little impression, very few persons heard his exclamation; for the crowd had been dispersed by the bad weather. There was a banquet at the Tuileries on the same evening. Several tables were spread in the Gallery of Diana. The Emperor, the Empress, the Imperial Family and the Pope dined together at one of them. The Diplomatic Body, the ladies, the Grand Officers and the principal Public Officials dined at separate tables. Much dissatisfaction was caused by this etiquette, especially among the Foreign Ambassadors, who felt aggrieved at not being admitted to the Princes' table. The ambassadors of Austria (Cobentzel), of Spain (Gravina), of Portugal (de Lima), and of Holland (Schimmelpenninck) absented themselves from the banquet. Notwithstanding these slight vexations, the Emperor was, on the whole, satisfied with the quiet that had prevailed in Paris, and with this new trial of the people's docility, which had turned out better than he had expected. "I remarked indeed," he said to his brother Joseph, on the 19th Frimaire, "that there was no real enthusiasm anywhere, but neither were the fêtes disturbed in any way. For me, it is a battle won, and I have gained by good management more than I could have hoped for." Everything had been equally tranquil in the Departments; and this tranquillity will not appear one of the least wonderful signs of the times, if we remember that, during the festivities, which lasted over a month, all the Generals in command of Divisions, all the Prefects, all the Magistrates, and the flower of the army were in Paris, and that their absence in no way affected the ordinary progress of affairs, nor occasioned the slightest disorder.

In order to take full possession of all the attributes of sovereignty, the Emperor had now only to exhibit them at the opening of a legislative session, in presence of the two bodies, who by a kind of fiction were still considered as the representatives of the nation. This took place on the 5th Nivôse (Dec. 27). The Emperor repaired in State to the palace occupied by the Legislative Body, where the Tribunate and the Council of State had been convened. A deputation from the Senate was present. After receiving the oaths of the Members of the Legislature, the Emperor read from the throne a speech which was published in the 'Moniteur' of the 7th Nivôse, Year XIII. That characteristic expression of sovereignty, the words *My people*, is repeated.

But, on the whole, the speech afforded satisfaction, because it contained an assurance that during that year no further sacrifices would be required of the nation. The Emperor read it in a firm voice, though rather hurriedly, and, as it was the first time he spoke in public, his faults of pronunciation, some very serious, were much noticed; such for example as the addition of the letter *t* to the third person singular in the future tense, and of an *s* to the first person.* This fault was especially perceptible in the last sentence of the speech.

Five days after this sitting, Champagny, Minister of the Interior, accompanied by Lacuée and Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely, Councillors of State, conveyed to the Legislative Body, at its sitting of the 10th Nivôse (Dec. 31), the *Statement of the situation of the Empire.*† After receiving this communication, the Legislative Body, sitting in Private Committee, unanimously adopted the address drawn up by President Fontanes, in reply to the speech from the Throne. The Tribunate, in like manner, had in a private sitting on the 8th Nivôse, approved an address on the same subject, drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose.

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* As, for instance, *je serai-s*, and *il sera-t.*

† Such are the terms employed in the Imperial Decree appointing the orators who were to make the communication. The word *republic* had disappeared.

The two addresses were presented at the Tuileries by the whole of the members of both bodies. They were received by the Emperor on the throne, in presence of the Grand Dignitaries and Great Officers of the Empire, the Senate, and the Council of State, extraordinarily convoked. Fontanes was speaker, and the address which he read aloud began with these words: "SIRE, YOUR FAITHFUL SUBJECTS, *the members of the Legislative Body*," etc. At this unexpected exordium, the greatest astonishment was expressed on every countenance, even on those of the Members of the Legislative Body, who seemed no less surprised than the other persons present.

The Tribunate, in a body, were next introduced, and Fabre (de l'Aude), the President, read their address; but Fontanes' formula was not adopted. The Emperor, who had replied very graciously to the address of the Legislative Body, seemed displeased at that presented by the Tribunate. He answered with coldness and constraint. The two bodies withdrew, and the sitting ended rather abruptly. On the following day, the 13th Nivôse, every one was taken by surprise at seeing the two addresses appear in the 'Moniteur,' each with the same formula, "*Your faithful Subjects*;" although it was notorious to all connected with the highest authorities of France that they had been differently expressed. It was impossible to lie with greater audacity.

The following is the explanation. Fontanes had carefully avoided letting the Legislative Body know the formula which he intended to employ, so as to avoid a discussion, which, even had he succeeded in carrying his point, would have been unpleasant and embarrassing. The Legislative Body was therefore not aware that those words were about to be used; and, on their return from the audience, loaded their faithless President with reproaches, a great number of the members complaining bitterly of the thing in itself as well as of the surreptitious way in which it had been done. Fontanes, finding himself in an awkward predicament, waited on the Emperor in the evening, and pointed out to him that he was in an extremely difficult position with the body over which he presided, now that it was known that the expressions he had used did not occur in the address from the Tribunate, that he would now be still more heavily condemned, and considered guilty of a breach of confidence. The Emperor, who had already felt that the difference between the two branches of the Legislature was inimical to his views, settled the question with a single word. Maret was ordered to send for Fabre (de l'Aude), and to signify to him the Emperor's will that the terms made use of by Fontanes should also appear in the address from the Tribunate which would be published on the following day. Fabre, who was daily expecting his nomination to the Senate, made no objection, and when they awoke the next morning the Tribunes learned through the columns of the 'Moniteur' that on the preceding day they had declared themselves the "*faithful Subjects of the Emperor.*" The Tribunate, whose existence became more and more precarious, and whose members had nothing to hope for in the ruin with which they were threatened, save the favour of the Emperor, endured the affront in silence. But the Legislative Body showed some displeasure, and endeavoured to preserve its honour by inserting in the report of its sittings, which contains the address, an explanatory note stating that the phraseology employed was that made use of by the House of Commons. But the note did not specify to what nation that House of Commons belonged, nor by what right it ruled the action of the representative assembly of the French nation. The Emperor laughed at the sop administered to itself by the Legislative Body ; and he was right. He had obtained from it all he wanted. Where force or skilfully managed circumstance had failed, clever trickery had succeeded. He possessed his people, his subjects, his armies, his ships ; every vestige of Republican Government had disappeared both in matter and form. The counter-revolution was complete ; he had restored absolute monarchy with all its accessories. All this was not destined to be of long endurance.

CHAPTER XX.

The Emperor again offers the crown of Lombardy to Prince Joseph, who refuses it—He wishes to bestow it on the son of Prince Louis, but the latter also declines Napoleon's proposal—In consequence of this refusal, the Emperor destines Eugene Beauharnais to the throne of Italy, and raises him, as well as General Murat, to princely rank—Hostile attitude of the Northern Powers—The Emperor explains at the Council of State the real object of the preparations for a descent on England—He addresses a letter on behalf of peace to the King of England, but without effect—Napoleon contrives that a deputation from the Italian Republic, converted into a Monarchy, shall offer him the crown of Italy, which he accepts—The Pope leaves Paris to return to Rome—The Emperor, after a reconciliation with his brother Joseph, proceeds to Milan, to be crowned King of Italy, and appoints Prince Eugene his viceroy—Joseph returns to the Boulogne camp—The Author proceeds to Belgium on a special mission from the Government—Prosperity and good dispositions of the inhabitants—Public works for the establishment of a military port at Antwerp—Annexation of the Ligurian Republic to France—Return of the Emperor from Milan—The continuance of peace on the Continent becomes more and more doubtful—The combined squadrons of France and Spain are obliged, after a disastrous engagement, to take refuge at Corunna—The Emperor hastens the preparations for the embarkation of the troops at Boulogne—The Viennese Cabinet despatches its armies to Bavaria, and sends an ultimatum to Paris—War is decided on, and the troops assembled at Boulogne are ordered to the Rhine—Restoration of the Greek Calendar—The Emperor's allocution at the State Council—Provisions for regulating the powers of the Government during the Emperor's absence—After having presided at a State Sitting of the Senate, Napoleon sets out to join the army.

THE coronation fêtes and the solemn opening of the Legislative Body were scarcely over, when the Emperor, still bent on his former plans, again brought forward the offer of the crown of Lombardy to Prince Joseph. His principal motive for insisting on this was his desire to remove from the Imperial succession the brother who had been called to it by the Senatus-Consultum of the 28th Floréal, and thus to concentrate the succession in the family of Prince Louis, and consequently in the person of the son of the latter. This plan he had formed long before, and he renounced it only on the death of the child.

The first approach to the subject had been, as the reader is aware, coldly received by Prince Joseph. The act of renunciation to the right of succession, on which the Emperor insisted, was the condition most repugnant to the Prince, and he refused to consent to it. At length, after a discussion of considerable length, M. de Talleyrand, who had undertaken the negotiation, drew up the bases of the agreement, as a kind of ultimatum, in a series of articles, as follows :

1. Napoleon, Emperor of the French, is King of Lombardy.

2. He makes over his rights to the crown in their fullest extent to his brother Joseph as a French Prince and Grand Elector of the Empire.

3. The crown of Lombardy is hereditary among the legitimate descendants of Joseph Bonaparte.

4. If Prince Joseph should die without male children the throne of Lombardy is again at the disposal of the Emperor.

5. Should the Prince's death occur after that of the Emperor, and that one of the latter's sons or adopted sons should be on the throne of France, the crown of Lombardy reverts to Prince Louis.

6. If, during the lifetime of the Emperor, Prince Joseph dies, leaving a son, still a minor, the Emperor is President of the Council of Regency, which consists of the Great Dignitaries of Lombardy.

7. The crowns of Lombardy and of France can in no case be united on one head. Consequently Prince Joseph renounces for himself and for his children all right of succession to the Imperial Throne.

The Emperor, however, in order not to deprive himself of the advantages conferred on him by the Senatus-Consultum of the 23d Floréal, Year XII., reserves to himself the power of adoption thereby secured to him. But it is understood that the succession to the throne of France will only pass to the second branch of the family, to which it would naturally revert through the renunciation of Prince Joseph, in virtue of a special designation. Thus, should the Emperor die, leaving neither son nor adopted son, and without having made any special designation, he will be considered to have called Prince Joseph to succeed to the crown of France, in preference to Prince Louis, who will then assume the crown of Lombardy.

This last Article, although it appeared to modify the effect of the renunciation required of him, especially attracted the attention of Prince Joseph. In fact, it contrived a new system of succession to the throne of France. The word *designation* implied a total change in the order established by the original Senatus-Consultum, and it did away with the hereditary principle in the usual acceptation of the word. According to that principle, Prince Louis succeeded immediately to the rights of Prince Joseph, on their renunciation by the latter. Here, on the contrary, Louis's rights were made contingent only, and depended on the will of the Emperor, who reserved to himself the choice of designating or not designating him. And what was still more extraordinary, this power of designation introduced into the legislation was unlimited, and there was nothing to prevent the Emperor exercising it in favour of an individual belonging to another family. Lastly, this provision appeared to confer the succession on the family of the designated successor ; so that if Prince Louis were designated, it would have the same effect as the adoption of his children, although minors, since on his death his rights would descend to them to the exclusion of Prince Joseph.

Talleyrand, who had communicated the Articles of the Agreement to Joseph on the morning of the 26th Nivôse, Year XIII. (Jan. 16, 1805), returned on the evening of the same day to receive his answer. It was evasive, and the Prince deferred a positive reply to a later day. He employed the interval in consulting his friends, all of whom advised him to accept them. "In the natural course," we said to him, "the Emperor would survive you. You have no male heir, and your brother having none either, nor the possibility of any, by the Empress, you may be sure that sooner or later he will put her away in order to obtain a direct heir, or at least that he will make use of the power conferred on him by the Senatus-Consultum to adopt the son of Prince Louis. Your right to the throne of France, and your hope of ascending it at a future day are, therefore, imaginary rather than real ; and one contingency, that of the premature death of the Emperor, which could alone give them some consistency, is too unlikely an event to be allowed to outweigh the advantages which are now offered to you. By accepting them, you reign over a beautiful country, whose language you speak, and where you would have many opportunities of doing good. Your destiny would thus be fixed, and a brilliant and stable future would open before you."

These counsels made no impression on Prince Joseph. He regarded the renunciation required of him as a kind of cowardice ; and therefore flatly refused his consent, being resolved to remain in France. His decision was communicated to the Emperor on the 7th Pluviose (Jan. 27). He was greatly displeased, and thought of bestowing the crown of Lombardy on the eldest son of Prince Louis, entrusting the government of the country to the latter during his son's minority, who meanwhile would continue to reside in Paris. But the Prince, on hearing the proposition, altogether rejected it. "So long as I live," said he to the Emperor, "I will neither consent to the adoption of my son, before he has attained the age fixed by the Senatus-Consultum, nor to any plan for placing him, to my prejudice, on the throne of Lombardy. So marked a preference would revive the rumours formerly circulated concerning the child. I am willing, if you desire it, to go to Italy, but on condition that my wife and children accompany me thither."

This fresh refusal, and the tone in which it was made and persisted in, enraged the Emperor to the highest degree. He seized Prince Louis by the body, and flung him violently out of the room.

Thus thwarted by his own family on the two sides, the Emperor began to turn his thoughts and affections towards young Beauharnais. He raised him to the rank of Prince, and intended to place him on the throne of Lombardy, and to unite him in marriage with the Queen of Etruria, recently left a widow by the Infante of Spain, who, two years previously, had been placed on the throne of Tuscany.* He conferred, in like manner, the title of Prince on General Murat, and bestowed the vacant Grand Dignities of Arch-chancellor of State on Prince Eugene and that of Grand Admiral on Prince Murat. The honours conferred on the new-made Princes were resented by the Emperor's two brothers as personal injuries; but they had no right to complain; all this was a natural consequence of their refusal to co-operate in Napoleon's designs. Thus grievances were multiplied on either side; family disunion increased, and the extraordinary favours of fortune had neither satisfied personal ambition nor brought peace and concord. From the very beginning there had been unexpected opposition, and unexpected claims, and germs of enmity were now expanding in the very hearts that Napoleon believed he had won to himself by splendid gifts, well deserving of gratitude in return.

While family troubles were casting these gloomy shadows on the success that had hitherto attended on all the Emperor's undertakings, the state of foreign affairs was daily assuming an aspect more threatening to the continuance of peace on the Continent. Austria, Russia, and even Prussia, were becoming more and more inimical. But, far from being alarmed, the Emperor, as I have already said, ardently desired a rupture; for it would again assign to him that stage whereon victory had so gloriously distinguished the French troops under his command, and it would also afford him a legitimate excuse for giving up the hazardous expedition to England, the difficulties of which seemed to increase as the time for putting it into execution drew near. He explained the situation with considerable clearness at a sitting of the State Council in which the Finance laws were being discussed, and over which he presided on the 28th Nivôse (Jan. 17). Speaking on the subject of the resources of France, he expressed himself as follows. "For two years past, France has made the greatest sacrifices that can be demanded of her, and has not flinched under the trial. A general Continental war would involve nothing further. My army is the strongest, and my military organisation is the most complete. Moreover, I am already in the very situation in which I should have to place myself if war were to break out on the Continent. But in order, during a time of peace, to assemble so many troops, in order to have twenty thousand artillery horses, and a complete equipment, a pretext had to be found for raising them and bringing them together without alarming the Continental powers; and that pretext was afforded me by the intended descent on England. I am quite aware that to keep all those artillery horses during a time of peace is to throw thirty millions into the sea; but it has given me full twenty days in advance over all my enemies, and I shall have begun the campaign a month before Austria has bought horses for her guns. If I see that the events taking place in Italy* cause any movement in Austria, I shall declare war on her so soon as she begins her purchases.

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* This plan was altered in part, Prince Eugene was made viceroy only, and married a Bavarian princess.

"I could not have told you this two years ago, and yet it was my sole aim. You know it now, and you have the explanation of many things. But there will be no war, and I have just begun direct negotiations with the King of England in the interests of peace."

Whether the Emperor had in reality prepared for an expedition against England with the sole design of concealing his military preparations from the Continental powers, or whether he had given it upon perceiving the extreme difficulty of the undertaking, the fact remains that for a long time past all his measures for a war on land had been taken. Those powers who attacked him shortly afterwards, far from finding him at fault, by reason of his armies being massed on the channel coasts, were, on the contrary, themselves taken by surprise, by the skilful tactics the secret of which he partly revealed to us at the sitting of the Council of State to which I now refer.

But the more he desired war the more it was his interest to persuade the world that he wished for peace, and his motive in making overtures to the King of England, to whom he had written personally,* was to prove that if he found himself involved in a new war he had done all in his power to avoid it. So soon, therefore, as England's reply rejecting this overture,† reached Paris, the Emperor hastened to communicate both documents to the Senate, the Legislative Body and the Tribunate. Those bodies immediately replied by obsequious addresses, which had been preceded by speeches no less servile at the sitting of the Tribunate. The addresses were presented to the Emperor on the 21st Pluviose. He received them seated on his throne, and surrounded by the great officers of the Empire and of the Household, by the Senate and the Council of State. The President of the Tribunate, Fabre (de l'Aude), had no hesitation this time in speaking in the name of *the faithful subjects*, *Members of the Tribunate*, and even put the epithet in the superlative, the *most faithful subjects*. On this occasion the speeches were inserted without alteration in the 'Moniteur' on the following day. A change was, however, made in the Emperor's reply to the deputation from the Legislative Body. He had made use of the expression, *the philanthropic and liberal ideas*, which, according to him, should be characteristic of the present century. But as he was in the habit of sneering at men of *liberal ideas*, he did not want to appear to have contradicted himself, and in the 'Moniteur,' next day, instead of *philanthropic and liberal* ideas, he was made to say philanthropic and *generous* ideas.

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* He alludes to the intended formation of the kingdom of Lombardy.

Notwithstanding the clouds daily gathering on the political horizon, war was not so imminent as to prevent the Emperor from carrying out his plans in Italy. One grievance less inflicted upon Austria and the other Continental Powers would not have prevented war, and so he felt no scruple in doing them a fresh wrong. Moreover, he did not shrink from multiplying pretexts for a rupture which had now become necessary to him, and he reckoned on victory to absolve him from all his misdeeds and to justify all his ambition. His brothers' refusal having left him free to dispose as he would of Lombardy and his other conquests in Italy, he finally resolved to place the crown he had offered them on his own head. But he wished that crown to be offered to him by the nation. He therefore summoned to Paris a deputation chosen from among the principal citizens of Lombardy, which, under the name of Consultum, was supposed to be empowered to revise the constitution of the Italian Republic, but whose principal business was in reality to change that form of Government, and institute for it a monarchy. When this assembly had concluded their labours, they laid the result before the Emperor at a State-Audience on 26th Ventôse (March 17). The Council of State was present. All the ceremonial of State was displayed. The Emperor, who seemed to delight in providing opportunities for the display of his sovereign attributes, was seated on the throne, with covered head, when the Consultum was introduced. M. de Melzi was the Speaker, and submitted to the Emperor the deliberations of the assembly over which he presided. The following were the resolutions. The Italian Republic to be changed into a Monarchy, under the name of Kingdom of Italy ;* the Emperor and his male heirs to be called to the throne, with the single restriction that for the future the two crowns of France and Italy should never be united on one head. The sole exception was in the case of the Emperor, and for this occasion only.

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* The letter in question, dated 12th Nivôse (Jan. 2), appeared in the 'Moniteur' of 16th Pluviose, Year XIII.

† The King of England did not reply directly, but he commanded Lord Mulgrave to write to M. de Talleyrand. The letter is dated January 1, 1805.

The Emperor accepted the offer, spoke of his affection for his people of Italy, and promised to go to Milan for his coronation. On the following day he went to the Senate to announce in person his new dignity, and thenceforth he assumed the title of *Emperor and King*.

But, before he could set out for Italy, it was necessary to send the Pope back to Rome. The Holy Father was prolonging his stay in France, in hopes of obtaining the advantages that had been held out to him as the price of his compliance. He asked that the legations of Ferrara, Bologna and Rimini should be restored to the Holy See, that the custody of the Civil State Registers should again be confided to the clergy, and lastly, that the Republican Calendar should be suppressed, and the Gregorian Calendar restored. The Emperor agreed to the last of these requests only, and because it suited his purpose, quite as much as the Pope's, to abolish everything that could recall the Republican régime. However, the Holy Father departed before this change was effected, and it was not carried out until a few months later.

Pius VII., disappointed in his hopes and expecting nothing from a more prolonged stay, determined to return to Rome. He went to see the Emperor at St. Cloud for the last time on the 9th Germinal (March 10). The Council of State had assembled before he arrived. He crossed the hall, entered the Emperor's cabinet, remained with him for ten minutes, and then came out again with displeasure visible in his countenance. A few days afterwards

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* The title of King of Lombardy, against which Austria had protested, was thus avoided.

(14 Germinal) he left Paris. It was said that an effort had been made to induce him to pause at Milan, and be present at the ceremony of the coronation of Napoleon as King of Italy; but he refused this fresh condescension, and it was not insisted on.

The Emperor, being free from all anxiety with respect to the interior of France, left Paris on the 31st of March (10 Germinal) on his way to Italy, after having asked and obtained a Senatus-Consultum for a levy of twenty thousand men on the reserves. The task of carrying this out devolved on Cambacérès. Prince Joseph accompanied the Emperor to Fontainebleau, and before they parted a sort of reconciliation took place between the two brothers. They had a long conversation, in the course of which the Emperor complained, as usual, of the small share which the Prince took in affairs, and of his constant opposition to the policy which had been adopted. Nevertheless, he did him justice on some points, and treated him with kindness. He directed him to return to his regiment at the Boulogne camp to continue to learn the duties of a colonel; so that, having studied them for a month, he might make a circuit on the Northern and Rhenish frontiers, accompanied by officers of the Engineers and of Artillery, in order to inspect our principal fortresses and thus to acquire the military knowledge in which he was deficient. They parted on tolerably good terms. Prince Joseph returned to Paris, and, after a few days' stay at Morfontaine, proceeded to Boulogne, from which place he afterwards started on an excursion to the frontier, in compliance with a suggestion that had been made to him.

The Emperor continued his journey to Milan, where he received the crown, and made the Empress's son, Eugene Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, under the name of Prince Eugene Napoleon.

During the absence of the Emperor and of Prince Joseph, I was entrusted by the Government with a special mission to Belgium, which formed part of the General Police district under my administration. I left Paris therefore on the 20th Floréal (May 19), and proceeded to Antwerp, where I made a stay of several days. M. d'Herbonville was discharging the duties of Prefect in that town, and I took counsel with him as to the means of putting a stop to smuggling, which had greatly increased on the borders of the departments which were contiguous to Holland. But my mission was not a successful one: the Custom-house officers made too great a profit on the sale of the confiscated goods, and by the gratuities that they obtained on each seizure, to be really desirous of putting an end to smuggling, by which they would have been reduced to living on their salaries only. Moreover, as the confiscated goods were repurchased by the very persons from whom they had been taken, these latter had only to set the chances of success against those of failure in getting their goods, and then to calculate their expenditure in repurchasing, which could always be effected at a cost far below the real value, and lastly to fix the sum to which the price of the smuggled goods was to be raised, in order to sell them in the interior at a profit. As, notwithstanding this augmentation in cost, smuggled merchandise always commanded a good sale, there remained sufficient profit to attract many speculators to this lucrative business. My journey was, therefore, a failure as regards the ends for which I had undertaken it ; but it was very useful to myself, as it afforded me an opportunity of closely examining the state of those fine provinces since the union with France. I found them quite settled, and their industrious inhabitants well disposed in favour of the Government, to which they daily became more attached. They were obedient by habit, and felt no regret for their former masters, whom they had never seen, and to procure whose return they would not have made the smallest sacrifice. They endured taxation willingly, and the excise duties, the heaviest of all, had easily been enforced in a country long accustomed to defray the heaviest part of the public expenses by indirect taxation. The conscription was the only serious grievance, because it clashed with former habits and with national prejudice. As the Austrian Government had never recruited, save among the dregs of the people, a soldier was an object of contempt in Belgium, and among no class of society could any be found willing to enter a profession so degraded in public estimation. The wealthy and influential inhabitants of these fine provinces were, however, daily returning to them. They were beginning to have faith in the stability of the new order of things, and having, through the help of the Government, recovered their property and their wealth, they were sincerely desirous of the continuance of a system under which they might exist in peace. Lastly, the union of Belgium to France having overthrown the barrier of Customs, which until then had interfered with the export of the products of her industry to France, a new and vast market had been opened to her and a stimulus given to her manufactures such as they never had during the domination of the House of Austria. In addition to these commercial advantages, which contributed so powerfully to the lasting union of the two peoples, the immense works in progress at Antwerp led the Belgians to hope that the former splendour of that port, so famous in the annals of their country, would one day be restored, and revived their recollections of the glory and prosperity associated with its name.

My curiosity being greatly excited, I took advantage of the facilities afforded by my mission to inspect the works in progress for the establishment of a military port at Antwerp. I was accompanied by M. Malouet, the naval Prefect of that ancient city.

On the spot where eighteen months previously there had existed nothing but a block of buildings belonging to an old convent, and a rampart, there were now to be seen docks, partly-built vessels, immense store-houses, workshops for rope-making and carpentering ; in short, a naval arsenal. At the time of my visit there were eight men of war, a frigate, and a brig in process of construction.* Timber from the forest of Soignés was used for the shipbuilding ; but, as it was still green, it was calculated that the hulls of the vessels would have to dry for at least eighteen months before the planking could be laid down, and that consequently it would be impossible to launch them for a couple of years.

But, after admiring all that was striking and extraordinary in the undertaking, and the strength of will of him who had set it in motion, I could not refrain from reflecting on the objections that it presented. In the first place, it seemed to me that to establish a military and a commercial port on the same spot, was to ensure the destruction of the one by the other. Antwerp had always been a great commercial city ; and a military marine station, if it had been successfully established there, would have imperceptibly destroyed the true source of the greatness and wealth of the place. Then again, granting that nothing was more likely to alarm the English than French squadrons in the Scheldt, and that policy dictated that great enterprise, still Antwerp did not seem to me the most favourable locality for the purpose. The river is difficult of descent for large ships, and great difficulty was expected in getting the ships then on the stocks down the Scheldt.

Moreover, their guns and part of their rigging must have been shipped either at Flushing, or at a port that had yet to be made at the mouth of the river. Once down the Scheldt, the vessels could not possibly return to Antwerp, even were they disarmed for the purpose, and in the winter they could not enter the river on account of the ice. So that in a military-naval sense, Antwerp could never be more than a dockyard, and in no case a port for equipment or refitting. I came to the conclusion that it would have been far better to have made the expenditure at Ter Neef, on the left bank of the Scheldt, opposite Flushing, rather than at Antwerp. But it was an appeal to the popular imagination to restore the ancient name of Antwerp and once more to make it formidable.

I left Antwerp on the 9th Prairial (May 29), on my return to

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* The following is a list of the names that had been given to these vessels : *le Charlemagne*, *le Commerce de Lyon*, *l'Anversois*, *le Thésée*, *l'Illustre*, *le César*, *le Duguesclin* and *l'Audacieux*, vessels of seventy-four ; *la Caroline*, frigate of forty-six, and *le Favori*, brig of sixteen guns.

Paris, passing through Louvain, Maestricht, Aix-la-Chapelle, Verviers, Liége, Brussels and Ghent. I travelled very slowly, frequently stopping to inspect the manufactories and public establishments, and was more and more pleased with the prosperity that I beheld on every side. The cloth factories of Verviers especially had developed wonderfully : they had never had so much work in hand, nor so many markets in which to dispose of it. Verviers had reaped more advantage than any other town from the union of France with Belgium, and the provinces situated on the left bank of the Rhine.

I reached Paris on the 20th Prairial (June 9). The Emperor was still at Milan, where he was receiving the homage of his new Italian subjects. I heard little concerning his journey, as there was no one in his suite to whom I could apply for information. The writings of the time give full particulars of Napoleon's coronation as King of Italy and the organization of the kingdom. He confided the administration, as I have said before, to Prince Eugene Beauharnais, with the title of Viceroy. For chief adviser, he gave him M. de Melzi, of whom I have already spoken, and on whom, two years later, he conferred the title of Duke of Lodi. It would have been impossible to have made a better choice. During the Emperor's stay in Italy, the union of France and the Ligurian Republic (the town and territory of Genoa) took place. That brilliant annexation added another grievance to the long list of those that the Continental powers cherished against us, and was one of the alleged motives for their rupture with us. In this operation the Emperor was greatly helped by Salicetti, the French Ambassador at Genoa, who had prepared the way beforehand by persuasion and bribery.

Napoleon left Milan on his way back to France, laden with honours, surfeited with flattery, having destroyed an ancient republic, the only one still existing in Italy, and annexed it to his Empire. On the 29th Messidor (July 15) he arrived at Fontainebleau, where the chief authorities hastened to present themselves with congratulations on his return. I was there with the Council of State, and it seemed to me that his manner was colder than ever. The forms required by etiquette were still more severe than before ; there was a general feeling of constraint and embarrassment, and distinctions of rank were more marked than hitherto. No graciousness, no kindliness tempered the austere demeanour of the Emperor, so greatly did he seem to fear that the slightest sign of affability might recall the past days of Equality.

Towards the beginning of Thermidor he at length returned to Paris, where his presence had become necessary. The arrival of a negotiator in the capital was daily expected. M. Novosiltzof had been appointed by the Emperor of Russia to reply to the overtures of peace that Napoleon had addressed to the King of England, and to take part in the negotiations which as the result of those overtures would be likely to be held in Paris. But M. Novosiltzof came no farther than Berlin ; he returned the passports that had been forwarded to him, through the medium of Prussia, and took his way back. The note which he addressed on the 10th of July, 1805, to Prince Hardenberg, at that time the Cabinet Minister at Berlin, explained Russia's reasons for declining to treat with France, and founded them especially upon the annexations the Emperor had just made in Italy. The French passports were enclosed with this note. Prince Hardenberg forwarded them on the following day to M. de Laforest, the French Minister at Berlin, accompanied by a note in which he approved the conduct of Russia, and alluded with displeasure to the union of the Genoese Republic to France as an unexpected event by which the tranquillity of the Continent was once more endangered. Thus every hope of the continuance of peace imperceptibly faded away. Meanwhile, at the very moment that war seemed on the point of breaking out in the north of Europe, the armaments at Boulogne went on with redoubled activity. The combined squadrons of France and Spain* were to arrive in the Channel in order to protect the expedition, and from day to day they were expected to come in sight—in vain. The squadrons were encountered on the 22d of July by Admiral Calder, who forced them to fight, and to run in at Corunna with the loss of two Spanish ships, the *San-Raphael*, 84 guns, and the *Firme*, 74 guns. The Emperor, who, the better to disguise his real projects, had gone to Boulogne, was there when this news reached him, and, notwithstanding that every endeavour was made to represent the engagement as a drawn battle, no one could doubt that the hopes entertained of assistance from the Spanish squadron at the time of the passage of the flotilla were delusive. It was evident that we should have to rely entirely on our own resources at Boulogne if a descent on England were to be attempted. Nevertheless, although it was evident that since all help from the Spanish squadron must be given up, and since we were on the eve of a Continental war, the expedition could not be attempted without utter foolhardiness, the preparations for the embarkation were carried on under the Emperor's eyes, more vigorously than ever. The troops were assigned to the different transports long ready for their reception, and each man received his orders. On the 3d Fructidor (Aug. 21) the troops marched on board to beat of drum, at the same time it was announced that a fleet of twenty-eight men-of-war had been signalled in the Channel, and it was supposed that these were the French and Spanish squadrons from Corunna. It was consequently believed for a moment in Paris that the expedition was about to take place, and all the alarm previously felt at that hazardous undertaking was revived, and general consternation ensued. But the mask was soon thrown aside, and it was seen that the Emperor's apparent activity in carrying out a design he had already given up was but a feint to increase the false security of the Continental powers, and to force on them some decisive step, which would give him an opportunity for action.

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* Spain had been at war with England since 1802, when England had seized on four Spanish frigates without a previous declaration of war.

He had not to wait long. Austria's military preparations and the advance of her troops into Bavaria dispelled all doubt as to her intentions. Finally a kind of ultimatum was despatched from Vienna, and reached Paris on the 10th Fructidor (Aug. 28).* M. de Talleyrand started immediately for Boulogne, and from that moment the long-wished-for war was resolved on. Without an instant's delay, all the troops forming the camp at Boulogne and stationed along the coast were in the field, and advancing by forced marches towards the Rhine. Never was there so rapid or so skilful a change of front : Austria had scarcely received the reply to her ultimatum when she learned that the formidable armies, from whom, by reason of the immense distance between them, she had believed there was nothing to fear, would reach the Rhine before herself.

The Emperor, after having ordered the march of his troops, and staying to see it begun, returned to St. Cloud on the 16th Fructidor (Sept. 5). He held a diplomatic reception on the following Sunday, and as there was, as yet, no declaration of war, the Austrian Ambassador was present. The Emperor talked to him, as usual, but only about pictures or indifferent subjects, without letting anything appear which could give rise to a suspicion of the state of relations between France and Austria.

Meanwhile the greatest activity prevailed in all the Ministerial departments, and sittings of the Councils of State, of Administration, and of Finance, followed one on the other. In one of the sittings of the Council of State, the abolition of the Republican Calendar was proposed and carried, notwithstanding the opposition of some members. Among these, Councillor Réal spoke warmly in favour of maintaining that Calendar, and there were certainly good reasons to adduce in support of his argument. I even think, that had the commencement of the year been fixed by the Republican Calendar at the beginning of the Winter Solstice, instead of the Autumn Equinox, there would have been a great advantage in retaining the decennial division of the year, and that with this alteration, it would have been more in accordance with the celestial phenomena than any other calculation. But the question was not how to reform or improve the Republican Calendar ; no argument on the point would have been admitted. It must either be retained, just as it was, or entirely abolished ; and such being the alternative, the promise made to the Pope, and the leaning in favour of ancient forms, which was the fashion of the day, left no doubt as to the decision. Abolition was therefore resolved on, and the restoration of the Gregorian Calendar was fixed for January 1, 1806. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely was ordered to lay before the Senate a form of Senatus-Consultum prescribing the change, and M. Laplace, who as a celebrated geometrician and astronomer had, in the time of the Convention, commended the Republican Calendar, and praised it in many of his works, now that he was a Senator, made his report (still in the capacity of a learned mathematician) on the new Governmental proposition, and was in favour of adopting it. *E sempre bene*, as the Neapolitan lawyers say.

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* I did not see the document in question ; but I was informed that it contained a special provision that the Italian kingdom should be given up, that the Ligurian Republic should be restored to independence, and that Malta should be ceded to the English. The Emperor was in a position peremptorily to decline these proposals.

Finally, all the resources of the State having been put in action, and the time of the Emperor's departure drawing near, he summoned the Council of State to St. Cloud, on the 30th Fructidor (Sept. 17), to make known his last commands, and, at this memorable sitting, all the members being present, after dismissing the Auditors and the ushers, he addressed us in the following words :

"The weighty communications which I have to make to my Council of State are my reasons for excluding the younger men and the ushers to-day. I hope I shall not see an account of our proceedings here in the newspapers to-morrow ; should that be the case, I could in future only treat of the current affairs of the day at the Council ; I could not venture again to speak of the great interests of the State. I rely, therefore, on the discretion of all present.

"Austria is arming against us without a previous declaration of war. Her troops are marching on Bavaria ; she has taken the German princes, our allies, unawares. She who owes her existence to my moderation, she whom I have twice driven from Vienna and from all her States, dares, at the present time, to dictate conditions to me : she intends that I shall submit to all those that it may please England to impose on me, and she does not even tell me what they are. Such insolence, such ingratitude and deceit have awakened the resentment of all the Princes of Germany : they are quivering with indignation. I will avenge them, and avenge at the same time my own honour and the honour of France. My armies are marching towards the Rhine. They will soon have crossed it, and, with me at their head, will destroy the odious house of Austria that I ought never to have spared. I will reduce her to the rank of a secondary power. My allies shall see that they were right to trust in me, and that my protection is not a vain thing. I will raise Bavaria into a great state, interposed between Austria and myself, and I will sign a new peace in the palace of the Emperor of Germany.

"But I must wait a few days yet ere I go before the Senate to make a declaration to the whole nation of the situation of affairs, of my feelings, and of my intentions. Until then my language will be pacific. Meanwhile, time presses, and as it is my duty to provide for the tranquillity of France while I am marching on, I wished to communicate to you the measures which I intended taking and to consult you upon their adoption. You can, therefore, understand the necessity of secrecy respecting plans which are entirely in opposition with my outward conduct. It will only be necessary for a few days, and, I doubt not, will be faithfully observed. The Ministers of War and of the Interior will now lay before you the plans they have submitted to me."

The two Ministers then read to us various reports containing propositions, of which the following is an abridgement.

It was proposed to raise the Reserve of the Years X., XI., XII., and XIII.,* in forty-six departments, in order to complete those regiments remaining on the channel coasts :

To bring into the field on the 1st of January, 1806, the conscription of Year XV., viz., those young men who would be twenty years of age on January 1st, 1807.

To establish a camp of mounted Velites.

To send the Guards of Honour to join the Army.

To re-organise the National Guard of the Empire.

To offer to all retired sub-officers and soldiers advantages which should induce them to return to active service.

Of all these proposals the most remarkable was that of the re-organisation of the National Guard. This new impulse given to the public spirit of the nation, this sudden formation of armed clubs all over France, after the experience we had had of their influence during the course of the Revolution, deserved close consideration. But the Emperor carried us all with him by the force of his eloquence, and after a short discussion, he resumed :

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* These reserves, consisting of the surplus of the conscription not immediately wanted, remained in the provinces, liable to be called upon in case of urgent necessity.

"I should be a fool if I asked for all these things for the present campaign. I have everything I want—stores, troops, horses, and artillery. My army is in splendid condition. It has marched all across France, without one single deserter. The troops have been made welcome everywhere : people have vied with each other in entertaining and feeding my soldiers. Nor has one of them given the slightest cause of complaint.* But, if for the present, I am at ease, if, for the moment, I have no wants, I must provide against those which will be entailed by a war that may be prolonged for two or three years. While I am at work at the other end of Germany the nation must be answerable to me for itself. It must garrison the strongholds, and protect the stores of the interior. It must, if necessary, repel an invasion, or an attempt of the enemy on our coasts. The former spirit of France must be revived. She must show Europe that she is one with her head, that she takes part in his designs and seconds them. I am only on the throne, because France willed it to be so. She elected me. I am of her making, and she must sustain me. If the shouts with which she has so often saluted me are not the basest flattery, if they are sincere, I can rely upon her, and too much publicity and solemnity cannot be given to the request I am about to make of her. On the eve of my departure, therefore, I shall go to the Senate. I shall tell them of Austria's behaviour. I shall call on all the powers of the nation to assist me in the great enterprise of avenging the name of France. I shall kindle in every heart the love of glory and of honour. I shall then set out, and before the news of my doings in Paris has reached our enemies, I shall be in the midst of them and already their conqueror. If the French do not answer to my call, if they prefer obeying the Russians or the Austrians, let them bear the disgraceful yoke ! They are not what I took them for."

After this vigorous and prophetic address from Napoleon, we turned to the preparation of the Senatus-Consultum to be laid before the Senate at the sitting at which the Emperor proposed to be present. Two of those proceedings were contemplated—one to relate to the re-organisation of the National Guard, and the other to order the Guard of Honour to join the army. The Section of the Interior discussed these measures during the evening. The others were referred to the Section of War. On the following day, the first complementary day of Year XIII. (Sept. 18, 1805), the Council of State was again assembled at St. Cloud under the presidency of the Emperor. The drafts drawn up by the Section of War and the Section of the Interior were read aloud. Those relating to the Conscription were carried without difficulty, but the others underwent some curious modifications. The one concerning the National Guard was restricted to allowing the Emperor to re-organise it in those departments only where he thought it desirable to have recourse to that means of defence; and, as the right of appointing officers was reserved to him, the institution was thus altered in its very essence. It could no longer be a source of danger, or an obstacle to authority; but, on the other hand, it was deprived of its special advantages and of its influence over the public. As for the Guard of Honour, it was agreed, after a discussion of some length, that there should be no decree on the subject; but that the Minister of the Interior should merely send out a circular requesting them to join the army, where they would be placed under the command of Colonel de Ségur. The secret purpose of this step was that *émigrés* and former nobles might be introduced into this new corps, and that these gentlemen, after a few months' service, should enter the line as officers, should receive promotion, and after a time the command of regiments; a favour which was displeasing to the whole army. This became evident at a later period.

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* This was literally true. The army, at that time, was as well disciplined as it was brave. It was not so at a later period, and the system of warfare adopted by the Emperor, in subsequent campaigns, was ruinous to discipline.

With regard to the Government of the country during his absence, the Emperor decreed that Prince Joseph should be President of the Senate, with power to convene that body whenever he thought fit; that the Ministers should assemble at the Luxembourg, where he resided, once in every week, and that the Arch-chancellor should be present at those meetings, in which the Prince should refer questions which he did not think himself competent to decide either to the Council of State or to the Emperor himself; and that also all the telegraphic correspondence should be laid before him. On any extraordinary occasion he was to summon the High Constable (Prince Louis) and the Arch-chancellor,* to confer with them on measures to be taken and afterwards to issue orders in his own name. But Prince Joseph had no authority over the Public Exchequer. Neither had he any authority over the Police, and the bulletins on the state of Paris were delivered to the High Constable, as Military Chief, and sent by him to the Emperor.

All these arrangements being definitively settled, the Emperor proceeded in State to the Senate on Monday, the 1st Vendémiaire, Year XIV. (Sept. 23, 1805). M. de Talleyrand read a long report on the political relations between France and Austria since the peace of Lunéville, and drew a vivid picture of our grievances against that Power, passing lightly over those which our acquisitions in Italy might have afforded her against us. The Senatus-Consultum drawn up on the preceding day at the Council of State, was then presented by Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely and Ségur, and immediately carried. The Emperor concluded the sitting, which had lasted about three quarters of an hour, by a speech in which he declared that he had always ardently desired the continuance of peace ; and then rising, he returned to the Tuileries with the same ceremonies with which he had come. The next morning, the 2d Vendémiaire (Sept. 24), he set out to join the army.

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* Arch-treasurer Lebrun was then at Genoa.

CHAPTER XXI.

Unpopularity of the war with the inhabitants of Paris—Embarrassment of the Bank of France and of the Public Exchequer—Declaration of War by Austria and Russia—The impression produced in France—Marvellous successes of the French Army—Defeat of the combined fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar—Battle of Austerlitz—Hopes of peace entertained by the Parisians in consequence of the arrival of Austrian Plenipotentiaries at Napoleon's head-quarters—Displeasure of the Emperor—The Presburg Treaty of Peace—The Emperor commands Prince Joseph to place himself at the head of a French army, and drive the King of Naples from his States, as he had broken his neutrality in the recent war—The Emperor, on his way back from Vienna, stays at Munich to arrange a marriage between Prince Eugene and Princess Augusta of Bavaria—The author receives commands to join Prince Joseph at Naples—He has an audience to take leave of the Emperor—He receives instructions from M. de Talleyrand—He leaves Paris—He sees Lucien Bonaparte at Rome and arrives at Naples a week later than Prince Joseph—Situation of affairs—Formation of a Ministry—Two letters from the Emperor—Gigantic projects—Hard work of the Government at Naples—Silent opposition of Prince Joseph to the Emperor's views—General Regnier occupies Calabria—Prince Joseph resolves on visiting that province.

In spite of all that the Emperor had obliged the Senate to say, and of all that he had said himself, public opinion in Paris was not in favour of the war. The people could not witness unmoved the endangering of so many interests, which a series of reverses might entirely ruin; and if there was enthusiasm among the troops, among the people was evident discouragement, which the Emperor's enemies did not fail to keep up. He had scarcely quitted the capital when considerable alarm was evinced at the Bank concerning the exchange of the notes it had put in circulation. There was a deficiency of specie; the rate of exchange had to be lowered, and on the 3d Vendémiaire, the day after the Emperor's departure, the Bank could only give cash to the amount of three hundred thousand francs (£12,000), accepting only one note for a thousand francs (£40) from each creditor who presented himself. The discontent was grave. The Bank, or at least the principal shareholders, were accused of trading in the specie and of having exported a large quantity. Others laid the scarcity of money on the shoulders of the Government and on the loans made to it by the

Bank. But the last accusation was quite unfounded : we of the Council of State were satisfied that such a proceeding had never even been contemplated, and that the evil must be attributed to the greed and the ill-judged speculations of the Governors of the Bank.

The difficulty of the public finances lasted nearly the whole time of the Emperor's absence. Several councils were held to devise means for lessening the attendant consequences, and various measures more or less adapted to diminish the evil were decreed.

During the whole time that this crisis lasted, the Public Exchequer was in a very strained position ; and its difficulties were yet further increased by an extraordinary bounty granted by M. Barbé-Marbois, the then Minister of the Treasury. In order to save the firm of Ouvrard and Vanderbergh, who supplied the Commissariat, from impending failure, he entrusted to them upon the whole of the bonds of the Receivers-General then in the Treasury a sum of eighty-five millions, which the contractors deposited in the Bank. On this deposit the Bank increased its issue of notes, and that operation was partly the cause of the impossibility of paying them at sight.

In granting so great a favour to speculators, M. Barbé-Marbois was doubtless influenced by no blameable motive ; but he was wrong, in the first place, to consent to it without authorization, and in the second, not to have acquainted Prince Joseph with what he had done, for the Prince was thus left without any knowledge of the cause of an evil for which he was obliged to seek a remedy.*

In the midst of the agitation caused by such grave irregularities just at the opening of a campaign, Austria and Russia published the declaration of war, in which the two Powers made known the purposes with which they were undertaking it. They set forth that they resorted to arms only in order to restrain the ambition of France, and to oppose her present or future invasion of Italy. They declared, at the same time, that they would lay down their arms on the following conditions only.

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* Prince Joseph having no authority over the Treasury, M. Barbe-Marbois was not, strictly speaking, obliged to render him any account ; but the singular part of this transaction is, that it was for a considerable time concealed from the knowledge of the Emperor. The impression made on the Emperor by the Minister's behaviour is evident from the following letter to his brother. It is dated Schönbrunn, 4th Nivôse (Dec. 25).

My Brother,—I send you an unsealed letter for the Minister of the Public Treasury. You will read it and forward it to him, after sealing it. I do not yet know whether this is folly or treason, but the Coalition had no more useful ally than my Minister. I suspend my judgment until on my arrival, which is near at hand, I can myself verify the facts and discover the truth. As a matter of fact I believe the man has betrayed me. Meanwhile do not alarm him. Tell him that there is but one way of dispersing the storm which is about to burst over him : it is to restore the bonds which have been taken from the Treasury. Send for the General Cashier in order to learn the total value of the securities taken from his keeping. Consult the Minister of Finance ; but say nothing to Cambacérès : I don't know how far the two Michels, who are his friends, may be mixed up in all this business," etc.

In January, 1806, after the Emperor's return to Paris, M. Barbe-Marbois was superseded at the Treasury by M. Mollieu.

" France should withdraw within her natural boundaries, viz., the left bank of the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees and the Ocean.

" She should not maintain a single soldier beyond the Rhine, nor in Italy, Switzerland or Holland.

" Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, Switzerland, and Holland should be restored to governments quite independent of, and removed from, the influence of France.

" A State should be formed in Italy, for the Bourbon family, consisting of the Milanese and of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza."

The foregoing declaration was adroitly drawn up, with the exception of the last Article. Propositions apparently moderate, and even glorious for France, were offered for her acceptance : they might make an impression in favour of the new Coalition, and obtain for it the approval of the wiser part of the public, who were far from perceiving the necessity of making war to further gigantic projects of aggrandisement, which, even if successful, would endanger the existence of the nation in the future. But the provision in favour of the Bourbons was alarming to this same portion of the public, and destroyed the effect of all the other Articles. And, indeed, it too clearly revealed an intention of encouraging the hopes of the Bourbons : France would lose all sense of safety and tranquillity, if a country so near her borders were bestowed on a family whose desires it would never satisfy, and who would only make use of it to excite civil discord among the French. Therefore the declaration of war, which in this respect was a blunder, justified Napoleon, in the eyes of France, more fully than all the speeches of his orators and all his articles in the ' Moniteur ' could ever have done.

On the other hand, victory came to perfect his justification, and that so brilliantly, that the enthusiasm evoked by his marvellous and rapid campaign soon overpowered every other sentiment, except that of profound admiration.

This wonderful series of victories was uninterrupted, save by the unexpected news received by Prince Joseph, on the 13th Brumaire, Year XIV. (Nov. 4, 1805), of the disasters sustained by our fleet, while the exploits of our armies were amazing all Europe. The following particulars concerning the causes and circumstances of that fatal event were communicated to me at the time.

The combined squadron had left Corunna to return to Cadiz. It consisted of thirty-three French and Spanish ships. Admiral Villeneuve, who was in command, knew that he had been superseded by Admiral Rosily. The Admiral had been attacked by the 'Moniteur' of the 13th Fructidor, in an article containing these words dictated by the Emperor: "Nothing is wanting to the French navy but a man of nerve, cool courage, and audacity; some day, perhaps, such a man will arise, and then the world will see of what our sailors are capable." Villeneuve would not wait for the arrival of his successor. He, therefore, came out of Cadiz on the 30th Vendémiaire (Oct. 21). Rosily was not to arrive until the next day, and on making up his mind to this step, he wrote as follows: "I will show the Emperor that I have nerve and courage, but that both are insufficient without either officers or sailors."

The squadron fell in with the English fleet on the same day, and the battle began almost within sight of Cadiz, close to Cape Trafalgar, whence this celebrated naval engagement has received its name. The French and Spanish lost twenty-two vessels, the *Bucentaur*, Villeneuve's flag-ship, was sunk, and the Admiral taken a prisoner to England. Nelson, the victorious hero, was struck down in the midst of his triumph, and Admiral Gravina had an arm shot off. This utter defeat annihilated the French navy, which never recovered itself under Imperial rule.

The 'Moniteur' was silent on the subject, and as the particulars I have just given were little known at first, much less sensation was produced than if the facts of the case had been less carefully concealed from the public. On the other hand, the bulletins from the Grand Army, arriving in rapid succession, and announcing a fresh victory almost every day, exclusively engrossed public attention. The news of the battle of Austerlitz, which reached Paris on the 20th Frimaire (Dec. 10), and the thirtieth bulletin, giving particulars of that battle, aroused popular enthusiasm to the highest point and effaced all recollection of our naval reverses.

France could reap no more precious harvest from all her glorious exploits than peace, and it was the hope of obtaining that which interested her so deeply in the successes of our troops. The arrival of the Austrian plenipotentiaries at the Emperor's headquarters had been announced at the theatres in Paris, and had excited tumultuous expressions of joy. Hope had become still stronger after Austerlitz, and little doubt was felt that a peace both glorious and advantageous to France would soon be concluded. But the Emperor showed great displeasure at his brother's eagerness to welcome and encourage rumours of peace. Either he apprehended that it would be forced upon him by the will of the people, or else he wanted to make the Austrian negotiators understand that he did not regard peace as necessary for himself, and was therefore resolved to remain master of the situation ; for he repeatedly blamed the conduct of Prince Joseph. He even wrote him, at the beginning of Frimaire, a remarkable letter on this subject, of which the following is an extract copied from the original on the very day that it was received, the 4th Nivôse (Dec. 24).

"My brother—I have received your letter of 16 Frimaire. I am sorry you took so much notice of the news of the arrival of the Austrian plenipotentiaries, and that you are so weak as to be guided by the talk of persons who are for peace at any price. It is not peace that is important, but the conditions on which it is made, and the subject is too complicated to be understood by the *bourgeoise* of Paris. I am not in the habit of guiding my policy by the talk of Parisian idlers. My people will always be satisfied when I am. Either I carry out my words or I die. The same voices that to-day are crying out for peace, would to-morrow condemn the conditions on which I had accepted it. The public must not be misled by the newspapers ; I am greatly displeased with the 'Journal de Paris,'* in particular, and with some articles it has lately published. Only fools or knaves could think or write in such a way."

But this haughty language did not in any way interfere with the progress of the negotiations. They were carried on at Presburg by M. de Talleyrand, while the Emperor remained at Schönbrunn, near Vienna, whence he was able to follow their course ; and they terminated in the Treaty of the 6th Nivôse (Dec. 26), signed on the part of France by M. de Talleyrand, and by Prince Lichtenstein and Count Giulay on the part of Austria. By this treaty the Emperor of Germany lost the Tyrol, and his possessions in Swabia and Bresgau ; the Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg gained the title of King ; Venice and the adjoining territory, that had been ceded to the Emperor Francis by the Treaty of Campo-Formio, were united to the kingdom of Italy ; in short, Austria was limited to her hereditary possessions. Never had victor imposed harder conditions on the vanquished ; but we must, in justice, admit that they might have been harder still : the very existence of the House of Hapsburg was at that moment in Napoleon's hands.

The Treaty of Presburg was the last diplomatic act dated from the Revolutionary Era, which expired on the 11th Nivôse, Year

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* It was at that time under M. Roederer's direction, and he was the writer of numerous articles remarkable for their moderation and ability.

XIV. (Dec. 31, 1805). On the following day, January 1, 1806, the use of the Gregorian Calendar was resumed.

Everything that could recall Republican customs was thus fast disappearing; and an Imperial régime succeeded to a period of thirteen years and three months, in which a revolution, begun on noble principles of liberty and independence, brought a great people, first, from a state of anarchy to one of popular tyranny, and then, by an outbreak in an opposite direction, destroyed the latter, and from the restoration of order proceeded to absolute monarchy. This dominating power, founded on glorious trophies, supported by armed force, directed by a man of extraordinary genius and ability, seemed imperishable; and yet all these things failed to sustain it, when it was no longer protected by the popular feeling and affection of France. But at the period of which I speak, when bales of colours taken from the enemy were unrolled to adorn the ceilings of the Luxembourg, when all that is flattering to the vanity and pride of a vain, glory-loving people contributed to console them for their lost liberty, what voice would have ventured to predict that the hero whose own character was so powerful, and who was so favoured by destiny, had already reached the zenith of his greatness; that, not content to remain there, he would weaken his empire by endeavouring to extend it; that, in short, from that moment he began the descent to the abyss in which he and his vast conquests were to be engulfed? Yet this was to be, although the end was as yet undiscernible. The intoxication was universal, and it was unmingled with any apprehension for the future: the time for reflection was not yet come. An eager crowd filled the streets through which the procession bearing the flags sent by the Emperor to the Senate was to pass; and although some of the acclamations were paid for by the police, the origin of those was readily detected: the others were sufficiently sincere and numerous to satisfy the hero in whose honour they were raised.

The peace just concluded by the Emperor reduced Austria to complete inaction, and left him free to turn his thoughts to Italy. He had to chastise the disloyalty of a power, which, breaking through a recent treaty of neutrality, had invited the Russians to the Mediterranean, and had opened its ports to them. This act was odious on account of its breach of faith, and as useless as it was impolitic, so long as the fortune of war was still undecided in Germany. But the Neapolitan Court, blinded by the passions of a revengeful Queen, had scorned the dictates of prudence; and now that it was abandoned by those whose aid it had evoked, and was reduced to the aid of the English, who although masters of the sea could neither defend the capital nor the country; now that it found itself incapable of resistance, nothing was left for it but a disgraceful flight. Its subjects and its possessions were left to the mercy of an exasperated enemy.

Napoleon lost not a moment. From Schönbrunn, he sent orders to his brother Joseph to march on Naples at the head of the army that Masséna was assembling in Upper Italy. The Prince left Paris on the 9th of January, 1806. There is no doubt that wise policy and a righteous indignation imposed on the Emperor the duty of punishing the King of Naples for his treachery ; but, at the same time, the ease with which he took possession of the kingdom was fatal to his dynasty, by tempting him to drive away the former rulers, and to bestow his conquest on members of his own family. He now entered for the first time on the system of founding subordinate monarchies, to be subsequently distributed among his kinsmen, a system which, as it roused all Europe against him, hastened his downfall.

The Emperor had left Schönbrunn immediately after the signature of the Treaty of Presburg, and had proceeded to Munich, where he arrived on the 31st of December, 1805. While there he arranged a marriage between Prince Eugene Beauharnais, whom he had adopted, and on whom he had conferred the succession to the crown of Italy, and Princess Augusta, daughter of the new-made King of Bavaria.

He then set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 26th of January, at nine P.M. I saw him on the following day, when he received the Council of State in a friendly way. He was full of animation and activity, and had not suffered in health from the fatigues of the campaign. He was much stouter. He talked a great deal about what had taken place in Paris during his absence, especially the affair of the Bank, and severely censured the greed of the Financiers belonging to the administration of the Bank, who had made a fraudulent bankruptcy by suspending the payment of notes, while they divided the profit of the bonds among the bondholders. He told us that he should make an example, and prosecute the Governors of the Bank. He expressed his satisfaction with the public administration in other respects. " All has gone well," said he, " during my absence, with the exception of the finances."

On the next morning I received a letter from him in the following terms : " Monsieur Miot—It is my desire that you should leave Paris on the 30th of this month, for the headquarters of the army of Naples, where you will put yourself under the orders of Prince Joseph, my Lieutenant-General, and Commander-in-chief of the army of Naples. He will employ you, in the administration of the kingdom of Naples, in such way as he shall consider most conducive to the interests to my service. On which, I pray God to have you in His holy keeping. Given at Paris, January 27th, 1806."

I had some reason to expect the Emperor to come to this decision concerning me. Prince Joseph, on taking leave of me, eighteen days before, had said that he did not wish to be parted from me, and that he should make it the subject of a request to the Emperor. He would even have proposed that I should accompany him at once, had not a special authorization and even a positive order been necessary before, as a Councillor of State, I could absent myself. It was not, however, without deep emotion that I perused the letter that thus disposed of my fate. I was about to leave my country, to relinquish the position of honourable ease that I was enjoying in Paris, for an uncertain future in a foreign land. On the other hand, I should again be in the society of a man for whom I entertained a profound affection, whose amiable disposition attracted me more and more, and who lavished upon me every day the most flattering proofs of his confidence. In attaching myself to his fortunes, I sought to gratify my feelings rather than my ambition, and I took a sort of pride in making a sacrifice which I felt sure would be appreciated. Lastly, I was relinquishing functions, which, although they had brought me very little in contact with the police properly so called, had nevertheless often been repugnant to me. Therefore, I at once made up my mind to accept my new post.

The Emperor, whom I saw the next day at the Tuileries, told me not to start until he should have again seen me, and bade me wait on him the following morning at his *lever*. I accordingly presented myself at nine A. M. on the 30th of January; and having summoned me to his cabinet, he conversed with me for a considerable time. I will give an abridgement of that conversation, the last I held with him during the days of his prosperity.

"You are about to join my brother. You will tell him, that I am making him King of Naples, that he remains Grand Elector, and that I am making no change in his relations with France. But tell him, also, that the least hesitation, the slightest vacillation will ruin him utterly. In my own mind, I have another already appointed in his place, if he declines it. I shall call that other Napoleon; he shall be my son. It was my brother's behaviour at St. Cloud, it was his refusal to accept the crown of Italy, that made me adopt Eugéne for my son. I am still determined to give the same prerogative to another, if he drives me to it. Every natural affection must yield before the welfare of the State. I only recognize as kinsmen those who are useful to me. Fortune is not attached to the name of Bonaparte, but to that of

Napoleon. It is with my hand and my pen that I beget children. I can now only love those whom I esteem. Joseph must forget all the ties and all the affections of childhood! He must win esteem! He must acquire glory! He must get wounded in a battle! I can esteem him then. He must give up all his former ideas! He must no longer dread fatigue! It is only by despising that, and by hard work, that a man becomes anything, it is not by coursing hares at Morfontaine. Look at me, my last campaign with its fatigues and anxieties has fattened me. I believe that if all the Kings of Europe joined the coalition against me, I should be as fat as a London alderman.

"I am giving a splendid opportunity to my brother. Let him govern his new States firmly and with wisdom! Let him prove himself worthy of all my gifts! But to be at Naples is nothing, and no doubt you will find he has already arrived—for I do not think there can have been any resistance—Sicily must be taken. He must push on the war with vigour! He must be seen at the head of his troops! He must be firm! That is the only way of gaining the esteem of soldiers. I shall leave with him fourteen regiments of the line, five of cavalry—in all, about forty thousand men. Let him provide for that portion of my army; it is the only tax I levy on him.

"But above all, he must prevent M——'s robberies. The sums he receives from the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Naples, must provide for my troops and not be spent in enriching rogues. What M—— did in the Venetian States is frightful. And it is not over yet. He must dismiss him, therefore, at the first proof of his dishonesty! I neither fear nor spare my Generals.

"As to S——, I have already told my brother not to let him rob quite so unrestrainedly. I would not deprive him of an able man who may be of service to him; but he only went to those parts to pile up a few more millions. He is already rich enough. Watch those two men; and don't let them bring dishonour on my brother's reputation. He will make you his Minister of War.

"You have heard me; I can no longer have obscure kinsmen. Those who do not rise with me, cease to belong to my family. I am making it a family of Kings, or rather of Vice-Kings, for the King of Italy, the King of Naples, and others whom I do not name will all belong to the Federal system. I am willing however to forget the behaviour of two of my brothers towards me; let Lucien put away his wife, and I will give him a throne. As for Jerome, he has already partly made up for his offences. After his year's cruise,* I shall marry him to a princess; but I will never allow Lucien's wife to seat herself beside me."

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* He was serving in the Navy.

I interrupted this long tirade with a few words only. I endeavoured to direct the Emperor's thoughts into a milder and more kindly course; but his sharp replies convinced me that this extraordinary man was then entirely engrossed by the various combinations of his ambitious policy, and that he held natural affection as nought when it interfered with his plans. I withdrew, fully convinced that Prince Joseph's only course was one of entire submission.

M. de Talleyrand, on whom I called, after leaving the audience chamber, confirmed me in this impression, and also gave me his views of what the Prince's conduct at Naples ought to be. "He should simply ascend the throne," said the Minister, "making no constitution, leaving the nobility and the various institutions just as he finds them in the country; but he should appoint Frenchmen only to office. To give places to the natives of the country would only serve to encourage either one faction or the other.* He should instantly confer on himself the Neapolitan Order, send a decoration to the Emperor, and bestow them on the persons about him; in fact he should act exactly as if he ascended the Throne in the natural order." M. de Talleyrand added that he hoped the Prince would retain the Marquis de Gallo† as Neapolitan Ambassador to Paris, and that there was no doubt the Emperor would approve of the selection.

These counsels, little in harmony with those that Napoleon had just given me, were not and could not be followed. They show that M. de Talleyrand knew little of the state of the country, and that he was unaware that the French could make for themselves no stable position, unless they offered political advantages of some kind to the inhabitants. To leave the nation altogether under the yoke of the feudal system that had hitherto weighed it down; to make no attempt to satisfy the wants which the progress of education had called into existence, at any rate in the more intelligent part of society, if not in its whole mass; to do nothing to raise the lower classes out of the state of ignorance and prejudice in which they were kept by the influence of the priests, would have been equally impolitic and dishonourable. Prince Joseph acted on very different principles, and he was right: he thus bestowed a better government on the country, and the good he effected still subsists, notwithstanding the subsequent revolutions.

I left Paris for Naples on January 31, 1806. As I am now about to be separated from France for a period of several years, and far removed from the great political arena, I feel that the observations I made and consigned to my journal during those years will awaken less interest than may perhaps have been felt in these Memoirs up to the present time, for the stage will be a narrower one. I cannot help thinking, however, that the country I am about to describe, the events of which it was the theatre, the description of its manners in relation to the institutions which it was sought to establish, and the aspect under which I shall present Napoleon's policy with regard to his conquests, will be found interesting by the reader.

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* Since the Revolution of 1799 the country had been divided into two parties, the Republicans, who through the help of the French had been the dominant party, and the Royalists.

† The same whom I had met at Montebello in 1797.

I travelled through Lyons, Chambéry, and Savoy. I stayed two days in Rome, where I saw M. Lucien Bonaparte. He had taken up his abode in a magnificent palace, in which he had gathered together a valuable collection of pictures and antiques. Among other curiosities, I noticed the Minerva from the Giustiniani Palace ; this was a recent acquisition. Our conversation ran entirely on art and literature,* he carefully avoided every subject which might have led him to express an opinion on the political situation. I had therefore no opportunity of mentioning what had passed concerning him in my last conversation with the Emperor before my departure, and which in all probability had been said to me in order that I might repeat it. But the subject was too delicate for me to enter upon it directly, and nothing was said to lead to its introduction.

I reached Naples on the 20th of February, 1806. Prince Joseph and the army had arrived there a week before. He had met with no opposition ; Gaëta only had not surrendered, but as that fortress was not on the line of route, the advance of our troops had not been delayed, and they had entered Naples without difficulty. The Forts had capitulated, and the Island of Capri, at the entrance of the Gulf of Naples, was in the occupation of the French.

Notwithstanding this rapid success, the state of affairs was not very satisfactory, and my first thoughts were directed neither to the beauty of the country nor to the objects of interest to a traveller in the town and its neighbourhood. We were not yet masters of the country ; Gaëta would have to be regularly besieged, and time was needed to collect the necessary means for undertaking this, and for bringing a siege to a successful conclusion. Calabria was occupied by the Neapolitan army, which having fled before the French, now purposed to defend the passes of the Apennines. An expedition to Sicily, to complete the conquest of the Kingdom of

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* He was at that time engaged on an Epic poem, *Charlemagne*, which he dedicated to the Pope. It was published by Firmin Didot in 1815.

Naples, presented almost insurmountable difficulties; immense preparations would be required, as well as a navy, which we did not possess, and which we must create. The public treasury was absolutely empty; the former Court, on escaping to Palermo, had carried away money, jewels, and furniture, leaving the palace quite dismantled. The French troops were arriving from Upper Italy, with their pay already more than three months in arrear, while we were entirely without the means of either defraying this enormous debt, or providing for the current expenses by which it was every day increased.

Amid all these difficulties, it was necessary to organize an administration. The Prince, who was desirous from the very first of gaining the affection of the people whom he was called upon to govern, thought that the best means to that end would be to select his Ministers and the principal Government officials from among the Neapolitans; acting in this on views entirely different from those of M. de Talleyrand, and even from the Emperor's, who had intended me for the post of War Minister. The Prince, adopting an opposite course, at first nominated an exclusively national Ministry; but on perceiving the dislike that would be felt by French officers, to being brought into contact with a Neapolitan General, and receiving orders from him, he altered his plan, and made choice of two French Ministers: myself for War, and Salicetti for Police.* These alterations being made, the Neapolitan administration was composed as follows:—

M. de Cianciulli, a celebrated lawyer, and one of the first men in Naples, Minister of Grace and Justice.

Prince Bisignano, belonging to the San-Severini family, Minister of Finance.

Commander Pignatelli, Minister of the Navy.

The Duke de Cassano, belonging to the Serra family of Genoa, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The Duke de Campo-Chiaro, Minister of the Household.

The Marquis de Gallo, Ambassador at Paris, but recalled thence, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

M. Salicetti, Minister of Police, and myself, Minister of War.

This Administration, as the reader will perceive, was partly Neapolitan and partly French, the Neapolitan element being in the majority. It did not, however, last long without alteration. On General Mathieu Dumas' arrival shortly afterwards, the War Department was confided to him, and a Ministry of the Interior was created, to which I was appointed. Lastly, Prince Bisignano having at first made great difficulties about accepting the Ministry of

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* He had arrived at Naples a few days before me.

Finance, M. Roederer who came to Naples in the following May, took his place, and the Administration thus composed continued to exist during the whole of Joseph's reign at Naples, with a few exceptions, which I shall take occasion to note.

These first arrangements being made, the Government began to assume a regular form. The Prince applied himself assiduously to business, holding several councils, and showing himself frequently in public. Generally speaking, he was tolerably well received ; his treatment of the Neapolitans, whom he had gathered around him, and whom he had appointed to various official posts, gained him many adherents. The former Court party had fled, leaving neither love nor regret behind them, but infinite prudence was needed to restrain the pretensions of those who had accomplished the revolution of 1799, and who, having been so cruelly ill-used by the Queen and Cardinal Ruffo, were now persuaded that the French would take their part, and give them an opportunity of revenge on their persecutors. These men must neither be propitiated, nor yet driven to extremity ; a very difficult course to follow, as instructions from Paris forbade all concessions in their favour, and according to the principles of government just adopted by the Emperor, the revolutionary ideas which we had sown broadcast throughout the country seven years before, were now absolutely rejected. In every letter, the Emperor advised the Prince to disarm the Neapolitans, to distrust them, and to be constantly on his guard against them.

I will give extracts from two of these letters, from which the reader will see, more clearly than I can set them forth, the Emperor's opinions on the country, and the line of conduct he wished the Prince to adopt.

The first letter, dated March 1st, was as follows :—

"My Brother,—I have received your letters. Such difficulties as yours are experienced in all newly-conquered countries. You must expect an insurrection ; it will happen sooner or later. I suppose you have provisioned your forts, and that you have appointed commandants *ad hoc*. I send you five or six auditors ; they are well-informed young men of proved honesty, who have for some time belonged to the Council of State. Miot is, I suppose, now with you. I have sent Arcâmbal to you.* I have ordered Radet,† who is at Naples, to join you in order to organize the gendarmerie. Send the Jesuits back to their houses ; there are probably very few Neapolitans among them. I do not recognize that order.

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* One of the Commissioners Directors of the army.

† A general commanding the artillery.

"Sooner or later I will make the people of Barbary respect Neapolitan ships. But you know what brutes the Turks are. I have made them acknowledge the kingdom of Italy, but they understand nothing about it. Try to sail the Neapolitan ships under my flag ; your marine agents ought to know how to do this.

"Announce my arrival in Italy. It will, however, be difficult for me to get to Naples. It is a long journey.

"Arm your forts ! disarm the Neapolitans !

"Believe me, you will never maintain yourself in that country by public opinion. Sooner or later you will have an insurrection ; levy a tax of five or six millions on Naples. The army must be supported by the country. Be merciless to those who rob. M—— has seized on everything. We have it on the authority of S—— that he (M——) has received three millions as a gift.* He must disgorge them ; if he does not, he shall be made responsible for that sum in the accounts I shall publish in the month of May of the disbursement of the contributions levied in Germany, and I will appoint a Commission of seven or eight generals that will make him account for it."

The other letter, dated March 6th, was written in the same tone. "You can send me your convicts (*galériens*)," he wrote to his brother, "if they inconvenience you.† Turn the fifteen thousand lazzaroni out of Naples ; remember that sooner or later you will have an insurrection. Tell me about the fort ; establish, as I did at Cairo, mortar batteries, capable of destroying the town in case of revolt. You will have no need to use those murderous instruments, but they will be you safeguard. Impose on the whole kingdom a tax of thirty millions. It is well able to pay it. Naples is richer than was Vienna or Milan, when I entered those cities. Your army and your generals must live well. The kingdom of Naples, without counting Sicily, should return one hundred millions. If it does not do so, it is because the former system, established by the kings of Spain when they governed by viceroys, is still maintained. You say you have no money ; but you have a good army, and nothing can be wanting to you since you hold the fiefs and goods of the clergy. In a fortnight or three weeks a decree from you or from me must order the restoration of all property and all taxes, of whatever nature, that have been alienated from the crown, even had that alienation existed from time immemorial. You must not count on me. The five hundred thousand francs that I have sent you are the very last moneys I shall send to Naples. Not so much on account of the two or three millions it might cost me, as of the principle it involves."

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* One of M——'s secret agents in the Italian army ; he was then in Paris.

† At Naples there was a large number of convicts who gave a great deal of trouble. Many escaped and went to swell the number of brigands in the provinces. The police-soldiers who had charge of them were no better than their prisoners, and we could not employ the French troops in a service so distasteful to them.

Independently of these instructions, or to speak more accurately, of these secret orders, for the regulation of the Prince's conduct, we can discern the Emperor's general views on his future projects in his correspondence. He contemplated going to Rome, taking the title of Emperor of the West, being again crowned by the Pope in that character, leaving the spiritual power only in the hands of the Holy See, with a revenue of one or two millions ; in fact, acting Charlemagne over again, as Fontanes had often advised him. These propositions were suggested to the Pope, without being officially communicated to him. But he no sooner understood them, than he imparted them to the Cardinals, at a meeting to which they were all summoned, with the exception of Cardinal Fesch.

This assembly declared unanimously that it was better to die than to live under conditions so severe, and the Pope wrote to the Emperor refusing his consent, in a letter as firm as it was temperate.

From the letters already quoted, and from the details I have given, it is easy to perceive to what a height the pretensions of the Emperor had been raised by the success of the last campaign and the consequent humiliation of the house of Austria. The spirit of absolute dominion in which he ruled France was also manifested in his dealings with the conquered countries, and at the same time it was seen how little he respected those ancient institutions which M. de Talleyrand had tried to preserve to the nations whom he subdued. But, curiously enough, the Prince's character caused him to dislike both systems equally. He was strongly opposed to all measures of severity. He was of a sanguine disposition, and, flattering himself that he would be able, by his speeches, his pleasant words, and gracious manners, to win all hearts, he always refused to recognize enemies in those about him. Thus, far from hedging himself round with suspicion, far from adopting the threatening attitude prescribed to him by his brother, he gave way to his natural inclinations, and the smallest token of amity was sufficient to satisfy him of the good intentions of those who bestowed it. On the other hand, his philosophical opinions, the part he had played in France at the beginning of the Revolution, as an ardent republican, now rendered him inimical to all those who clung to the ancient feudal institutions, and although he greatly desired to win the good opinion of the nobility and clergy, and to this end treated those two classes more favourably than any others, yet he was not inclined to protect their rights and privileges. He merely wished that the sacrifices which he exacted should be as little onerous as possible for those who made them, and he managed this with some success in his financial measures. He had his reward. During his short term of government, he prevented all danger of an insurrection in Naples, without resorting to extreme measures, and he provided for the wants of the State without severe exactions. I shall have occasion to point this out hereafter. I now revert to the commencement of his reign.

It began, as we have seen, with many difficulties. To the local troubles were added the pretensions of the French army, and, above all, of the generals who were made rapacious by some examples of rapidly-acquired wealth. The despatches received from Paris, far from rectifying the evil, gave rise to fresh difficulties. The Emperor insisted on a complete dependence and a blind obedience. The Prince, who desired to deal honestly with the country over which he was so soon to reign, endeavoured to make himself more worthy of the throne by acting with independence, and at the same time to render his accession the beginning of a new political era for the kingdom. From this resulted an opposition, if not open, at least tacit, to everything coming from Paris. The agents sent thence, when not chosen by the Prince himself, were regarded by him as spies upon his conduct. He consequently refused admittance to the auditors of the Council of State, who had been delegated to him, and whom he dismissed from Naples, without having allowed them the least participation in public affairs.

Thus were germs of discord introduced into the new Imperial family : and they subsequently developed themselves with consequences fatal to the system established by the Emperor, and largely contributed to accelerate its downfall.

For the present these ominous symptoms of dissension were entirely confined to the interior of the Cabinet, and were only recognised by persons admitted to the Prince's confidence, and who could unravel the threads, and foresee the results. Externally, affairs progressed with every appearance of harmony and activity. The conquest of Italy was carried on ; a portion of the army under the command of General Regnier, had left Naples to occupy Calabria. That able general fulfilled his task with rapidity and success. The Neapolitan troops had been completely beaten in the passes of Campo-Tenese which command the entrance to that country, and which they had in vain attempted to defend. After this first victory the French occupied Northern Calabria without opposition ; then crossing the Sila mountains they advanced into

Southern Calabria and seized on Reggio. Still, notwithstanding this success, the country they had traversed had not submitted to them. Large bodies of brigands had come over from Sicily, and had spread from the coasts into the interior, exciting a fanatic and ignorant population on all sides to revolt. The line of communication between Naples and the army corps in Calabria was almost entirely broken; to re-establish it by dispersing the brigands, called for immediate attention, and the surest method of doing this was by instructing the population.

It was necessary, in order to overcome their repugnance to the French, to abolish the martial laws then in force, in consequence of the late state of war, and to bring about a more just and moderate form of legislation by administrative measures. The Prince thought that no one but himself could succeed in this difficult undertaking, and he determined personally to visit the disturbed parts. A still stronger motive influenced him. It was indispensable that he should make sure that the expedition to Sicily, so constantly urged on him by the Emperor, was possible, and this he could only do by visiting Reggio, and the Italian coasts bordering upon the Straits.

So soon as the Prince had resolved on this journey, he went (March 20) to inspect the siege works at Gaëta; these, however, could make but little progress until the arrival of the heavy artillery from Upper Italy. Having convinced himself that the town could not be seriously attacked within six weeks' time, he returned to Naples, and fixed his departure for the beginning of April. General Dumas, the newly-appointed Minister of War, was directed to accompany the Prince on this expedition, and I also went with him in the capacity of Minister of the Interior. The other ministers remained at Naples, as also did General Massena, who was in command of the armed forces; he was to act in concert with Salicetti, the Minister of Police, in maintaining order in the capital during the absence of the Prince—with whom they both kept up a direct correspondence.

I had been scarcely six weeks at Naples, when I was obliged to take a month's absence in the very midst of my multifarious occupations; there remained to me, therefore, but little time in which to satisfy my curiosity. Nevertheless, I was enabled to accompany the Prince in his visits to the environs, and I profited by a few leisure moments to extend my observations. I visited, in turn, the principal monuments of Naples, the remains of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the antiquities of Posilippo and of Baïa, the museums of Naples and of Portici, and even the natural curiosities of the Neapolitan Campagna; among others, the lakes of Averno, of Fusaro, and of Agnano, the celebrated Grotto del Cane, the

Châteaux of Portici, Favorta and Caserta, with their delicious gardens, where the rarest flowers grow almost wild ; but those celebrated places have already been described by so many travellers that I shall expatiate on them no farther.

CHAPTER XXII.

Prince Joseph's journey in the Calabrias—On April 3d, in Provinces, the travellers are met by a courier bringing tidings of the Emperor's decree calling Prince Joseph to the throne of Naples, and creating Prince Murat Grand Duke of Berg, and Marshal Berthier Prince of Neufchâtel—The new King's State entry into Naples—The English seize on the island of Capri—Trial and execution of the Marquis of Rodio—A Council of State is instituted—The Neapolitan and French parties in the administration—The eruption of Mount Vesuvius—The English land in the Gulf of Saint Euphemia, defeat General Regnier, and force the French to evacuate the Calabrias, which rise in insurrection—The surrender of Gaëta—Massena marches against the Calabrias, puts down the insurrection, and drives out the English—Administrative measures of the Government—Excursions made by the Author in the neighbourhood of Naples—Embarrassment caused to the Government, by the imminent danger of war in the north—The French victories remove this danger, and the Administration is in consequence carried on with greater regularity—Financial difficulties—The convents of St. Benedict and St. Bernard are suppressed, but the mendicant orders are maintained—The King and the Author disagree on this subject—A change in the ministry—The auspicious influence of the peace of Tilsit upon the Neapolitan Government—Encouragement of Arts and Sciences—Public works and improvement in the capital.

Prince Joseph left Naples on the 3d of April, 1806. I accompanied him on his journey; but as Calabria, which at that period was but little known to travellers, on account of the difficulty and danger of the roads, has now been both visited and described many times, I shall refrain from giving a detailed account of a journey which would have but little interest for the reader. We went by Salerno, Pæstum, La Chartreuse de la Padula, Lago, Negro and Campo-Tenese (at this latter place the Neapolitan army, having offered some resistance, had been completely defeated by General Regnier); and by Cassano and Cosenza. On the 13th April we were joined at Scigliano by a courier who had left Paris on the 1st. He informed us that the Emperor had declared Prince Joseph, his brother, King of Naples; Prince Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, and Marshal Berthier, Sovereign Prince of Neufchâtel. Besides this general distribution of crowns, the Emperor had definitively united the Venetian States to the Kingdom of Italy. The eldest son of the King of Italy was to bear the title of Duke of

Venice. Prince Joseph, on ascending the throne of Naples, retained his title of Grand Elector, and his rights of succession in France, but he could not possess both crowns at the same time. The Emperor reserved to himself twelve Duchies in Italy, six of which* were in the Italian kingdom, especially in the ancient States of the Venetian Republic, and six were in the kingdom of Naples, with the right of naming their titularies.

From Scigliano we continued our journey by Nicastro, Monteleone, Palmi and Reggio, where the new king was very well received, and here we stayed from the 17th to the 19th of April. From this place, the extreme point of the Peninsula, we worked our way up towards Naples by Geracio, Squillace and Catanzaro, where we remained on the 25th of April. Then, by Cotrona, Cariate, Cassano, Roca, Tarento and Foggia, we reached Caserto, the last town on our route, on the 10th of May. The next day the King made his State entry into Naples. An enormous crowd lined the streets through which he passed, and every window and balcony was filled with spectators. He was cheered by thousands of voices, and received everywhere with the real, or simulated gladness that is never wanting on such occasions. The entire ceremony consisted of a Te Deum sung by the Archbishop of Naples † in the Church of the Spirito Santo, which stands at the entrance of the Strada di Toledo. Afterwards the Archbishop joined a numerous procession, which followed the King on foot, along the whole length of that beautiful street so far as the Palace, the ordinary residence of the kings of Naples. Salvoes of artillery were fired from the fortress of Saint Elmo, and from the harbour batteries.

The King was received at the foot of the grand staircase, by the nobility and the heads of the magistracy and the administration. In the midst of this crowd, composed of all the most distinguished men of Naples, he gave audience to a deputation from the French Senate, sent to congratulate him in the name of that body on his succession to the throne. It consisted of Senators Perignone, Férino and Roederer ; the latter was the spokesman.

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* Of the six Duchies of the kingdom of Naples, four have been given ; Reggio (of Calabria) to Marshal Oudinot ; Otranto to Fouché, the Minister of Police ; Gaëta to Gaudin, Minister of Finance, and Tarento to Marshal Macdonald.

† Cardinal Louis Ruffo, who must not be confounded with the famous and sanguinary Cardinal Ruffo, who wreaked such cruel vengeance after the revolution of 1799, and to whom the Archbishop of Naples was distantly related. The Cardinal played his part with a very ill-grace on the day of King Joseph's entry into Naples, and withdrew to Rome shortly afterwards, to which city he had received orders to retire, having declined to take the oath of allegiance, so long as the new king refused to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Holy See.

Fortune, however, tempered the excess of this prosperity by some reverses. While the King was making his entry into Naples, the English appeared in the bay with three men of war and several frigates, and it was feared that they had come to disturb the ceremony by firing on the town. But this was not their purpose ; they had a more serious one than a mere demonstration against the forts that defended Naples. During the night of the 11th of May they attacked and took Capri. The small French garrison made a most gallant defence. The commander was killed, and the garrison surrendered on honourable terms. This event, though unimportant in a military sense, was vexatious in a political one, and made an unfortunate impression at the beginning of the new reign. It also added to the difficulties of the expedition to Sicily, by almost entirely intercepting the maritime communications between the dock-yards and arsenals of Naples and Castellamare, and the coasts of Calabria.

On the other hand, notwithstanding the welcome which the King had just received, this reception was far from inspiring us with confidence in the real sentiments of the people. The absence of the King was unfortunate. He had left a general of high and well-deserved reputation in the capital, but at this time he was entirely under the influence of his resentment against the Emperor, and he was endeavouring to save a portion of the fortune that was slipping from him in the immense sum which he was forced to pay as restitution money. He therefore served the King grudgingly, and no longer evinced the indomitable activity for which he had formerly been renowned, and which he again exhibited at a later period. At the same time that the military command had been given to Massena, the civil administration had been confided to M. Salicetti, Minister of Police, a man of great intelligence, but who was ignorant of any form of administration except a revolutionary one ; and who without perhaps seeking to increase his own fortune, allowed those about him to make theirs. These two men, who were but too well agreed, had created great discontent by various acts of severity, and above all by the trial and execution of the Marquis de Rodio, who was condemned to death during our journey in Calabria.

I will say a few words on this subject, because it involved a mistake which the King's government found it difficult to repair, although the King himself was quite innocent in the matter.

The Marquis of Rodio was a brigadier in the service of the former court of Naples. When the Neapolitan army retreated after the battle of Campotenese, he was arrested in Calabria or the Basilicata, but he strongly maintained that he had only surrendered as a prisoner of war. He was nevertheless brought before a court-martial, which, by a solemn judgment, declared him innocent of the crime of rebellion and incitement to insurrection, upon which it was summoned to pronounce.

Salicetti was dissatisfied with the finding, and induced Marshal Massena to summon a second court-martial. This court, in spite of the decision of the first, tried the case a second time, and after deliberating three hours condemned Rodio to death. He was executed on the following day. Proceedings so unusual, and the rapid execution that followed, could not fail to excite universal indignation. The King was not informed of the event until it was too late for remedy,* and his displeasure was extreme. But as he did not make it publicly known, and as no proceedings were instituted against the authors of so criminal an abuse of power, the natural consequences of this deplorable event were soon forthcoming.

Since the King's return, he had taken an active part in the government of the kingdom. A Council of State, constituted in much the same way as that of France, had been organized, and acted in concert with the King in drawing up regulations and decrees of general interest; thus tending to moderate the absolute power that had hitherto been concentrated in the person of the king. The Council of State supervised the Ministers, and put a curb on all arbitrary proceedings. Although I was a Minister, I entirely approved of this arrangement, in which I found support, rather than an obstacle. My personal responsibility was lessened by it, and as the details of my work, in my capacity of Chief of the Department of the Interior, required a special knowledge of the manners and customs of the country, I was enabled to obtain the knowledge, advice, and information absolutely necessary to prevent my falling into error, from the Councillors of State, who, with the exception of two or three Frenchmen, attached specially to the King's service, were all Neapolitans selected for their worth and wisdom. But my colleagues were not all of my way of thinking, the Minister of Police, especially, who was impatient of interference, easily evaded it, under pretext of the secrecy necessary to the exercise of his functions. On the other hand, notwithstanding that the King had summoned a great number of his new subjects to the Ministry, to the Council and to the higher posts of Government, the Neapolitans looked with dislike on the few Frenchmen who shared political duties with them, and, from the very beginning, a contest arose between the two parties which gave great trouble to the Government, and frequently placed me in a very painful position. I did not however allow myself to be discouraged. I devoted all my energies to the duties confided to me, and I thought I was fortunate enough to effect some little good. The fact is that the system of government established in the kingdom during my administration still subsists there.

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* He received the news on the 1st of May, at Cassano, a few minutes before leaving for Tarento.

We had hardly got back to Naples, when an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, following close on the capture of the Island of Capri by the English, became a source of alarm, in addition to that caused by their appearance on the coast, and the landing that they effected in a few places. The people of Naples, who are habitually superstitious, became more so, whenever the alarming phenomenon of a volcanic eruption takes place; they seldom fail to ascribe it to the Divine wrath, which, if allowed, they would endeavour to appease by a persecution of unbelievers and the undevout—two classes to which all Frenchmen were relegated without distinction by the priests. The eruption fortunately lasted only a few days, and had not such serious consequences as to make a very vivid impression on the imagination of the people. Lastly, the aid that the King hastened to send to those whose property had been injured by the eruption, counter-balanced the influence exerted by the monks in an opposite direction.

But although the tranquillity of Naples had remained undisturbed, the Government found itself in a position of great difficulty. It had become absolutely necessary to obtain possession of Gaëta, which served as a refuge to all the ships of the enemy on the coast, and as a safe retreat for the bands of brigands, whose expeditions intercepted communications between Naples and the Papal States. The heavy artillery had arrived, and the siege had been begun on the 3d of July; the cannonading, admirably directed by General Vallongue, who perished gloriously during the siege, produced a great effect, and encouraged us to hope for the speedy surrender of the place. Accounts from Calabria came, however, to disturb our satisfaction at this promising state of things. The English had landed, five or six thousand strong, between Nicastro and Amato in the Gulf of St. Euphemia. General Regnier, who was occupying the heights commanding the river, made a mistake, it would seem, in coming down into the plain to attack them. The English took up a position with their rear to the sea, their flank being protected by their gun-boats, and waited. Our troops advanced with their usual impetuosity, but were taken by surprise by an unexpected movement of the English; the first line fell back in disorder on the second, which likewise gave way, and we were completely beaten. General Regnier retreated through the valley of Amato, to Catanzaro and thence to Cortona, abandoning the whole of Lower Calabria. As a sequel to this disastrous engagement, a general insurrection broke out in both the Calabrian provinces. General Verdier, who was in command at Cosenza, was obliged to evacuate, not only that fortress, but the whole of Upper Calabria, and we received abundant proof that the favourable reception of us two months previously in that part of the country was due solely to the fear which the presence of our soldiery inspired. In addition to their troops of the line, the English had landed five or six hundred convicts from Sicily, on the coasts, and former chiefs of the "Masses,"* such as Fra Diavolo, Pandigrano, Carbone, and others, placed themselves at their head. These bandits kindled disturbance and sedition in the villages on the coast of Amantea, and the mountains between Cosenza and Nicastro, and raised a rebellion throughout the country, which was put down eventually only by the most violent measures and with great bloodshed.

Gaëta having surrendered on the 18th of July, after fifteen days' fighting in the trenches, and a most determined cannonading, the capitulation enabled the Government to despatch all the available troops to the two Calabrias, which had now become the centres of disturbance. Marshal Massena was placed at the head of the expedition which was designed to reconquer the country, and to quell the insurrection. In a Cabinet Council held on the 24th of July, a sort of manifesto was read aloud to us by command of the King. It was drawn up by Salicetti, and was intended to regulate the policy of the Marshal on his advance into the country. According to the provisions of this manifesto, the two Calabrias were declared to be in a state of rebellion; the goods and chattels of the rebels were to be confiscated and sold for the benefit of those inhabitants who had remained faithful, and who were called by the name of patriots. Gibbets were to be erected, and the revolted villages were to be burned to the ground; all these measures being similar to those which had been taken by the Convention during the Vendean War. It was easy to see that they were very distasteful to the King; but as their indispensable necessity had been represented to him with great exaggeration, he imagined himself obliged to approve of them, and feared to show weakness by drawing back. He believed it his duty, therefore, to support these measures in the Council, and I perceived with regret that Salicetti, by working on his fears, had regained the ascendancy of which his conduct in the Rodio affair should have deprived him for ever.

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* During the first French campaign in the Kingdom of Naples the name of *Masses* was given to the gatherings of peasants organized by Cardinal Ruffo.

However, matters were not pushed as far as I had at first apprehended. A debate took place as to whether the manifesto should be made public, or should merely be handed over, confidentially, to Marshal Massena, as a guide for his conduct, and I seized the opportunity of endeavouring to secure that, if the spirit of the manifesto could not be abandoned, it might, at least, be modified. I pointed out that to keep it secret would be an act of cowardice, and would give rise to the idea that either the King could not venture publicly to acknowledge the severe measures that he judged to be necessary, or that those measures were taken by the Marshal against his will ; both suppositions being equally derogatory to the Royal dignity and character. My arguments prevailed, and so soon as the publication of the manifesto was resolved on, certain modifications were introduced, which, without interfering with the severity imposed by the necessities of the case, removed its objectionable characteristics. Lastly, and this was a still greater advantage, the King seemed resolved on returning to the Calabrias, where, there can be no doubt, his presence would have a salutary effect. The claims of Marshal Massena, who laid down conditions, as it were, before undertaking the expedition, and who demanded more money and more soldiers than the Government was able to supply, had deeply annoyed the King, and he felt the need of escaping from the thraldom that the Marshal, who was in league with Salicetti, was endeavouring to impose on him ; perhaps, he also desired to diminish the influence of the latter over the Government. But he did not carry out his resolve with sufficient firmness. The King himself advanced no farther than the frontier of Upper Calabria, and after passing a few days alternately at Padula and Viotri, where he set up a camp of observation, he returned to Naples about the 15th of August. Some attempts at landing by the English, which had added fresh bands of brigands to the neighbourhood of the capital, had been the cause of serious alarm, and seemed to call for the presence of the King. Marshal Massena therefore advanced into the Calabrias alone ; some villages were burned, and terror forced those parts of the country into which the French arms were carried, into submission. Cosenza and Catanzaro were re-taken, and the English, who were forced to give up the Gulf of St. Euphemia, returned to Sicily. Yet the country was not entirely subdued ; the insurrection, when quelled in one spot, would break out afresh in another, and although the Queen of Naples had kindled, from her retreat in Sicily, and English gold had fostered the rebellion, yet not to those causes alone must we attribute its existence. The death of Rodio, the arbitrary conduct of the generals, the absence of protection for the peaceable inhabitants, or of indulgence towards those who had only momentarily swerved from their allegiance, a misplaced confidence in those "Nationals" who assumed the name of patriots, and were bent on revenge; all these causes of suspicion and disturbance, and, above all, the hopelessness of obtaining pardon, perpetuated feelings of resentment, and combined to make the ignorant and barbarous populace more than ever amenable to the monks, who zealously promoted political disturbances, and used religious fanaticism as a means to that end.

While these calamities, which the complicated state of affairs and of public opinion rendered almost inevitable, were laying waste one of the most beautiful districts of the kingdom, the King, who was more securely settled at Naples than he had heretofore been, continued to devote himself to the task of government. He was carrying out the plans he had formed for the destruction of feudality, and preparing the way for the partial suppression of some of the convents; he was also meditating the institution of a new Order of Knighthood, intended to take the place of the suppressed Order of St. Januarius. He also gave his attention to the other branches of the administration, and particularly to public education, which was greatly improved. I assisted him in these beneficial changes, and M. Roederer, in his capacity of Finance Minister, obtained his sanction to an excellent scheme, by which the collection of local taxes, long since unjustly alienated from the State and placed in the hands of the former barons, was recovered from them; while they were amply indemnified by being made creditors of the State. All other State-trusts were subsequently treated in a similar way, and it is from this mode of payment that the Neapolitan 'Rentes,' which still enjoy considerable repute in Europe, derive their origin. But, as I have no intention of describing these various steps in detail, I confine myself in this place to simply pointing them out, and stating that, on the whole, they were characterized by the judicious application of sound principles and by the strictest justice.*

Although my time was usually engrossed by the duties of the ministry that had been entrusted to me, I took advantage of occasional leisure to make various excursions in the neighbourhood of Naples. I will linger awhile over those which made most impression on me, and to which some slight interest may still attach. Among them is an excursion to Mount St. Angelo and a journey to Nola.

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* The reader who feels interested in the improvements made in the Neapolitan Administration during the reign of King Joseph, will find a description of them in my *Account* (rendered to the King on March 28, 1808) *of the state of the Kingdom of Naples during the years* 1806 *and* 1807, which was published at Naples in Italian and in French.

The King had taken up his abode at *Quì-si-sana,*[*] a royal residence above Castellamare. The woods around it afford delicious shade in the burning heats of summer. The house is built in front of a mountain, which we climbed on the 17th of August, 1806. The path is rough and rugged, but shaded to the very summit by beautiful trees. It took us two hours and a half to reach the bare and rugged ridge which forms the apex of the mountain, whence we enjoyed a magnificent view. Beneath us lay the Bay of Naples, in its widest extent; in the background was Vesuvius, and the rich plains stretching from the foot of the mountain unto the sea; with Mount Posilippo (Virgil's tomb); the Islands of Procida and Ischia, and Cape Misena in the distance. We overlooked at the same time Sorrento (the birthplace of Tasso), Vico, Castellamare, and the whole southern coast of the bay. But the summit on which we stood is not the highest point of the chain, and in order to reach it, a much higher and almost inaccessible peak must be climbed. A hermitage built on the summit of this peak is called Mount St. Angelo, or *Di tre pizzi.*[†] We undertook this ascent also, through the most splendid scenery. Magnificent trees, and picturesque masses of rocks formed charming pictures at every step. At last, we reached the peak that was the object of our journey. From this point we had the same admirable view, as from our first resting place, but of vaster extent. We could see, in addition, the Gulf of Salerno, the coast of Pæstum, and in the distance the mountains of the Cilento.[‡] No words can describe the extreme beauty of the view. The air was clear, but very cold in the shade. We left this exquisite spot with regret; it is far more remarkable than the Camaldoli visited by every traveller, but it is less frequented on account of the distance and the difficulty of the way thither.

The whole mountain is of chalk formation, lying for the most part in horizontal strata. In some places the ground is covered with volcanic ashes, evidently cast there by the eruptions of Vesuvius, for there is nothing volcanic in the formation of the mountain. We reached Quì-si-sana on our return by four o'clock P. M.

A few days after this first excursion, I left Naples, to be present at some excavations in the neighbourhood of Nola.

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[*] "*Quì-si-sana*"—Health is regained here. This name was given to the building on account of the salubrity of the air, which contributes to the speedy restoration of health when weakened by the heat of Naples.

[†] "*The three peaks*" which crown the mountain. That of St. Angelo is the loftiest.

[‡] A region of the province of Salerno, situated between Sela and Alento, is so called. Pæstum and Velia, or Elea, which has given its name to a sect of philosophers in Cilento.

Four newly-discovered tombs were opened in my presence ; in each was a full-grown skeleton and a few vases ; but the latter were neither very large nor of fine workmanship ; and as the process of excavation is always the same, and has been very frequently described, I will not linger over that which I witnessed.

The enjoyment I found in these excursions was of brief duration, and I was soon recalled to the cares of government. The state of public affairs was causing great disquiet. The impending war in the north between France and Prussia, the emissaries from the court of Palermo who were scattered throughout the country, and the money provided by England, had emboldened the bands of brigands, who often showed themselves in close proximity to Naples. Some of the Neapolitans who had accepted office under the new King took fright, and several of them resigned their posts and even quitted the kingdom lest they should be exposed to the vengeance of the former rulers, if the French were once more forced to relinquish their conquest. In this precarious position, credit utterly disappeared ; the collection of taxes became more difficult than ever, and even had it been effected with regularity and completeness, it could not have sufficed to the needs of the State. The troops were therefore living haphazard, as it were, at the very gates of the capital. The most alarming rumours were in circulation, and were everywhere eagerly received. The Council of State, instituted by the King, far from helping him out of his difficulties, served rather to increase them. Its members, fearing to involve themselves more deeply, created fresh obstacles, and rejected every financial measure that was proposed as a means of escape from the crisis, without suggesting any others in their place. Their opposition did not spring from a wish to promote better measures than those under discussion ; they rejected everything indiscriminately ; they took pleasure in pointing out the defects in any given system, without seeking for a remedy, and restricted themselves to discrediting beforehand every measure taken by the Government. The King's intention, in forming that Council, was to convince the people that the resolutions he was obliged to take were needful, and by having them fully discussed by the principal men of the kingdom whom he had summoned to advise him, he had hoped, so to speak, to obtain advocates who would defend and support them in public opinion. From this point of view, the Council was a wise and politic institution ; but when the moment of danger came, an exactly contrary effect was produced. Immediately on the appearance of uncertainty in the future—and in our then position that uncertainty daily increased—the Council became merely an organized assembly of malcontents, and enemies of the Government.

Meanwhile the war that had just broken out in the north, on which our enemies had built their hopes, and which had alienated so many timid councillors of State and officials from us and from French interests, was not turning out according to their expectations. A campaign of a few days, the most prodigious successes, a victory on the field of Jena which annihilated the power of Prussia ; events so extraordinary and so unexpected, of which we heard in such rapid succession that at first the reports were received with incredulity, produced such a transformation that our discouragement was replaced by confidence.

Our former adherents returned to us ; our enemies became divided among themselves ; the bands that infested the province of Lavore were pursued and defeated ; the island of Sora, an important position at the extremity of Lavore, was recovered from the bandit chief Fra Diavolo, who had seized upon it, and shortly afterwards he himself was captured. This fortunate train of circumstances gave fresh vigour to the Government, and though peace was not yet made, although there was still some danger of war with Russia, and the disturbances in Calabria were far from being quelled, yet the course of affairs became smoother. A few desirable administrative rules were debated and carried ; in short, the year 1806 came to a close under auspices sufficiently favourable to encourage the hope that we should be able to consolidate the new Government during the succeeding year.

Our greatest difficulty was the state of the finances. At the beginning of 1807, we were four millions of ducats in arrears ; * the needs of the State amounted to 1,200,000 ducats per month, and our income barely reached to 600,000. As it was impossible to supply these urgent needs from ordinary sources, the King resolved on sending General Cesar Berthier to the Emperor, to ask for a loan, and for a grant of a million per month, for the purpose of supplying part of the pay of the French army of occupation. At the same time that this measure was resorted to, another which had been some months in contemplation—that of suppressing a certain number of the monasteries—was carried out, and I must pause here for a moment, to explain the principles on which we acted in this latter operation which was both political and financial.

The question was discussed in two private councils, held respectively on the 6th and the 17th of February, 1808. The Duke de Cassano, Minister for Ecclesiastical affairs, made a lengthy statement, in which he proposed the reform of three hundred and twenty-two convents, the revenues of which amounted to 444,000

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* Seventeen million of francs (£680,000), reckoning the ducat at four francs, twenty-five centimes.

ducats (about two million francs, £80,000), the monks, whose houses were to be suppressed to be removed to those monasteries that remained. But in the draft of the decree he had inserted two articles, one of which restored to several orders the right of receiving novices and of admitting to profession, and the other held out hopes of the same favour to those orders not included in the first provision, if by their behaviour and submission, they showed themselves worthy of it. The whole thing, therefore, was reduced to a transaction, by which a tax was levied on the monks, and their existence was, as it were, confirmed afresh, as the price of the sacrifices imposed on them at the moment.

By this cunning evasion, M. de Cassano conciliated the views of the clergy, and particularly those of their head, the Archbishop of Tarento, who was alarmed at the blow that threatened the monkish militia. On the other hand, nothing could be more opposed to the interests of the King, and to public opinion. I raised my voice in protestation ; for such a transaction, in my opinion, involved a greater danger than would have resulted from total suppression.

"If," said I, "the state of our finances allowed us to dispense with the help that will be afforded by the sale of the monastic property, I should not hesitate to propose that we should postpone any action, whether favourable or unfavourable to the continued existence of the religious orders, and trust to time and experience for riper counsels. But time presses, an empty treasury needs an extraordinary remedy, and I know of none so practicable as this. Therefore, we must have recourse to it, and take some action, or we perish. Compelled, as we are, by necessity, it seems to me better to strike one decisive and immediate blow, than to take hesitating half-measures. To reform a certain number of monasteries, to apply a portion of the revenues, or of the capital of the suppressed houses, to the public necessities, will excite, you may depend on it, as much discontent among the clergy, as the entire suppression of all, without gaining for the Government the support that would be obtained from sensible men, if the latter course were adopted. If, as I apprehend, the Council throws out M. de Cassano's proposal in favour of novices and professed subjects, there is no probability that the device of suppressing a certain number of houses only will satisfy even those who are most easily satisfied. They will perceive that the decree gives them no guarantee for either their individual existence or for that of their order, and they will all perfectly understand that they have merely obtained a respite.

"This will greatly endanger the security of the State. The monks, full of resentment, that will be daily increased by the recollection of the past, and by regret for wealth that they have lost, will create hosts of enemies for us in the confessional. They will communicate to their docile penitents their own dislike of a Government that has used them hardly, and which leaves even their present reduced condition in a state of uncertainty, and subject to the chances of further spoliation !

"On the other hypothesis, that of complete suppression, the discontent will be equal ; greater, if you will ; but impotent. The monks will not only be stricken, but scattered. In private life, to which they must return, it will be easier to watch them, and if they seek to injure the Government, their influence will be less formidable, because it will be only personal, and they can be quietly removed without the need of publicity, which tells upon the populace, by exciting the kind of interest always aroused by persecution, real or imaginary. Lastly, there will certainly be some few monks to whom the restoration of their liberty, through the suppression of the religious orders, will be agreeable, and these we shall have for friends rather than for enemies.

"Thus, the political danger is less, the execution is more easy, the results greater ; the Government will gain strength by manifesting firmness and boldness, and by giving the semblance of a State measure to a financial operation. This is an advantage that ought never to be neglected, when it is of possible attainment."

My arguments were approved by part of the Council ; but the question was adjourned, and we separated without having come to any decision.

A few days later there was another meeting of the Council, and the proposed decree against the monks was again brought forward. The propositions of the Duke de Cassano were negatived, and after a long discussion it was agreed that total suppression should be decreed only against the orders which followed the rules of St. Benedict and St. Bernard as being those whose wealth would more abundantly replenish the exhausted treasury. Pensions were granted to the monks of the suppressed houses, and all had the option of joining the ranks of the secular clergy. This mode of action, preferable to that which had been proposed at first, had the advantage of lopping off entirely the two principal branches of the tree, and made the extirpation of the root more easy when the time for effecting it should come. In vain I opposed a certain provision of the new law by which the mendicant orders were invited to assume the posts of teachers in the elementary schools. Not only did the King fail to support my views, but he adopted a contrary view, and this difference of opinion brought about a sharp altercation between us. The provision in question seemed to me particularly offensive, especially when contained in an act which suppressed the learned orders, to whom science is under such great obligations. Moreover, the King's action in the matter was taken less from personal conviction than from suggestions emanating, at the time of which I speak, from Paris. There was just then in France a marked animosity against what was called philosophy or liberalism, and an official fury against Rousseau, Voltaire, and the writers of the preceding century who had distinguished themselves by the independence or freedom of their opinions ; and as the papers in which they were attacked exclusively enjoyed the favour of the Government, they increased in number, and their influence under such protection could not fail to extend even to us. A settled intention to restore the former prejudices, the old errors, and all the dependence born of ignorance was manifest. "But," people would say to me, "it is impossible to deny that abuse and unseasonable application of principles drawn from the books that you defend, dragged us into an abyss of evil from which even now we are barely emerging."

"I admit it," I replied, "but are we to blame the principles themselves ? Are we, in order to govern, and to maintain peace throughout society, to plunge mankind into darkness once more ? Must we necessarily impose silence on our reason in order to ensure tranquillity. I will never believe it ; the use of man's noblest attribute can never be inimical to his happiness. Consider, besides, though this retrograde doctrine may for the moment confirm the empire of him who governs France and almost governs Europe, what will it do in the future ? Does it not clearly tend to place France once more under the dominion of her former masters ? Does it not awaken regret at every instant in the hearts of those who contributed to the great changes that have taken place ? Does it not lead to giving glory and honour to those only who defended the old Monarchy of the Bourbons and who shed their blood for them ? And if the strength of him, for whom alone the writers of the day make any exception, retards for awhile the consequences of this teaching, there is nothing to guarantee his successors against its daily increasing influence. The edifice raised by his genius at so great a cost will crumble away at his death, because its foundations, which were laid in the Revolution, are constantly shaken and undermined by the condemnation of that Revolution, and of the opinions which produced it.

"These consequences certainly do not escape the piercing glance of the Emperor ; but they apparently alarm him but little. I fear that he takes more pleasure in the thought of the posthumous glory he would acquire by the ruin and the evils that would follow on his death, than in that of the repose and happiness he could confer on France by moderation and deference to liberal opinions ; that he is more anxious to be admired by posterity as an extraordinary man, the only one who could conceive and maintain so stupendous a fabric, than to be blessed as the founder of one less brilliant but more lasting."

By arguments such as these, I endeavoured, in a conversation with the King on the 18th of February, to defend my opposition to the measure which entrusted the education of the young to the mendicant orders. Without disputing the justice of my remarks, the King thought me too extreme in my opinions, and accused me of looking at the gloomy side of everything. The result, however, has proved that I was right.

Nevertheless, whether my remarks made some impression, or whether he felt the necessity of removing the Duke de Cassano, who, although he possessed many private virtues, was a dangerous counsellor because of his leaning in favour of priests in general, the King suddenly, and to the surprise of every one, made great changes in his Cabinet. The Ministry of Public Worship was abolished, and the Duke de Cassano was made Grand Huntsman ; General Dumas left the Ministry of War, which, strangely enough, was joined to that of Police, and M. Salicetti thus found himself at the head of the two most important departments. General Dumas received the post of Grand Marshal of the Palace. The place of Master of the King's Household, which had been given to the Duke de Campo-Chiaro, was abolished, and the duties relating to the Fine Arts and the Royal Manufactories, which appertained to it, were relegated to me in my capacity of Minister of the Interior. The other duties of the post, which related exclusively to the expenses of the King's household, and the administration of the Crown property, were confided to State Councillor M. Macedonio, who received the title of General Steward of the Household. The Duke de Campo-Chiaro was made ambassador to Holland. M. Roederer retained Finance, and Prince Pignatelli-Cerchiara the Navy ; the latter was also entrusted with Public Worship, and consequently with the execution of the law for the suppression of some of the religious orders.

But only a few weeks after these arrangements, which were made public on the 15th of April, 1807, had been concluded, the King seemed to repent the mark of confidence he had bestowed on Salicetti, and sent for me early in the morning on the 11th of May. Serious complaints had been made to him of the Commissary of Police at Castellamare, a creature of the Minister's, and turning his displeasure against the patron of this man, the King wanted to dismiss M. Salicetti from Naples. Although his anger was righteous and that I could but approve it, I opposed with all my might the step that the King purposed to take. It appeared to me that it would place him in an unfavourable light. To bestow on a man the most striking mark of confidence, to entrust him to two State departments, and on the following day to take both away from him, without being able to explain the cause of so sudden a disgrace, must have seemed mere caprice and inconsistency in the eyes of the public. I laid this before the King, and succeeded in appeasing him. I should not have recommended Salicetti for posts of such importance had my opinion been asked beforehand, but now that they had been conferred on him, it seemed to me more objectionable to take them suddenly away, than to let him retain them, more especially as it was impossible to deny that he had the necessary abilities for the suitable discharge of both orders of duties. Things remained therefore as they were. I may even say that from this time, the Government assumed a firmer attitude. The finances improved under M. Roederer, and a grant of 500,000 francs (£20,000) per month from the Emperor to assist in paying the French troops, rendered the condition of the Treasury less precarious. Affairs in Calabria also were less gloomy; in the latter part of May, General Regnier defeated an army corps of Sicilian troops, under the command of General the Prince of Hesse-Philippsthal, and as a consequence of this success re-entered Reggio. Lastly, the Emperor's victories in the North, the reduction of Dantzic, the battle of Friedland, gained by us, and the peace of Tilsit, by which the negotiations opened after that battle were concluded, contributed greatly to the improvement of our position. We had scarcely anything to fear from open attack, the English and Sicilian troops seemed to have left off harassing us, and although, while open warfare had been given up, secret enmity was more active than ever, and Queen Caroline's agents travelled through the provinces, endeavouring to incite them to revolt, the tranquillity of the capital and of the principal towns in the kingdom was not seriously disturbed. The police having arrested some important persons involved in a conspiracy which was to be carried into execution on the feast of Corpus Christi, the ceremonies and procession at which the King was present in great pomp, passed in perfect quiet. A popular tumult at Naples on the 1st of June, on the occasion of the execution of two men who had been condemned to death, lasted but a moment, and was quelled all the more easily that it was in no wise a political movement, but was caused by the absence of the usual military precautions on such occasions; these the commandant of the place had omitted to take.

Thus, towards the middle of 1807, the country was, on the whole, quiet and submissive. Several journeys successively made by the King in the provinces of Lecce and the Abruzzi, the prudence of his conduct on those occasions, his righteous severity towards some officials of whom well-founded complaints had been made to him during his progress, his affability of manner, and, above all, the strict justice with which he acted in all administrative measures, obtained for him, if not real regard, at least the esteem and respect of the inhabitants among whom he travelled.

This improvement in the state of affairs, and the more favourable attitude of the people, who were now beginning to be reconciled to the new order of things, enabled the King to turn his thoughts, on his return to Naples, to the encouragement of the arts and sciences, and especially to the embellishment of the capital. My labours were increased, but became very pleasant. The public works, the special schools of painting and architecture, the libraries and museums that were under my charge, gave me frequent opportunities of indulging my tastes for the various branches of human knowledge that I had endeavoured to cultivate. I was enabled to assist some artists, and to promote the wishes of scientific and distinguished men, who are to be found in far greater numbers at Naples than is generally believed. The streets and the beautiful promenades of the capital were thoroughly repaired. A new road to Capo di Monte, leading from thence to the high road from Rome to Naples, was opened and made practicable. The King passed over it for the first time on the 15th of August, 1807, the fête day of the Emperor, which was marked both by the inauguration of the new road,* and by the celebration of the peace of Tilsit, of which we had been informed a few days before.

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* The following inscription was placed at the entrance of a tunnel that had been opened in the mountain in order to afford a passage for the road. This tunnel had been pierced with great difficulty,

JOSEPHUS NAPOLEO
Rex utriusque Siciliæ
quâ novus ad mediam urbem
â Galliâ pateret aditus
viam
magnitudine operis usque intentatam
quâ depresso quâ effosso monte
fecit
eamque auspicatissimâ die
quum magni Napoleonis
Galliarum Imperatoris Italiæ Regis
armis et virtute
pax gentibus data
publicis ludis celebraretur
De augusti fratris nomine
Napoleoniam nuncupavit
Postridie Idibus Sextilis A. CICDCCCVII
Regni sui II.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The solemnity of the miracle of St. Januarius—King Joseph being summoned to an interview with Napoleon at Venice proceeds thither and learns that the Emperor intends him for the throne of Spain—Joseph agrees to his brother's project—Attempted assassination of Salicetti the Minister of Police—The island of Corfu is revictualled by a squadron under Admiral Ganteaume—Sensation produced at Naples by the display of a French Naval force—Arrival of Queen Julia—The King sets out to join the Emperor at Bayonne—Before relinquishing the throne of Naples, he institutes a new order of Knighthood, instead of that of St. Januarius, founds a Royal Society of Science and Literature, and gives a Constitutional Statute to the Kingdom—Joseph abdicates the throne of Naples, to which the Grand Duke of Berg is raised by the Emperor, under the name of Joachim Napoleon—The Author leaves Naples to follow King Joseph to Spain—He stays in Rome, where the rupture between Napoleon and the Pope is the cause of hostile measures—At Lyons he meets King Murat on his way to take possession of the throne of Naples—Melancholy account given by that prince of the state of affairs in Spain—He at last joins King Joseph at Miranda de Ebro—Appendix: Letter from Rome on the rupture between the Pope and the Emperor—Secret instructions given by the Holy See.

I BECAME more exclusively occupied than ever with those duties which I found such pleasure in discharging, and I looked upon the short interval in which I exercised them as one of the happiest periods of my life. I gave myself up to them entirely, and found no difficulty in doing so. I visited again with revived interest all the works of art and the national establishments, not for the purpose of satisfying an idle curiosity, but with the desire and the hope of contributing to their maintenance and improvement. I cannot, however, record, in this place, the result of my observation of the manners and genius of the people. My stay at Naples was too brief to enable me to do so with success; moreover the political changes that have since taken place in the country would render them at the present time both valueless and obsolete. But I must not omit all description of the celebrated miracle of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, at which I was officially present in my capacity of Minister of the Interior, and in that of head of the municipal administration of Naples.

The miracle usually takes place during the octave of the Saint's feast, which occurs on September 17. In 1807 it took place on the 24th of the month.* I was received in an apartment of the Archiepiscopal palace, where I found the President and the members of the Naples Senate, as the municipal body is designated, and attended by this retinue I proceeded to the magnificent chapel of St. Januarius, which forms part of the Metropolitan Church.† We took our places on the altar-steps in a sort of enclosure, divided by a balustrade from the rest of the chapel, which was crowded with people, and especially with women. Immediately afterwards the ceremony commenced.

A deep recess in the wall behind the altar contains the relics of St. Januarius ; these consist of a silver-gilt shrine, shaped like a bust, in which are placed the skull-bones of the saint, and of a kind of remonstrance also of silver gilt, in which is set, between two crystals, a vial, containing a red substance asserted to be coagulated blood, collected, according to tradition, when the Saint suffered martyrdom by decapitation, and which certainly has all the appearance of blood. The closed recess is secured by three locks. The keys are deposited with the various civil and religious authorities. The President of the Senate keeps one, the Dean of the Chapter another, and the third is, I believe, in the custody of the Archbishop of Naples, or, in his absence, in that of the Grand Vicar. On the recess being opened, a surpliced Canon brought out first the remonstrance, and after showing to the people that the substance it contained was coagulated, and saying aloud—*Il sangue è duro*, he placed the relic on a silver pedestal, ready prepared for it on the Epistle side of the altar. He then brought out the bust of the saint, and placed it on another pedestal on the Gospel side. The bust was stripped of some simple decorations in the shape of a mitre and a sort of cope in common material, and others were substituted of the same kind, but much more magnificent, embroidered in gold and silver and adorned with precious stones. A splendid golden collar was hung round the neck. This had been presented by the new King to the Chapel of St. Januarius. Lastly, two bouquets of roses were fastened, one on each side of the breast.

This ceremony being completed, the officiating Canon advanced to the Epistle side, took up the remonstrance containing the vial and turned it towards the shrine of the Saint, without, however, bringing the two in contact. It is at that moment and in consequence of that proximity, that the blood ought to liquefy and the miracle be accomplished. But as the prodigy does not occur instantaneously, the hour is noted at which these two sets of relics are brought together, and fatal or favourable inductions are made according to the greater or less interval before the liquefaction takes place. During this time Litanies are sung by the choir, in which those present join, while the women implore the Saint to work the miracle.

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* The miracle is repeated also in May and December.

† This church, like many others in Italy, is better known as the Duomo.

Meanwhile the priest who holds the remonstrance moves it from time to time, pausing to see whether any change is taking place, and if he perceives none, he advances towards the people, and showing them the relic, he repeats sadly *È duro.* I remarked that he did this three different times without success, and that each time prayers recommenced with redoubled fervour. At length, the fourth time, after a pause of sixteen minutes, the miracle took place. I was near the Canon, and I perceived the substance begin to detach itself from the sides of the glass, then slowly drop, and spread so as to fill a greater space, *i.e.* nearly the whole bottle, which appears half empty when the matter it contains is in a solid form.

At the moment of the miracle, tears, sighs, and sobs succeeded to the cries of those present. I remarked women, who during the ceremony had been in a sort of convulsive delirium, burst into tears and throw themselves on their knees with every sign of devotion ; others cast themselves on the ground and struck the pavement with their foreheads ; each one, in short, expressed in her own way the reverence which she felt. Many of those present kissed the remonstrance which the officiating priest held out to them for that purpose, after which he put it back on its pedestal, where it remained exposed for the rest of the day.

While I was dividing my time between the duties of my post and the study of the customs of the country, and at the very moment that a happy future seemed awaiting me, events taking place at a long distance were destined to remove me from occupations that I cherished, and to cast me once more into the midst of trouble and disturbance. Towards the end of November, the King received a letter from the Emperor telling him he wished to see him at Venice, whither he intended to proceed on the 2d of December. The King set out on the 28th of November, and the interview that followed altered his whole destiny. After the Peace of Tilsit, the Emperor, having reached the utmost height of power, and having contracted engagements with the Emperor Alexander, his admirer and emulator, the actual purpose of which was the division of the world between those two potentates, turned his thoughts towards Spain, where the endeavours of the Prince of the Asturias to overthrow the Prince of the Peace, and the dissensions in the Royal family, furnished a favourable opportunity for the furtherance of the plans that had been arranged on the Niemen.

He unfolded these gigantic projects to his brother and admitted him to a participation in them. He represented the throne of Charles V. as more noble and more important than that of Naples. Spain was the second monarchy in Europe, now that France had taken the first rank ; could he let it fall into other hands? The Emperor of Russia had already agreed, and Napoleon advised his brother to send a confidential agent to St. Petersburg, as the bearer of friendly messages, and thus to inaugurate an alliance which their common interests would soon cement. So dazzling a prospect, designs so vast, the apparent glory that would be attained by participating in them, their almost infallible success, could not fail to fascinate Joseph and set fire to his ambition. Moreover, it would have been no easy task for him to resist a will so strong as that of the Emperor. He yielded, therefore ; and the arrangements which in the following year were carried out in Spain, and whose fatal consequences gave the first blow to the marvellous prosperity that was astonishing the world, were agreed upon at Venice. After despatching Colonel Marie, one of his aides-de-camp, to Russia, where he was received with great honour, the King returned to Naples, and from that time looked upon himself as only a temporary occupant of the Two Sicilies. But as the utmost secrecy was to be preserved until the moment of executing the new projects, he announced the approaching arrival of the Queen, his wife, in order to baffle any suspicions to which the interview at Venice might have given rise.

Such was our position in Naples at the close of 1807. I was informed by the King, in confidence, of the impending change ; and, although I resolved on accompanying him to the country over which he was soon to be called upon to reign, I could not without deep regret give up all the plans I had formed, and the hopes I had conceived for the improvement of the institutions that we had founded. Yet, although my zeal was cooled, it was not utterly extinguished. Above all, I felt it incumbent on me to leave proofs of the efforts we had made, in the midst of all kinds of difficulty, to improve the administration of the kingdom of Naples. It was principally with this view that I drew up an account of the situation of the country, and presented it to the King on the 28th of March, 1808. I think this authentic document ought to suffice to clear the reign of Joseph Napoleon from the unjust aspersions of certain travellers, who have too readily believed the lying assertions of his enemies, and those especially of the Archbishop of Tarento (Capocelatre), a clever man, but not a first-rate administrator, who could not forgive us the suppression of the monasteries.

I will not dilate on this subject, but will resume my narrative of the events that took place between the King's return from Venice and his departure from Naples. The most noteworthy event of that period was the attempted assassination of M. Salicetti.

On the 31st of January, 1808, I was awakened very early with the news that part of the house occupied by the Minister of Police had fallen down in the night. I thought at first, that it was a mere accident occasioned by faulty construction, or the omission of needful repairs after the last earthquake, which had injured some of the buildings in the town. But a report soon got about that the house had been blown up by an explosion. I repaired to the scene with M. Roederer, and on making an examination of the ruins, I could no longer doubt that they were the result of a subterranean explosion. The following are the particulars.

M. Salicetti returned home an hour after midnight. He had scarcely entered his room, when he felt a sudden movement and heard the fall of part of his house. He thought at first that both were the result of an earthquake. He hastened to the apartment of his daughter, recently married to the Duke of Laviello ; but the three stories of the wing in which she resided were already on the ground. He heard the duchess's voice, and in rushing towards her received severe contusions on his head and legs. At length, with the help of some servants, he succeeded in extricating her from beneath five or six feet of rubbish, under which she had been buried for more than a quarter of an hour. By a strange chance, her husband, who was beside her, was flung from his bed, and found himself, unhurt, in the middle of the courtyard.

A committee appointed by the King, and consisting of General Campredon, commanding the Engineers, General Dedon, Commandant of Artillery, and three architects, was directed to inquire into and to report on the causes of the catastrophe. Their report proved beyond all doubt that it was to be attributed to the explosion of a considerable quantity of compressed gunpowder. Fuses were found, and cords, and a kind of wicker basket which had contained the powder ; and from the indications it was concluded that the authors of the crime had employed one of the machines contained in boats called *catamarans* which the English had made use of before Boulogne. We learned afterwards that the machine had been brought from Sicily in a barque that had put in at Chiaja, opposite Salicetti's house, and that it had been deposited in a cellar belonging to a Neapolitan apothecary who had formerly lodged in a room of that house and who was allowed the privilege of retaining it. This man's sons had been implicated in the conspiracy that was to have taken effect on Corpus Christi in the preceding year, and it was probably they who contrived that the machine should be placed under the house. After setting fire to a slow match, the criminals had had time to escape to their boat and to make off.* Other things which came out by degrees proved the facts so clearly, that many persons who at first had insinuated that the occurrence was a mere accident, and that the Minister, to increase his own importance, had represented it as the result of a conspiracy, were forced to relinquish that malicious interpretation.

In the course of the day I saw M. Salicetti, who informed me that the attempt to which he had so nearly fallen a victim, was to be attributed to causes still more serious than had been supposed. The island of Capri, since it had fallen into the hands of the English, was the headquarters of emissaries sent out from Sicily. On that island plots were concocted with a more important purpose than mere revenge against an individual, whose death would be of too little importance to be the only object of the conspiracy. He believed that he now held the clue to a much vaster plan, of which the catastrophe of the past night was but a very small part. A portion of the design of these secret enemies was to get possession of Fort St. Elmo, and by so doing to create a great commotion. Even if the disturbance produced no definite political result, it would at least afford an opportunity of gratifying both private animosities and Queen Caroline's hatred of the French, which was only to be slaked with their blood.

There was no exaggeration in this alarm, and plots of a similar nature to that which had just failed were formed from time to time. But they were all abortive. The danger which M. Salicetti had incurred, served as a warning against those that threatened the palace and even the person of the King. Precautionary measures were taken, and a few acts of severity put an end to these evil projects.

In the beginning of March, 1808, the arrival of a French squadron in the Adriatic, and the Emperor's designs on the Ionian Islands, served to divert our thoughts from the alarm caused by the machinations of our enemies. The squadron, under the command of Admiral Ganteaume, brought provisions to Corfu, and also the means of putting the island into a state of defence. This successful expedition, in which the French admiral displayed great skill in eluding the vigilance of the English, created an immense sensation in the kingdom of Naples by the unexpected display of a naval force that no one suspected us of possessing, and produced a greater effect than four victories on the Continent. Our successes on land were so unvarying that they no longer made any impression. The Emperor attached much importance to the possession of Corfu, and wrote in the following remarkable terms to his brother. "Remember that, in the present state of Europe, the possession of Corfu is of the highest importance to me, and that its loss would strike a mortal and irreparable blow at my designs." Those designs, which were comprised in the secret project agreed on between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, were admirably assisted by King Joseph's active participation in the revictualling of the island by way of Tarento and Otranto.

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* These various facts were proved at the trial which was only concluded in the beginning of June. The apothecary, whose name was Viscardi, and his son, agents of Queen Caroline, were proved to be the perpetrators of the crime. The judgment, which was pronounced on June 10, condemned six of their accomplices to death.

Shortly after these events, the Queen, who had left Paris on the 13th of March, 1808, arrived on the 3d of April, at Naples. Her presence, like the appearance of the French ships in the Ionian Sea, produced a beneficial influence on the public mind. It was regarded as a pledge of safety for the future, and those among the Neapolitans who had attached themselves to the new sovereign, imagined themselves for ever screened from the vengeance of the party which they had forsaken to associate themselves with ours. The Queen, too, by her very dignified behaviour, her prudence and her affability towards the ladies of the highest families who eagerly sought for the honour of belonging to her Court, won universal esteem and affection. The commencement of this new reign was looked upon with pleasure : the prejudices at first entertained against us, were beginning to fade away, and a few intermarriages that took place, brought about a better feeling between the two nations.

I was not destined long to enjoy the advantages conferred by this new state of things on those who, like myself, were attached to the fortunes of King Joseph. Events were hurrying on in Spain ; the Emperor was preparing to set out for Bayonne, and every moment we expected a summons for his brother to join him at that place. We had not to wait long. On the 21st of May the King received letters from the Emperor, urging his immediate departure. He directed him to leave the command of the army with Marshal Jourdan,* and to appoint a regency. But the latter instructions were not carried out : the King would by no means give up supreme authority, nor quit the throne of Naples, before he was put in possession of that of Spain. No Council was appointed therefore, and the Ministers continued to attend separately to the duties of their departments, and to submit their business to the King by letter. The progress of affairs was not accelerated by this extraordinary state of things, but it lasted so short a time that the inconvenience resulting from it was hardly perceptible.

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* It was about a year since Marshal Jourdan had been sent to Naples as Governor of the town. Marshal Massena had returned to France, and General Regnier had succeeded to the command of the troops in Calabria.

The King left Naples on the 24th of May, and his departure occasioned something like consternation. Although he had given it to be understood that he had only gone to have a second interview with the Emperor, and that he would return almost immediately, no one was deceived; and from that moment, more anxiety was felt regarding his successor, and the means of propitiating him, than about the King whom the Neapolitans were losing. However, as Joseph had reserved the exercise of power to himself, and that favours might still be expected from him, they did not display utter indifference, and he might have imagined himself regretted.

Some time before his departure he had carried out his intention of founding a new order of Knighthood, instead of that of St. Januarius, which he had abolished, but the nominations to it had not yet been made. He despatched these from Bayonne, whither he had arrived on the 7th of June. He had also founded, in imitation of the Institute of France, a Royal Society of Science and Literature which I was directed to inaugurate. He had designated the most distinguished men of the Kingdom for the principal chairs of the Academies into which the Society was divided, and his selection was generally approved. Lastly, before relinquishing the throne of Naples, he gave the kingdom a charter, or constitution, the provisions of which were to regulate the future administration of the country. This reached Naples on the 1st of July. An extraordinary Council of State was convened to hear it read, and to register it as a law of the State. The meeting took place on the 2d of July. I and the other Ministers were present, the Minister of Justice presided. A letter from the King to the Council of State in which he expressed his regret at having been unable to consult the Council on the draft of the Constitution that he was giving to the Nation, was first laid before us. But he affirmed that they would find in the draft only the application of principles he had often expressed in their presence, and to which all the members of the Council had already given their assent. The Act was then read aloud.

This "Constitutional Statute," as the Act was designated, was partly based upon the Constitutional system of France and partly upon that of Italy, but more particularly upon the latter, and the few alterations that had been made were in no way favourable to liberal ideas. The hand of the Emperor, under whose influence it had been drawn up, was apparent in every line. His increasing leaning towards feudal institutions, the aversion he no longer sought to disguise towards everything that could strengthen the liberty of the people, and the political independence of citizens, were plainly perceptible. National representation, as organized by the Constitutional Statute of Naples, was even more vitiated and illusory than in the two systems from which it had been borrowed. It consisted in one Chamber divided into five sections : the clergy, the nobility, the landowners, men of science and merchants. These sections were equal as to number, but they were far from having equal rights. The deputies from the nobility, the clergy and the learned bodies were irremovable, while the deputies from the two other classes, the landowners and merchants, were removable. However, as not the slightest attempt was made in the ensuing reign to carry out this improvised Constitution, it is unnecessary to enter into further particulars concerning it. I thought it well to say a few words on the subject, as it was an indication of the political principles adopted by the Emperor, and carried out by him everywhere within the limits of his power. The concession of a charter, on which the King had reckoned in order to gain the gratitude of the Neapolitan nation, failed altogether to produce that effect.

It benefited nobody, and, as it is well known that heirs seldom show much respect to the wills of those from whom they derive their inheritance, this Act was in general regarded as a piece of political bombast, uttered with a view to effect, and from which neither good nor evil was to be expected. Thus, laying aside political theories, the people devoted themselves to two objects only : one making the most of the kind-heartedness of the King who was leaving them, to obtain from him favours that he still had the power to grant, the other, the discovering as soon as possible who was to be his successor, in order to conciliate him in his turn. It had been officially notified on the 20th of July, that King Joseph had abdicated the crown of Naples on the 8th of that month, and Queen Julia had set out for France, even before the intelligence reached Naples. But it was not immediately known who was to be Joseph's successor. Rumours of the most extraordinary kind were in circulation. It was affirmed that Murat, who appeared the most probable candidate, was in a state of mental derangement that rendered him incapable of reigning. It was said that the Imperial family was divided and at variance on the question : that the Empress wanted the crown of Naples for her son Eugene, and that the King of Westphalia laid claim to it, as being more illustrious than his own. It was added that the Emperor's mother had asked for the throne of Naples for Lucien, the only one of her sons who had not yet obtained a crown.

All uncertainty was terminated on the 31st of July, by the arrival of a courier, who had been impatiently expected for several days. A Ministerial Council assembled on the same day at eight in the evening, under the presidency of the Minister of Justice. The following documents were read aloud.

1. A Constitutional Statute by which the Emperor bestowed the Kingdom of Naples on the Grand Duke of Berg, and regulated the succession in the order of primogeniture, with, however, one remarkable provision : the Queen (Caroline Bonaparte, sister to the Emperor) was to ascend the throne, and reign in her own right, if she survived her husband and her male children.

2. A proclamation from the new King, who would take possession of the kingdom on the 1st of August.

3. A letter from King Joachim Napoleon to the Ministers, confirming them in their posts.

A *Te Deum*, illuminations, and salvoes of artillery, were ordered for the next day, according to custom.

This Council was the last occasion on which I exercised the public duties of my post at Naples. I had resolved on following the fortunes of King Joseph, who had offered me the place of Superintendent of his household, and I accordingly sent in my resignation as Minister of the Interior, and prepared to set out for Spain.*

I began my journey on the 11th of August, 1808, a few days after the marriage of my daughter to Colonel Jamin, in command of the King's Light Cavalry. He was to join us in Spain at the head of part of these troops, which in the sequel, passed over to the service of Joseph as King of Spain. Some regret was expressed at my departure, but probably with more politeness than sincerity. I remained in Rome a few days. I again explored the city, and made some excursions in the environs, among others, one to Tivoli, which I had not visited on previous occasions. I saw General Miollis, in command of the French troops ; his position was every day becoming more difficult, on account of the rupture that had just occurred between the Emperor and the Holy See. This quarrel was followed by the union of the provinces of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata and Camerina,† to the kingdom of Italy, and the Pope, having in retaliation declared several articles of the Civil Code * to be incompatible with the Canons of the Roman Church, and forbidden all Catholics to receive them, ended by excommunicating the Emperor himself. The animosity and irritation of these two Powers had reached the highest pitch. It was easy, therefore, even now to foresee the violence with which Napoleon a short time afterwards treated the Pontiff, whom he forced to leave Rome and remove to Savona. From this period began the embarrassment and the difficulties brought on the Emperor by the Concordat of 1802. By forcing the Pope to come and consecrate him in Paris, he had by no means obtained a religious guarantee for his crown; but, on the contrary, had restored to the Holy See a portion of its former rights over princes, and had authorized the renewal of its claims. No prince, certainly, was better adapted by character and boldness to force his yoke on a Pope than Napoleon; and nevertheless Pius VII. was his most terrible adversary and was not conquered by him. The decadence of his empire dates from his quarrels with the Pontiff. The priests whom he had re-established in France did not hesitate for an instant between him and the Pope, and even in his own family, the kinsman who through him had been raised to the Cardinalate, declared against him.

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* On leaving Naples, the King had conferred on me the title of Count of Melito, which the Emperor confirmed by letters patent, which were despatched to me, in order to raise me to the dignity of Count of the Empire.

† The decree declaring the above union bears date St. Cloud, April 2, 1808. The preamble is remarkable, and I insert it here, because I believe it has never been published.

"Napoleon, etc., considering that the temporal Sovereign of Rome has constantly refused to make war on the English, and to ally himself with the Kings of Italy and Naples for the defence of the Italian peninsula ;

"Considering that the interests of the two kingdoms and of the armies of Italy and Naples require that communications between them should not be intercepted by a hostile power ; . . . .

I left my family at Rome: they could not follow me to Spain, until I had prepared an establishment for them, and I resumed my journey thither on the 17th of August. I made no halt except at Lyons, where I met the new King of Naples on his way to take possession of the crown that had just been conferred on him. In the course of a long conversation he gave me a very alarming account of the state of Spain, which he had just left. It was from him that I heard of the lost battle of Baylen, of the defeat and capture of General Dupont, who was in command of the French army on that fatal day, and finally of the departure of King Joseph from Madrid, he having been forced to leave the capital. Judging from

"Considering that the gift of Charlemagne, our illustrious predecessor, of the lands which form the Papal States was made for the good of Christendom and never for the advantage of the enemies of religion;

"Seeing that the ambassador from the Court of Rome asked for his passports, on the 8th March last;

"We have decreed and do decree," etc.

A decree of the same date had ordered all cardinals, prelates, officials and employés of all kinds at the court of Rome, natives of the countries included in the kingdom of Italy, to return to that Kingdom on the 25th of May next following, and in the event of their disobedience, it declared the confiscation of their goods and property.

* See in the Appendix to this chapter, No. 1, a rather curious letter written to me on the subject from Rome, dated June 7, 1808, and No. 2, the secret instructions given to the subjects of the provinces united to Italy, by the decree of April 2.

Murat's manner as he described all these things, I saw that he thought himself lucky to have escaped from Spain ; and in truth, the change was a clear gain for him, while to his predecessor on the throne of Naples and to all those who followed his fortunes it was a great loss. But it was too late for Joseph to retrace his steps, and all I could do was to arm myself with courage. After this interview therefore I continued my journey and reached Bayonne on the 1st of September, 1808. Being unable to proceed farther without an escort, I was compelled to wait until the General in command of the town had assembled a convoy intended for Vittoria. I travelled with it, and rejoined King Joseph at Miranda de Ebro on the 10th of September.

I had at last reached Spain, the theatre of the unfortunate events that struck a mortal blow at the fortune of Napoleon and the prosperity of France. As an eye-witness of these events, and having been admitted by the King's friendship to the knowledge of some of the causes or blunders that produced them, I must, to render my explanation clear, retrace my steps awhile, and give a rapid sketch of the occurrences that had taken place at Bayonne, and in Spain, since I parted from the King at Naples, until the moment when I saw him again. This narrative is an exact resumé of my conversations with the King, and with my friend Stanislas Girardin, who had accompanied him from Naples to Madrid.

APPENDIX TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.

I.—A LETTER WRITTEN FROM ROME, CONCERNING CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES RELATING TO THE RUPTURE BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON IN THE YEAR 1808.

ROME, JUNE 7TH, 1808.

YOUR Excellency will have noticed that in the note addressed by the Secretary of State to the Chargé d'Affaires in Italy, the Pope openly and unreservedly condemned several Articles of our Civil Code. Nor did his Holiness confine himself to this violent act, to which our enemies had not hitherto succeeded in urging him: he has just addressed a circular letter to the Bishops of the Marches, in which he solemnly declares that several provisions of the Code Napoleon, and particularly the laws relating to marriage and divorce, are contrary to the teachings of the Gospel, and that, consequently, they are not to act on them in their dioceses. This is a positive fact. I have not yet been able to obtain a copy of the circular, but I know that it bears the title of *Instructions for the Bishops* (Encyclica), although as yet it has only been sent to those of the Marches. It is drawn up in the form of the answers that in the early ages of the Church the Popes were accustomed to give to the Bishops, and that may be read at the present day in the collection of the Canon laws known under the name of Decretals. Thus his Holiness, by supposing himself to be interrogated on the point, thinks to justify the silence he has hitherto kept concerning these alleged errors in the French legislation. The Pope has also renewed, in his own name, the Bulls of Clement XII. (Corsini) and Benedict XIV. (Lambertini). The bull I speak of must already be in print, and we are every day expecting its publication, which may perhaps produce an evil effect on the popular mind.

Concealment is at an end. The Pope believes that he will never be personally attacked. He thinks it glorious to stand alone in his resistance to the will of his Imperial Majesty, and he misses no occasion of displaying his resentment against him. The partisans of the clerical government make use of every possible means to excite the imaginations of the weak. "Spain," they say, "has rebelled; Russia and Austria are beginning to fall out with France; Ferdinand IV., in his quality as a Spanish prince, is proceeding to America, in order to take possession of the states belonging to Spain in the New World; he will be protected by the English, and even by the Republic of the United States. People want to overthrow the Catholic religion and destroy it; Rome will become a miserable and desolate city," &c.

Men of sense blame the Pope's conduct in this matter: it may bring down the greatest evils on mankind; but the people behold with gladness the persistence and obstinacy of the Holy Father, and listen greedily to all that is said for the purpose of deceiving them.

The crisis, there is no doubt, is terrible. But what are the French authorities doing? Scarcely anything. The General commanding-in-chief is afraid of compromising himself. He receives no orders from his Court, and has become more cautious than he was at first. A few seditious persons are arrested, but the police is out of order, or, to speak plainly, there is no police whatever. The tribunals do nothing, and all things here are in a state of anarchy, occasioned by a conflict between two rival and inimical powers.*

II.—SECRET INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE HOLY SEE TO THE SUBJECTS OF THOSE PROVINCES OF THE PAPAL STATES THAT WERE UNITED, BY AN IMPERIAL DECREE OF APRIL 2, 1808, TO THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.

§ 1.—Non esser lecito, se mai venisse intimato dal governo intruso, di prestargli qualunque giuramento di fedeltà, d'obbedienza e di attacamento espresso in termini illimitati e comprensivi di un fedeltà ed approvazione positiva, perchè sarebbe un giuramento d'infedeltà e fellonia al suo legittimo sovrano, opponendosi alle proteste ed ai reclami fatti dal Papa per se e per la Chiesa contro una si notoria ingiustizia ; un giuramento di grave scandalo, favorendo un fatto che tornar non può se non *in periculum fidei et perniciem animarum ;* un giuramento per ogni verso ingiusto, iniquo e sacrilego.

§ 2.—Non esser nemmeno lecito di accettare, e molto peggio di esercitare impieghi ed incumbenze che abbiano una tendenza più o meno diretta a riconoscere, a coadiuvare, a consolidare il nuovo governo nell' esercizio dell' usurpata podestà, giacchè è evidente, non potersi ciò fare, senza prendervi parte e farsene attore volontario. Che se, di più tali impieghi ed incumbenze influessero direttamente all' esercizio di leggi ed ordinazioni contrarie ai principj ed alle leggi della Chiesa, molto più colpevole ne sarebbe l'accettazione, essendo principio generale che non è lecito porsi e perseverare in uno stato quantunque necessario alla stessa sussistenza, incompatibile alla coscienza ed alla propria eterna salute.

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* M. Ortoli, the writer of the above letter, was a native of Corsica, where I had known him. He had studied at Pisa and at Rome, and was considered very learned in the Canon law.

§ 1.

It is not lawful, if ever exacted by the usurping government, to take an oath of fidelity, of obedience or of attachment, expressed in unreserved terms, implying positive fidelity and approbation, because such an oath would be one of infidelity and of felony to the legitimate sovereign, and would be in opposition to the protests and claims made by the Pope, both in his own behalf and in that of the Church, against so crying an injustice ; it would be an oath giving great scandal, as approving of an act which can only lead to *periculum fidei et perniciem animarum ;* an oath in every way unjust, iniquitous, and sacrilegious.

§ 2.

It is unlawful for any one to receive, much more to discharge, the duties of any state or employment which would tend more or less directly to recognize, support or consolidate the new government in the exercise of the power it has usurped ; for it is evident that this could not be done without participating voluntarily in that usurpation. And if such duties and employments included an obligation of co-operating in the execution of laws and regulations contrary to the principles and laws of the Church, it would be far more culpable to accept and exercise them, for it is a general principle that it is not allowable to continue in a position, however necessary it may be for material existence, that it is incompatible with conscience and eternal salvation.

§ 3.—Non esser lecito ai vescovi ed agli altri pastori ed ecclesiastici di prestarci al canto dell' inno Te Deum, se mai venisse prescritto nello stabilimento del governo invasatore. Oltre di chè non è di competenza della podestà laicale prescrivere di propria autorità pubbliche preghiere, in questo caso, all' incompetenza della podestà si unirebbe la manifesta incongruenza dell' oggetto che renderebbe un tal canto piuttosto insulto che un culto della religione, perciocchè essendo ogni canto spirituale, e l'ambrosiano specialmente, l'espressione del giubilo, ed essendo per ciò questo dalla Chiesa riservato alle grande solennità ed all' occasioni di pubblica allegrezza, il cantarlo in questa occasione sarebbe un manifestare o un mentire con un atto pubblico e sacro, un sentimento affatto contrario a quello da qui esser debbono penetrati i buoni sudditi e figlj della Chiesa in un avvenimento funestissimo, preceduto, accompagnato e seguito da tante violenze ed ingiuste operazioni, quale sarà il rovesciamento temporale della Chiesa e l'intrusione di un governo tanto più a lei nemico in fatti quanto più affetto colle parole d'esserne protettore ; in una parola, la rovina temporale e spirituale dello stato pontificio e lo scompiglio di tutta la Chiesa Cattolica.

§ 4.—Questa è la norma che S. S., dopo le più serie riflessioni ed il più maturo esame, ha creduto di dovere prescrivere ai suoi amatissimi sudditi, verificandosi, come pur troppo in si gran parte si è verificata l'intrusione del governo usurpatore ; la qual norma, sebene generale, non sarà difficile applicare ai casi particolari, che non si possono tutti prevedere. È da credere per altro, quanto ai giuramenti, che, avendo l'esperienza stessa mostrato le consequenze funeste, eziandio alla pubblica tranquillità, che suol produrre la violenta esazione di essi, non sia questa per usarsi coi sudditi pontifici ; onde non si abbiano a trovare nel pericoloso cimento, o, di mancare alla coscienza o d'incontrare gravi mali e pericoli.

§ 5.—Ma potrebbe essere anche il contrario. Potrebbe il nuovo go-

§ 3.

It is not lawful for bishops and pastors and other ecclesiastics to consent to the singing of the Te Deum, if it should ever be ordered by the usurping government. In addition to the incompetency of the civil power to order public prayers by its own authority, there would be in such a case a manifest incongruity which would render the singing of that hymn rather an insult to religion than an act of piety, because all hymns and especially this one of St. Ambrose being an expression of joy, and being therefore reserved by the Church for great feasts and for occasions of public rejoicing, to sing it would be to make a show of feelings incompatible with those that should fill the hearts of the faithful subjects and children of the Church, under the present evil circumstances that have been preceded, accompanied and followed by violence and injustice, such as the overthrow of the temporal power of the Church, and the usurpation of a government all the more inimical to it, that it pretends to be its protector ; that aims, in a word, at the temporal and spiritual ruin of the Papal States and the overthrow of the whole Catholic Church.

§ 4.

Such are the instructions that His Holiness, after serious consideration and the most careful examination, has thought it his duty to deliver to his beloved subjects, if the intrusion of the usurping government, already partly effected, becomes an accomplished fact. There will be no difficulty in applying these general rules to particular cases that it is impossible to specify beforehand. As regards the oaths, moreover, it is likely that experience having proved the evil effect, even as regards public tranquillity, of the violent extortion of such, coercion will not be used on this point towards the Pontifical subjects ; who will not consequently find themselves under the dreadful alternative, of either disobeying their conscience or of exposing themselves to grave evils and dangers.

§ 5.

Nevertheless, the contrary might be the case. The new government, under pretext of ensuring its own security and the public tranquillity, might have recourse to violent measures. In that case, it is allowable, and does not contravene the aforesaid principles, to accept a formula of fidelity and passive obedience, that is, of submission and not opposition by which to guarantee the public safety and tranquillity ; because it is not lawful for private citizens,

verno colorire una si fatta violenza col protesto della sua sicurezza e della quiete pubblica ; nel qual caso può al medesimo soddisfarsi senza contravenire all' inconcussi principj di sopra stabiliti, con una formola che ristringendosi alla fedeltà ed obbedienza passiva, ciò è di sottomissione e non opposizione, mentre garantisce la sicurezza e tranquillità pubblica, la quale, per i maggiori disordini e scandali che d' ordinario accadono, non è lecito ai privati di perturbare con fazioni e complotti non fa torto nè alla giustizia nè alla religione. Pertanto S. S. (riclamando però essa sempre i diritti della Chiesa romana e del glorioso principe degl' apostoli, e dichiarando altamente che la sua permissione alla sovranità ed alle ragioni che le competono) permette che i suoi sudditi ecclesiastici e secolari, qualora non possino esimersene senza grave pericolo e danno, prestino il giuramento nei seguenti termini : *Prometto e giuro di non aver parte in qualsivoglia congiura, complotto o sedizione contro il governo attuale, come pure di essergli sottomesso ed obbediente in tutto ciò che non sia contrario alla legge di Dio e della Chiesa.* Se veramente il governo intruso non avrà altra fine che il succennato, non potrà non essere soddisfatto di questa formola. Se non sarà soddisfatto, con questo segno darà chiaramente a devidere essere la mente sua di legare ed obbligare i sudditi del Papa con la religione del giuramento e renderli così complici della sacrilega usurpazione, dalla qualmente verrebbe ad essere determinato il senso malvaggio della formola da lui proposta probabilmente in termini subdoli ed ambigui. Tanto più poi ciò farassi chiaro ed evidente, quanto sarà maggiore il rigore con cui se ne esigera la prestazione e se ne punirà il rifiuto. Ma sia per essere tal rigore grande quanto si voglia, si ricordano essi sudditi di esser cristiani è perciò seguaci di quel Divino Maestro che ai suoi, siccome nella vita futura promette amplissimi e sempiterni premi, così nella presente non predire che tribolazione e persecuzione, e che perciò ha insegnato loro a non temere quelli che uccidono il corpo e più oltre non possono fare, ma a temere solo quello che può e l'anima ed il corpo mandare all' eterna perdizione. G. CARD. GABRIELLI.

by reason of the disorder and scandal it generally involves, to disturb that tranquillity by faction and conspiracy; a formula in short, neither injurious to justice nor to religion. For these reasons, His Holiness (always reserving, however, the rights of the Roman Church and of the glorious Prince of the apostles, and declaring loudly that this permission must never be looked upon as an act of abdication or of cession of his sovereignty and of the rights founded thereon) allows his subjects, ecclesiastical and lay, where they cannot avoid it without grave peril and loss, to take an oath in the following terms : *I promise and swear not to take part in any conspiracy, plot or sedition whatsoever against the actual government, and to submit myself and be obedient to it in all things that are not contrary to the laws of God and the Church.*

If in truth the usurping government has no other aim than the avowed one, they must be satisfied with the above formula. If they are not satisfied, they show clearly that their intention is to bind the Pope's subjects by the sanctity of an oath, and thus to make them accomplices in a sacrilegious usurpation—an intention which would probably be made so clearly manifest by the subtle and ambiguous terms in which the formula will be framed, it will be rigorously exacted, and a refusal to take it severely punished. But however great such severity, the Pope's subjects will bear in mind that they are Christians, and thus followers of that Divine Master who, when He promised to his followers the rewards of eternal life, foretold that in this world they would have but sorrow and persecution, and taught them therefore not to fear those who can kill the body, but Him only who can deliver both soul and body to everlasting condemnation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Alleged secret Articles of the Treaty of Tilsit—King Joseph leaves Bayonne for Spain on July 8, 1808—Marshal Bessières' victory near Medina de Rio-Seco throws open the road to Madrid—Having entered the capital on July 20, he withdraws from it on the 29th of the same month, in consequence of the catastrophe at Baylen, which also causes the French troops to fall back on the Ebro—The King takes up his residence at Miranda de Ebro, where the author joins him on September 10—Appendix. Details of the capitulation of General Dupont at Baylen.

In order thoroughly to understand the causes of the War in Spain, and of the Revolution that produced it, we must go back to the Peace of Tilsit. There is indeed no proof that secret articles were signed together with the ostensible treaty, though King Joseph has frequently assured me that they existed ; but either they were not in his own possession, or he did not think fit to communicate them to me. I have always felt some uncertainty on the subject. Like the rest of the world, then, I only know that certain secret articles were supposed to be annexed to the public treaty, which were printed on the 25th of August, 1812, in the *Gazette de Madrid*, when that newspaper was the organ of the Cortes, at that time in possession of the capital. I give them here with the notes that accompanied them.*

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* Secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit.

Art. 1. Russia is to take possession of European Turkey, and may extend her conquests in Asia at her discretion.

Art. 2. The Bourbon dynasty in Spain, and the House of Braganza in Portugal shall cease to reign. A Prince of the Bonaparte family shall succeed to each of these crowns.

Art. 3. The temporal power of the Pope shall cease. Rome and her dependent States shall be united to the kingdom of Italy.

Art. 4. Russia binds herself to assist France with her navy in the conquest of Gibraltar.

Art. 5. The French shall take possession of towns in Africa, such as Tunis, Algiers, etc., and, at the General Peace, all the conquests which the French may have made in Africa shall be given as an indemnity to the kings of Sardinia and Sicily.

Art. 6. The island of Malta shall belong to the French, and no peace shall be made with England so long as she retains that island.

Art. 7. The French shall occupy Egypt.

Art. 8. The navigation of the Mediterranean shall be permitted to

But if the style in which these articles are drawn up, and the obscurity of their origin, forbid us to regard them as authentic, it is at least beyond question that very similar stipulations had been agreed on between the two Emperors, and the conduct of affairs subsequently to the Treaty of Tilsit, is in complete conformity with the bases of those stipulations.*

The gigantic project of the division of the world into two empires, to which Alexander had given his adhesion, was to be set on foot by Spain and Portugal. The dissensions that had sprung up in the Royal Family of Spain were secretly aggravated by French policy, and the ambition of the Prince of the Peace had been flattered by the hope of a throne in Portugal.

Two French armies occupied the capitals of both countries at the beginning of 1808. The Queen and Regent of Portugal † had fled to Brazil from before the French army. The King and Queen of Spain also left Madrid, and repaired to Bayonne, as did

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French, Russian, Spanish and Italian vessels only ; all other nationalities shall be excluded.

Art. 9. Denmark shall be indemnified in the north of Germany by the Hanseatic towns, on condition that she places her naval squadron in the hands of France.

Art. 10. Their Majesties, the Emperors of Russia and France, shall agree together upon a rule by which it shall be forbidden in future to any power to send merchant vessels to sea, unless the same Power maintains a certain number of men-of-war.

"This Treaty," adds the Spanish newspaper, "has been signed by Prince Kouratin and Prince Talleyrand."

Two notes accompanied this curious document, of which I also give the translation as follows :

Note 1. "As all the events taking place in the north owe their origin to the Treaties of Tilsit of 1807, the public will receive with pleasure an account of the secret articles agreed upon between the Emperors of France and Russia, which we transcribe from the English newspaper, *The Sun.*"

Note 2 on Article 9 concerning Denmark. "By this the conduct of England in her famous expedition to Copenhagen, which was so greatly condemned, is completely justified. Time has at last unfolded the secret, and no one can now accuse the English government of dishonourable conduct in having snatched from her assassin the weapons with which he intended to strike her. The capture and destruction of the Danish naval squadron was a necessary evil, that England was bound to inflict under pain of making herself guilty, against the rights of nature, of all the harm that her enemy would have done her by means of that squadron."

* The existence of a secret Treaty of Tilsit is acknowledged by a great number of English politicians. The *Morning Journal*, which succeeded to the *New Times* in 1828, argues from the fact against the conduct of Russia in the war which in the beginning of 1828, broke out between that power and Turkey. (See the *Morning Journal* of October 9, 1828.)

† Afterwards Don Juan VI. He had taken the reins of government during the mental derangement of Queen Maria, his mother, and at the death of that Princess he ascended the throne of Portugal and Brazil.

the Prince of the Asturias, who, after forcing his father Charles IV. to abdicate, had ascended the throne as Ferdinand VII.

I shall not enter here into the particulars of what took place at Bayonne, when these Princes were there in presence of the Emperor. The history of the surrender of the throne of Spain by Charles IV. in favour of Napoleon, and of the renunciation by the Prince of the Asturias and his brothers, of their rights to the succession, is to be found in the writings of the day, and as I was not on the spot, and that King Joseph himself had not arrived there, I shall relate only what occurred after the acts of cession and renunciation by Charles IV. and his sons.*

Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Emperor to give an appearance of legality to the great change he had just effected; notwithstanding the pains he took to avoid having recourse to force, the Spanish people were not to be deceived. Their indignation broke out, and every day became more threatening. But these symptoms of a resistance which was so soon to assume a formidable character, did not check Napoleon's course. He had gone too far to draw back. A Junta of Spanish notables, which the Grand Duke of Berg had convened at Madrid, was summoned to Bayonne, and its presence was regarded as a sort of national ratification of all that had taken place there. It was suggested to this assembly to name the Emperor's eldest brother, as the Prince whose elevation to the throne that Charles IV. had just abandoned would best serve the interests of Spain. The Junta acted on the suggestion, and had no sooner made overtures to that effect in the Assembly, than the opportunity was eagerly seized by the Emperor, and a decree of the 6th of June, 1808, called Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples and Sicily, to the throne of Spain.

The new King was at Paie, where he had arrived, on the 7th June; here he heard of his accession; and thus found himself bound by a solemn act before he had formally consented to it. The Emperor went to meet his brother at some distance from Bayonne, and manifested great affection for him. It was necessary to blind him to the dangers of the part he was about to be made to play, and to show him only its bright side. On reaching Bayonne, Joseph found himself surrounded with all the seductions and all the grandeurs of royalty. He there received the eager homage of the Spanish Grandees, of the members of the Junta, and of the principal personages who had followed the former court and composed the household of Charles IV. and of the Infantes. Protestations of zeal and regard were eagerly made on all sides. It would have taken a very cool head to resist such seductions. Solicitations of all kinds, requests for appointments, places at Court sought for by the most illustrious families,* all contributed to fascinate the Prince. And at the same time a veil was drawn over everything that was then taking place in Spain. No certain news was received, or if any report contrived to make way through the obstacles opposed to its circulation, its authenticity was sedulously denied.

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* A very interesting account of this important episode in the history of the period, is given in the concluding chapters of 'Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat.' (Translators' Note.)

Amid delusions of all kinds, the session of the Junta was opened, on the 16th of June. At its first sitting, the Junta acknowledged the legitimacy of the rights acquired over Spain by the Emperor, as a consequence of the surrender made by Charles IV., and also their transfer to the eldest of his brothers, whom it declared to be King of Spain and the Indies. On the 18th of the same month, a formal deputation waited on Joseph, and confirmed that declaration ; but the King, in order to establish his rights not on the declaration, but exclusively on the acts of surrender and retrocession that had preceded it, had already ratified his accession, in an order addressed to the Council of Castile sitting at Madrid, and by a proclamation dated the 11th of June. In these public acts, he had assumed all the former titles borne by the Kings of Spain, among them those of Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, and King of Corsica, a ridiculous protocol, the use of which was to be attributed to the customs of the Spanish Chancellery. But these titles greatly offended the Emperor, who ordered that in future this splendid array of names should be reduced to the single title of King of Spain and the Indies.

Immediately on the recognition of the new King, the Junta began to discuss a Constitution for the Spanish Monarchy, a draft of which, made under the supervision of the Emperor, was laid before it. Twelve sittings were devoted to this discussion, but they produced only a few important alterations in the original design, which it is but just to admit, was based on sound principles, and tended to procure for Spain the advantages of representative Monarchy. But the hand which offered it was enough to ensure its rejection by the nation, and the project, which was repudiated soon afterwards by its own author, perished without receiving any practical application. The labour of the Junta being ended by the adoption and publication of the act of Constitution, it was dissolved, and the members took the road to Spain, on their return to their own homes. The King himself prepared to set out to take possession of the throne, but before beginning the journey he appointed his ministers and the principal officers of his household. The selection for these appointments was made among men who were distinguished either by their ability or their birth, and met with general approval ; they were at the same time a proof that there was not one of the great families of Spain that did not wish for the honour of holding the same appointments at the Court of King Joseph that they had held under the sovereigns of the Houses of Austria and of Bourbon during their supremacy at Madrid.* Before they parted, the two brothers agreed on two treaties, with the object of regulating the political and commercial relations between their respective States, and the troops that each was to furnish, in order to maintain the alliance, offensive and defensive, that was perpetually to subsist between them, and which was the subject of an additional article.

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* The Dukes del Infantado, de Frias, and d'Ossuna, the Prince de Castelfranco, the Marquesses d'Ariza and de Santa Cruz, the Counts de Fernan-Nuñez, d'Orgaz, and de Santa-Coloña were at Bayonne and came to congratulate King Joseph. The Duke del Infantado addressed the King in the name of the Grandees, and his speech was remarkable for his protestations of fidelity.

All being thus set in order, the new King of Spain left Bayonne on the 8th of July, 1808, with about 1500 French soldiers, a poor escort, but no larger one was available, as the troops intended for the occupation of the Peninsula, and whose number daily became more insufficient, had already been drafted either into Spain or Portugal.

In the absence of an effective force, it was thought desirable to make a brilliant display on the journey.

The ancient etiquette of Spain was scrupulously observed. The King sat alone on the back seat of his carriage, the front was occupied by the Duke del Parque, Captain of the Guard, and M. d'Asauza, Minister of the Indies. The other ministers, including M. de Cevallos,† Minister of Foreign Affairs, followed, and these with the Grandees of Spain, the Chamberlains, various officers of the Household, and Deputies from the Junta, formed a brilliant and numerous retinue. The newspapers took care in describing it, to exaggerate the number of French troops which preceded and followed the equipage. Don Michael Alava, who was afterwards aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, acted on this journey as quartermaster, and had the halting places on the road prepared.

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* The following is a list of the names of the ministers and officers of King Joseph's household, appointed at Bayonne. MM. O'Faril, de Cevallos, d'Asauza, Jovellanos, Cabarrus, Massaredo and Urguijo, ministers. The first three had been ministers during the ephemeral reign of the Prince of the Asturias as Ferdinand VII. L'Infantado, del Parque, Fernan-Nuñez, Ossuna, Hijar, Castelfranco, Orgaz and others, captains of the guard or great officers of the Crown.

† M. de Cevallos excuses himself in his published Memoirs for having accepted the post of minister. It is however quite certain that he asked for it.

But while an attempt was made by these demonstrations of pomp and state to disguise the inherent weakness of the position, a serious insurrection was being organized in the provinces. A Government Junta established at Seville, had put itself in communication with private Juntas established at various places. Violent proclamations had been published, and were inflaming the people. The right of Ferdinand VII. to the crown of Spain was recognised by an immense majority in the nation ; and the new King was described as a usurper, against whom it was urgently demanded that all the resources of the country should be employed. The French generals endeavoured to stifle the insurrection in its birth by severe measures and military executions. Villages—towns even—were burned to the ground or given over to pillage.* But this terrible expedient, far from exciting feelings of terror, only increased the anger of the people. French soldiers were murdered on the roads, and communications became more difficult every day. Lastly, a well-ordered army advanced to arrest the progress of the new King, and threatened to cut off his approach to Madrid. Meanwhile, the King and his retinue, after passing through the provinces of Biscaya and Alava, were coming by easy stages, through Miranda da Ebro and Briviesca towards Castile. But as they advanced, and the news from the interior reached them, the aspect of affairs changed, and uneasiness was perceptible on every face. Already among the persons composing the suite, those who had only joined it in order to provide themselves with a safe means of returning to Spain, and those who had been attracted by ambitious motives and who perceiving from the first that their hopes were vain, were not pledged so deeply but that they could withdraw, had turned aside, or on various pretexts remained behind, and day by day the King's suite diminished.

In fact, it was becoming more and more doubtful whether he would succeed in reaching Madrid. General Cuesta, who commanded the Spanish army in the neighbourhood of Benevento, could by a few days' march intercept communication between France and Madrid. He might effect this by marching on Burgos at the junction of the two high roads which lead from that town to the Capital, one through Aranda da Duero, the other through Valladolid. But Marshal Bessières, who commanded in Old Castile and in the Kingdom of Léon, did not give the Spanish General time to execute this manœuvre. He collected his troops hastily together, and went out to meet Cuesta, whom he found in position on the heights of Medina da Rioseco, on the 14th of July. The engagement was very brisk, and this first struggle for Spanish independence was unsuccessful. The French, although inferior in number by nearly one half, attacked the enemy with their accustomed valour, and with the confidence born of a long course of victories, as yet unchecked by any reverse. The Spaniards, driven back and completely beaten, retired in disorder on Benevento, and from thence to Astorza. Marshal Bessières pursued them to Benevento, which he entered on the 19th of July.

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* Among others Cuença and Torquemada.

The news of this brilliant victory reached Burgos on the 16th. On the same day the King entered that town with ringing of bells. The news raised the spirits of the Frenchmen who accompanied the King ; and as is usual with our nation, everyone at once passed from anxiety and alarm to the most complete confidence. They persuaded themselves that nothing remained to be done. The Emperor himself seemed to share this confidence, which was so soon to be belied. He thought, or at least he pretended to think, that the victory of Medina da Rioseco had removed every danger. He wrote to his brother that he could not do too much for the General who had secured to him his crown, and that he ought at once to send him the Golden Fleece. But when Joseph received the Emperor's letter, he was no longer at Madrid, and did not hold himself obliged to recompense service which had become useless to him.

However Napoleon may have regarded the consequences of the battle of Medina, it is at least evident that he profited by that event to withdraw from the frontier, where he had remained after the departure of his brother. A longer stay would have become embarrassing, if affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and he, owing to the insufficient means at his disposal, had been obliged to remain a mere spectator. On the other hand, it was difficult for him to withdraw, so long as the issue of his enterprise remained doubtful. He therefore availed himself of the opportunity of this military success, whose result he might exaggerate at will, to return to Paris, and he left Bayonne on the 21st of July.

Joseph paused one day only at Burgos, and on the 17th resumed his journey towards Madrid. General Dupont covered the city with a force which occupied the passes of the Sierra-Morena, and ought to have already penetrated into Andalusia. The King passed through Lerma, Arandala, Duero, and Buytrago. In the latter town, eight leagues from Madrid, a great change was observable among the principal personages in the King's suite. Many were not forthcoming when the King was ready to set out again ; secret conferences were held among those Spaniards whose fidelity was doubtful, and they were extremely reserved in their intercourse with the French, and with those of their compatriots who were most favourable to the new Government. It seems that rumours of what was taking place in Andalusia had already reached them. They could not have known of the principal event, but it was possible for them to be informed of the military movements, and the retreat of General Dupont from Cordova.

The King entered the capital on the 20th July. It was a melancholy scene. The silence and disdainful looks of the inhabitants of Madrid were all the more significant, because much solemnity was given to the ceremony. Here, as on the journey, all the ancient customs of the Monarchy were observed. Joseph entered Madrid by the Alcala Gate, and thus crossed the town in its widest extent to reach the palace. He sat alone in his carriage. He was received at the foot of the grand staircase by the nobility, who conducted him to his apartments. The bodies of the State came to pay him homage, and on the 23d of July he was proclaimed King in the squares and principal streets of Madrid, with all the ceremonies observed on the accession of a King of Spain.*

Joseph was absorbed by the cares of government, and unaware of the danger of his position. Three days after his arrival at Madrid he received a warning, by the sudden change that took place around him. The Grandees ceased to appear at the palace, and dispensed themselves from their service there. Partial confidences foreshadowed some great event ; interest, even pity, was discernible in the demeanour of those who still kept up some sort of appearance. At last the secret came out, and the French were all the more petrified by it on account of their profound security. They learned that General Dupont had capitulated to the Spanish army commanded by Castaños, after an engagement which had taken place near Baylen on the 19th, and that his army, the only one that defended Madrid, had thrown down their arms and yielded themselves prisoners of war.†

When the news of this event, exaggerated as it would necessarily be, in the absence of any authentic information, reached Madrid, and could no longer be doubted, the alarm felt by the French, redoubled by the ill-disguised joy of the inhabitants, was very great. Contradictory proposals and counsels dictated by fear, succeeded each other, and nothing was decided upon. At last it was resolved that the King should leave Madrid. Everything capable of being carried away was taken from the palace and storehouses, and the departure was hurried on.*

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* The Marquis d'Astorga, Count of Altamira, who as Alferez-mayor of Madrid should have performed this ceremony, excused himself on the plea of ill health. His place was filled by M. Negretti, Marquis of Campo-Alanje, who was afterwards made a duke by King Joseph, and appointed Grand Equerry and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

† In the appendix to this chapter the reader will find particulars of that disastrous affair, whose details I gathered during my stay at Madrid from trustworthy sources. This account is perfectly exact.

This retreat, which might perhaps have become imperative, was certainly premature. After the affair of Baylen, and the capitulation which followed it, the Spanish army took no step to profit by these advantages. It did not menace Madrid, and seemed more astonished at its victory than ready to follow it up. The French abandoned the capital rather from the fear inspired by the Spanish victory, than from any real necessity, and the danger from which they fled existed up to that time in their imagination only. It is even probable that if they had persisted in holding Madrid, and summoned the troops under Marshal Bessières to the Tagus (and there was time for this), Castaños would have hesitated a long time before crossing the Sierra-Morena, and he could not have crossed the Tagus to drive the French from Madrid without fighting another battle, with at least an uncertain result. But the confusion into which the French were thrown by so unexpected a reverse as that of Baylen, prevented them from considering the question with the coolness it required.

Joseph left Madrid on the 29th July, accompanied by the small body of troops which was there, under command of General Savary. The new Ministers, with the exception of M. de Cevallos and a few other persons, accompanied the King ; but all the Grandees who had accepted appointments in his household forsook him. The Duke del Parque, who up to the last moment had exercised the functions of Captain of the Guards, and on whom the King reckoned most confidently, proved himself as faithless as the others.

The retreat from Madrid was as silent as the entry into the city had been. There were no external signs of ill-will, as there had previously been no tokens of welcome. The King departed by the same route he had taken on arriving. No honours were now paid him on the way. At Burgos, the Archbishop forbade the ringing of the bells, a homage which had been offered spontaneously when he previously passed through that town. On leaving Madrid the monarch ceased to exist : there remained only a general and an army in retreat.

The evacuation of Madrid caused all the French forces beyond the Ebro to fall back, and obliged them to abandon the siege of Saragossa, which they raised on the 13th of August, notwithstanding that they were already in possession of a portion of the town. Thus the French troops, forming three divisions under Marshals Bessières, Moncey, and Ney, withdrew from the interior of the country, and took up their position on the left bank of the Ebro, keeping only a few outposts on the right bank, especially near the Passacorva Pass on the road from Vittoria to Burgos. The seat of government was removed to Vittoria. King Joseph took up his abode, with the Imperial Guard and the Reserve, at Miranda de Ebro, in Castile, with the hope of retaining a footing in that province. Marshal Jourdan, who occupied the post of Major-General, was with him.

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* On this occasion the Spaniards said, "Joseph has put in his pocket the crown he could not keep on his head."

Such was the state of affairs and the position of the French Army in Spain, when I arrived at Miranda de Ebro on the 10th of September, 1808. The King had shown great courage and firmness under his reverses. He did not deceive himself as to the difficulties of his position, but he was ready to do all he could to better it. In our interviews, he talked to me with all his former confidence, and was grateful to me for coming to join him at a moment when his fortunes were at so low an ebb.

On investigating the state of affairs with him I ascertained that the recent misfortunes were the result of several errors. The state of public opinion in Spain had evidently been misunderstood, or, if it were not so, nothing had been done to conciliate it, and I could discern no method of repairing the evil. War was now our only resource ; but it is one thing to vanquish, and another to convince, and so long as the public mind remained unchanged, there was no probability of lasting success. My real opinion was that we would do well to relinquish the enterprise, but at that moment I could not make such a proposal. It only remained for me to resign myself to share the fate of King Joseph, while waiting until events should decide this great conflict in which France had been so imprudently involved by the Emperor.

Napoleon heard of the capitulation of Baylen a few days after he left Bayonne ; and even while he was receiving the congratulations of the authorities of the towns through which he passed on having added Spain to his dominions, the fruit of so many perfidious intrigues was slipping from his grasp. He must now have recognised the mistake he made in undertaking the conquest of Spain with means so inadequate. He had regarded that conquest as a mere episode in his vast designs, and now it was about to demand all his efforts and to drain all his resources.

But as he was not in a position to act promptly, his other forces being at too great a distance to furnish reinforcements to the army of Spain, and as before he could with safety withdraw any of the troops he had in the north he must secure tranquillity by diplomatic arrangements, he kept silence for the moment and dissembled. His anger with General Dupont found no open expression, and the newspapers, which every day for three months had been reporting the events in Spain, were now enjoined to maintain profound silence on all that was taking place there.

In his letters to his brother, the Emperor neither approved or disapproved of anything. In one, he merely said, " You probably do not care much for the Spanish crown, and it will not be difficult to find you another, if we cannot hold the one in dispute." I cannot tell what importance was to be attached to this hint ; but it was not taken by King Joseph, who, on the contrary, made head against the storm with all his might, thus endeavouring to justify the choice that had been made of him. Napoleon had evidently advanced this idea in order to prepare his brother for a change, and to set himself free if the results of the interview at Erfürth, which he was then planning, should forbid him to persist in his designs on Spain.

The capitulation of Baylen was followed by a tacit truce. The French, while waiting for reinforcements from the north, continued to hold their position on the Ebro, and the Spaniards, instead of advancing rapidly from the Sierra-Morena to that river, remained for a long time completely inactive ; * it was not until the 23d of August, more than five weeks after King Joseph's departure, that they entered Madrid, where they lost much precious time in idle rejoicings. At length, about the middle of September they appeared on the Ebro ; crossed that river above Miranda, took Bilboa, and forced the headquarters of the king to retire on Vittoria, which was reached on the 22d of September. But the Spaniards did not follow up their advantage, and the month of October was passed in marches and unimportant operations. Bilboa and the positions on the Ebro were alternately occupied and abandoned by the French and the Spaniards, and this petty warfare, which never assumed a serious character, gave time to the columns coming across France from the north, to reach Spain. Thus it was that the Spaniards lost, in a military point of view, the fruits of their victory of Baylen, and in the end the only important result of that event was to inspire the Spanish nation with extraordinary confidence, and subsequently, with obstinate determination which prevented all hope of a reconciliation.

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* After the capitulation, General Castaños returned to Seville, to fulfil the vow he had made of dedicating his victory to Saint Ferdinand, whose body is interred in the cathedral. He laid the crown of laurel, with which the town had presented him, on the saint's tomb. The French flags were suspended in the church.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIV.

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF GENERAL DUPONT'S SURRENDER OF BAYLEN.

IN conformity with the orders of the Grand Duke of Berg, General Dupont had marched on Toledo, at the head of about 20,000 men, and from thence had occupied La Mancha so far as the base of the Sierra-Morena, which he reached about the end of June 1808. His movements had met with no opposition. Hostilities had barely commenced between the two nations; the Government Junta, which had only been formed at Seville in June, had not yet had time to put the troops that were assembling in Andalusia into the field. These were afterwards placed under the command of General Castaños, with General Reding and the Marquis de Coupigny under his orders.

General Dupont continued to stretch out his forces, crossed the pass of the Sierra-Morena, and descended into the plain of Andujar, from whence he marched to Cordova. He left about half his troops behind, under the command of General Wedel, to occupy the other side of the Sierra-Morena so far as the Guadalquivir, and to keep up communications with Madrid. Thus the forces with General Dupont could not exceed 10 or 12,000 men. With so few troops the conquest of Andalusia was not to be thought of. He could therefore only hope to surprise a few towns, and to this the expedition was in fact limited. Cordova was sacked; the churches, convents, and public offices were pillaged; the inhabitants were robbed, and many of them were massacred.* The army then, having heard of the march of General Castaños, who was advancing from Seville upon Cordova, retired precipitately on Andujar. There could not have been a more ill-judged proceeding. A hostile demonstration which could have no results, and which was, consequently, only an avowal of weakness, was a *military blunder*, and an expedition disgraced by pillage, which rendered all the inhabitants hostile, was a *political blunder*, whose results were still more serious.

Those consequences were not long delayed in either case. General Castaños, who was pursuing the French Army, whose timely retreat had been prevented by the occupation of Cordova, detached from 14,000 to 15,000 men under General Reding. These troops marched through Jaen, to Mengibar, a position on the Guadalquivir above Rondujar, which General Wedel had occupied with a detachment. This position was taken on the 16th of July. On the same day, the Marquis de Coupigny crossed the Guadalquivir above Mengibar, and on the 16th he was on the road from Andujar to Baylen. General Wedel, in falling back, had abandoned the latter post and had withdrawn to Guaroman at the entrance of the Sierra-Morena. These movements caused General Dupont to be entirely cut off from General Wedel, and his lines of communication with La Mancha and Madrid were consequently intercepted.

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* See the report of the pillage of Cordova addressed by the Corregidor of that town to the council of Castille, and inserted in the *Madrid Gazette* of the year 1808, page 1372. According to this report the sack lasted ten days. General Laplace is mentioned as having taken 2,000 ducats from the Count of Villa-Maria, with whom he lodged, and to have exacted besides 8,000 reals. General Dupont is accused of having taken from the treasury 5 millions of reals, and 5 millions more from the custom-house funds. This report is doubtless exaggerated, but if even the half were true, it would be a great deal too much.

On the 18th of July Reding occupied Baylen. This was a very bold manœuvre, for it threw this Spanish corps between General Wedel at Guaroman and General Dupont at Andujar. The consequences to the Spaniards might have been serious, if Wedel had immediately returned and attacked Reding at Baylen. But Wedel remained inactive in the position he had taken up, and waited for orders. General Castaños, on the other hand, marched from Cordova, and on the same day, the 18th, occupied the heights above Andujar,* and prepared to attack the French who were holding that town, while Reding was to fall on them in the rear. General Dupont, who felt all the danger of his position, left Andujar, hoping to reach Baylen, and not knowing that it was held by the enemy. But, having learned, while on the march, that Wedel had withdrawn from Baylen, and that his means of communication with that General were cut off by Reding, he saw no means of escape but by forcing his way through the lines of the latter. He resolved on attacking him between Andujar and Baylen, on the 19th of July, before dawn, and cutting his way through. The attack began at three in the morning. The French troops did not belie their ancient reputation ; the Spaniards were several times forced to yield, and their lines were broken more than once,† yet victory was still undecided, and the French had already lost more than 2000 men. It was noon. General Dupont seeing his army exhausted by the night march and the great heat of the day, harassed on the Andujar side by Castaños who had sent a detachment under General Peña to attack the French on their rear, and unable either to advance or to retreat, despaired not only of victory but of holding out until the arrival of General Wedel, on whom he had reckoned to keep Reding in check. In this terrible extremity, he thought himself bound solely to save his troops from utter destruction, and he offered to capitulate. A truce of a few hours was at first agreed upon, and the negotiation ended in a complete capitulation. The following were its principal conditions : The entire French army was to lay down its arms ; the Spaniards undertaking to send it back to France in ships which they would supply for the purpose at Cadiz, and promising besides to provide the necessary passports for the passage ; officers and men would be allowed to retain their baggage.‡

General Wedel's division, which had taken no part in the engagement, and which had not yet arrived on the field of battle, was included in the treaty, and it was stipulated that it should share the fate of the army corps to which it belonged.

The conferences were held in a field on the left of the high road from Andujar to Baylen, at about three or four miles from the latter town. The capitulation was signed by General Dupont, and by General Marescot, who had joined the army on his return from a special mission with which he had been entrusted. He was quite apart from the command, and had nothing to do with the events of the day, but he would not desert General Dupont, who on his side attached great value to the signature and recognition of an officer who was highly respected, and whose opinion would have great weight in the judgment that should be passed upon the capitulation. On his return to France, General Marescot paid dearly for his generosity.*

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* They are called *Los Ojos de Cindujar*.

† See the account given by General Reding in the *Gazetta de Madrid*, page 988.

‡ The principal honours of the day evidently belong to General Reding. Castaños may have contrived the plan of the battle, but he was not on the field. Yet he alone is mentioned in all the accounts of the event. The reason is that Reding was a Swiss and a Spanish name was required.

While this negotiation was taking place on the field of battle, where the two armies had just been engaged, General Wedel, who had begun his march in the morning in order to come to the assistance of General Dupont, reached the heights of Baylen. On his way he had defeated the troops left behind by Reding, to watch his movements, and had even taken 600 prisoners. His men were still fresh, and his presence might have changed the fate of the day, and caused Reding to repent of the bold step he had taken, but the General arrived too late. He has been blamed for having made a halt of two hours between Guaroman and Baylen, and for not having quickened his march when he heard firing. Whatever may have been the cause of this delay, it is certain that the disasters of the day are in great measure attributable to it.

General Wedel incurred the fate of the rest of the army, and surrendered himself as prisoner. This was a strange decision! Was he to consider himself bound by a capitulation in which he had taken no part? Was it not in his power to withdraw, and to regain La Mancha, and from thence reach Madrid? Could the Spaniards have prevented his retreat? Was he obliged to yield to these hard conditions, in order to save General Dupont's already disarmed troops, who should, it was threatened, be put to the sword, if General Wedel hesitated about surrendering. None of these questions are settled. This event is therefore of an extraordinary character, and as remarkable for the singular circumstances by which it was attended as for the importance of its results.

I am far from believing that there was any treason in the matter, though this was insinuated at the time, and the accusations of the French Government against Generals Dupont and Marescot, together with the severe treatment which they underwent in France, were calculated to substantiate the charge. Nothing could be more unlikely; and in default of any other proof, the rigour with which the Spaniards treated the French prisoners would be a sufficiently strong one to refute such a theory. But that great blunders were committed cannot be denied, and if the pillage of Cordova and the desire to retain such ill-gotten gains were the origin of the faulty military measures that were taken in the first place, and afterwards led to a surrender being preferred to any other line of conduct, that is a sufficiently grave subject for reproach, without having recourse to the odious imputation of treason, which was then so foreign to the character of French generals.

The capitulation of Baylen, whatever was the motive that led to it, did not put an end to the disasters of the French army. After having defiled before the Spanish army on the 22d and 23d July to the number of 8000 men, the remains of Dupont's corps, and 10,000 men of Wedel's division, it was subjected to every humiliation which a people prompt to exaggerate its advantages, and to exercise them with arrogance, could inflict on a defeated enemy—one hitherto dreaded and invincible. The recollection of the conduct of the French at Cordova was, besides, it must be owned, too recent and too exasperating not to have stifled the feelings of compassion which are generally aroused by a brave and unfortunate enemy. Thus, everywhere on the passage of the French, they were insulted and abused. A rising of the mob took place at Puerto-Santa Maria, as the French troops were embarking on the vessels that were to take them to Cadiz. Their baggage was plundered by the populace, on the pretext that some vases taken from a church at Cordova had been seen to fall from one of the chests. Lastly, the army of prisoners were not sent on to France as had been stipulated. Their departure from Cadiz was delayed on various pretences, and, two years later, when Cadiz was besieged by the French, the greater number of the prisoners were still on the hulks where they had been placed.

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* He was deprived of his command after a long imprisonment.

General Dupont protested against the infraction of the treaty, and complained loudly of the ill-usage to which his troops were subjected. His protests were unavailing ; but they occasioned a correspondence between himself and General Morla, the commandant at Cadiz, in the course of which the latter makes use of such severe expressions and such abusive recrimination, that it is evident the Spanish Government of the day shared the feelings of the people, and was quite as ungenerous towards a fallen foe.

CHAPTER XXV.

Capitulation of General Junot in Portugal—The French army leaves the line of the Ebro and falls back on Vittoria—The Emperor arrives at that city on the 7th of November—He deeply offends Spanish pride by the insulting violence of his language—He orders his numerous troops to advance, and follows them on the 10th of November—Marshal Soult's victory over the army of Estremadura opens the gates of Burgos to the French, and the Emperor removes his head-quarters thither on the 11th—Frightful ravages committed by the French army on its march—King Joseph's indignation and grief affect his health—The good understanding between the brothers is again impaired, Napoleon looking upon Spain as his own conquest, and allowing no authority there except his own—The Author advises Joseph to relinquish the crown of Spain, but is not listened to—Marshal Lannes having beaten the troops of Castaños, near Tudela, the Emperor removes his head-quarters to Aranda de Duero—Engagement at Somo-Sierra—The King, who constantly follows the Imperial Head-quarters, at last joins Napoleon at Chamartin, near Madrid, the inhabitants of which place seem resolved on its defence—Retiro is attacked and taken—Madrid capitulates and the French take possession of the town—The Emperor continues to exercise the sole sovereign authority, and the King retires to Prado—Numerous confiscations are ordered by Napoleon—The Austrian armaments, and the march of the English troops under Sir John Moore, who threatens Valladolid, induce the Emperor before leaving Madrid to effect a reconciliation with Joseph—Arrangement come to by the two brothers.

After the retreat from Madrid, the French army, as already said, had divided into three bodies, and, amounting in all to hardly 50,000 men, taken up its position on the Ebro. There it had remained inactive for six weeks, and this inaction encouraged the enemy to cross the Ebro a little above Miranda, and threaten us in the rear. A movement on our part towards Burgos would have immediately recalled the Spaniards to the right bank of the river, and on the 17th of September such a movement was determined on. But at the moment when the order for its execution was about to be given, intelligence was received of the convention of Cintra, which had been concluded on the 30th of August, between General Junot and General Dalrymple, commandant of the English army in Portugal, in consequence of the battle of Vimicero, lost by the French a few days before. This capitulation, in accordance with which the French army had re-embarked to return to France, made the English complete masters in Portugal, and they were now able to give assistance to Spain without hindrance. In such a situation any movement would have been imprudent, and therefore the plan of an advance on Burgos was abandoned, and the head-quarters being no longer sufficiently strong at Miranda were removed to Vittoria, there to await the coming of the Emperor, who was shortly expected to arrive in Spain.

During our stay at Vittoria, we were kept continually on the alert by the movements of the enemy. They had crossed the Ebro, and taken Bilboa on our flank, and many times threatened to cut off our communication with France; but the activity of Marshal Ney, whose troops were employed in baffling the projects of the Spaniards, the combined movements on Orduña executed by the King at the head of a strong detachment, and the skilful measures taken by Marshal Jourdan, arrested the progress of the enemy. Bilboa was retaken, and the columns that the Emperor was sending into Spain beginning to arrive in succession daily, rendered our position more formidable. At length all was ready, and preparations were made to open the campaign which was to decide the fate of Spain.

Meanwhile Napoleon had learned with certainty at the council of Erfürth that the Emperor Alexander had remained faithful to the engagements into which he had entered at Tilsit. Prussia, enfeebled as she was and occupied by a French army, could do nothing, so long as the good understanding between Russia and France lasted. Austria alone was doubtful; but the habitual procrastination of the cabinet of Vienna gave Napoleon confidence. He thought that the brilliancy of the fresh victories over the English, which he promised himself, as well as the conquest of Spain, which he believed to be merely a matter of a rapid campaign, would bring Austria to a state of resignation. In any case he would leave sufficient troops in the north to fight that power so long as it was his only enemy, and the event proved that on this head he was not mistaken.

Thus everything was shaping itself towards a fresh contest and one the more remarkable, because the English, who already had expelled the French from Portugal, were going to take part in it, and to encounter their formidable enemy in person. Princes and people awaited the issue with anxiety; the eyes of Europe, which for ten years had been fixed on Italy and Germany, where the destinies of nations had so often been weighed in the balance and decided, were now turned towards a country which had hitherto been unconcerned in those great events. Spain had suddenly become the stage whereon the most fortunate and most skilful general of our time was to find himself face to face with the enemy he was burning to attack, and in conflict with the wild courage of a nation who seemed to have waited until this man had conquered Europe to defy him. The Emperor, after having made arrangements which were to ensure to him some years of concord with Russia, arrived in Paris from Erfürth on the 19th of October, 1808. The formidable masses which composed the Grand Army were already in movement. Their passage through France, covered with honours and glory, was a succession of fêtes, and, only that a certain want of discipline was occasionally manifested, their march would have resembled a continual triumph rather than a military movement. The troops had just reached the Spanish frontier when the opening of the Legislative Body took place in Paris, on the 23d of October.

The Emperor's speech on that solemn occasion is full of pride, satisfied with the present, and confident in the future. "It is," said he, "a special favour from the same Providence that has constantly favoured our arms, that the English authorities are now so blinded by passion, that they are not satisfied with the empire of the sea, but must present their armies on the continent. I intend leaving Paris in a few days, in order to take the command of my army in person, and, with the help of God, I shall crown the King of Spain in Madrid and hoist my eagles on the towers of Lisbon."

Vainglorious boast, which events have too utterly belied!

Napoleon left Paris on the 30th of October, and reached Vittoria on the evening of the 7th of November. He was accompanied by the Prince de Neuchatel, the Marshal-Dukes of Dalmatia and Friuli, and by his generals, the Duke of Rovigo, Nansouty, and Lefebvre-Desnouettes. The King met him at a distance of five miles from the town. The Emperor had travelled with astonishing rapidity, but he seemed to be very little fatigued. However he saw no one during the evening except his brother, with whom he dined. On the following day he came to the audience given by the King in a gallery of the house in which Joseph was residing. He requested that the Spaniards present should be named to him, and spoke to them all with great animation, expressing himself alternately in French and in Italian, according as he thought he could best make himself understood. But the greater part of what he said was unintelligible to them. I heard it all, and perceived that he was excessively annoyed.

He complained bitterly of the conduct of the Spaniards, who had stupidly failed to see the advantages of the change he had introduced in their political system. He was especially bitter against the monks: "It is they," he exclaimed, "who mislead and deceive you. I am as good a Catholic as they, and I am not against your religion. Your priests are paid by the English, and these

English who say they come to help you, want your trade and your colonies. That is their real design. What have you gained by listening to their perfidious counsels? I am here with the soldiers who conquered at Austerlitz, at Jena and at Eylau. Who can withstand *them?* Certainly not your wretched Spanish troops, who do not know how to fight. I wished to spare you. I thought that troops would be required only to maintain public tranquillity and to garrison the fortresses; but now Spain must become the seat of a sanguinary war, and you will have to bear all its attendant evils. In two months I shall have conquered Spain, and I shall have all the rights over her that conquest gives the victor. Treaties, constitutions, all the acts that have been sanctioned by mutual consent, exist no longer. I shall no longer be bound to carry them out, and if I still respect any of them, you will owe it simply to my generosity. But as I can no longer trust the nation, I shall take sureties for it, and if I place it under military law, it will be because Spain herself has forced me to do so."

During this apostrophe, and some others of the same kind, his auditors, not clearly comprehending their import, looked at each other in bewilderment. Those who understood him, for instance the Spanish Ministers, were distressed, for they could not doubt that as soon as the intentions and thoughts so bluntly and publicly expressed by the Emperor, became known, they would exasperate the people, and would bring to the front that formidable militia of monks which he had attacked so openly. His language about the Spanish troops, and the poor opinion he entertained of them, were especially calculated mortally to offend a nation to whom the least appearance of contempt is intolerable. Thus, at the very outset, he had deprived himself of all moral support.

The Emperor remained three days only at Vittoria, to regulate military matters and to put the bodies of troops that he had brought from the Northern frontiers and the interior of France in motion. These troops, added to the 50,000 men who had taken up their position on the Ebro, after the retreat from Madrid, formed an army of 150,000 men, exclusive of the Imperial Guard and the King of Spain's Royal Guard just arrived from Naples. The army, full of enthusiasm, was composed, in great measure, of the veterans who had so often distinguished themselves in Italy and Germany, and was only waiting for the signal to fall upon Spain as upon a prey which could not escape them.*

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* Independently of these troops, which were about to serve under the immediate orders of the Emperor, there was a considerable body in Catalonia under General Gouvion St. Cyr. By adding the two regiments of the Guards to the line, we may reckon the French soldiers intended for the conquest of Spain at 250,000 men at the opening of the campaign.

That signal was given. The Emperor left Vittoria on the 10th November, and on the same day the army crossed the Ebro at various points. At the opening of the campaign the disposition of the troops was as follows : The first and fourth divisions, under Marshals Victor and Lefebvre, formed the right wing of the French army, and were marching on the army of Galicia, which was then commanded by General Blake ; Marshal Soult, with the second division, was in the centre, and was marching on Burgos through Miranda de Ebro, having on his front the Spanish army called that of Estremadura ; the left wing was commanded by Marshal Moncey, who was very shortly afterwards succeeded by Marshal Lannes. This wing debouched from Navarre by Logroño, and marched against the Spanish force called the Army of the Centre, under General Castaños. Another corps was formed under Marshal Moncey for the siege of Saragossa, and kept General Palafox in check in Arragon.

To these forces, the Spanish could oppose about 150,000 men divided into the armies of Galicia, Estremadura, the Centre, and Arragon. The Army of the Centre commanded by Castaños was the strongest. But the Spanish Generals were independent of each other and received their instruction from the Central Junta at Aranjuez, which had appointed Civil Commissioners to each army. This arrangement, which deprived the Generals of part of their authority, could only exercise a most disastrous influence on military affairs.

The first advance of the French army was attended by striking success at all points. On the 11th of November, Marshal Victor defeated the Galician forces at Espinosa, and obliged Blake, who commanded them, to retreat hurriedly to the mountains of the

This force was subsequently augmented by the return of the army of Portugal, which had been sent into France after the Cintra Convention and was now ordered back to Spain. There were then nearly 300,000 French in the Peninsula. These troops were divided into eight *corps d'armée*, under commands as follows :

The 1st, under Marshal Victor ;

The 2d, under Marshal Soult ;

The 3d, quartered principally in Arragon, under Marshal Moncey ; afterward under Marshal Lannes and General Junot successively, and finally under General Suchet ;

The 4th, under Marshal Lefebvre and afterwards under General Sebastiani ;

The 5th, under Marshal Mortier ;

The 6th, under Marshal Ney ;

The 7th, in Catalonia, under General Gouvion St. Cyr, and afterwards under Marshal Augereau ;

And lastly, the 8th in Portugal under General Junot, and later under General Massena.

Asturias and Galicia. Marshal Soult reached Burgos on the 10th, and completely defeated the army of Estremadura, commanded by the Marquis of Belvedere, a young man of no experience, near the town of Gamoual. After this victory, which opened the gates of Burgos to the French, Marshal Soult marched on Reynosa to cut off the retreat of the army of Galicia which had been defeated by Victor. But he was too late; Blake had already made his way through and had reached Galicia. Marshal Soult occupied Santander and the hill sides of the Asturias.

These engagements cost the French but few men, and the vanquished suffered severely. The Spanish troops, hastily levied, animated by a patriotic instinct and full of unfounded confidence, could not stand against soldiers who had fought fifty battles and were accustomed to victory. Nevertheless the Emperor celebrated these preliminary arrangements with great demonstrations, although they were remarkable only for their rapidity. To make it believed that the War in Spain would really be ended in one campaign, he represented the easily won victories of Gamoual and Espinosa as great and bloody battles, although by a curious contradiction the very same bulletins express the greatest contempt for the Spanish troops, whom they describe as a mob of school boys and peasants unworthy of the name of soldiers. Lastly, to add to the glory of these victories, the colours taken at Burgos were sent to Paris and solemnly handed over to the Legislative Body.* On the 11th of November the Emperor moved his head-quarters to Burgos where King Joseph arrived on the 12th. All the villages on the way were deserted. Briviesca, a town of some importance half way between Miranda and Burgos, had not been spared any more than the others, and we could scarcely find a night's shelter there. As we approached Burgos, we crossed the field of battle on which the engagement of the 10th had taken place—it was covered with the bodies of the slain. A melancholy spectacle! yet it did not impress me so painfully as the appearance of the town when we entered it. Almost all the houses were deserted and plundered, the furniture was broken up and the fragments lay in the mud ; one part of the town on the other side of the Arlanzou* was in flames ; a brutal soldiery were breaking doors and windows and smashing everything that came in their way, consuming little and destroying much. The churches were sacked, the streets were choked with the dead and the dying ; in fact we witnessed all the horrors of an assault, although the town had made no defence ! The Cathedral, one of the finest monuments of Gothic architecture, owed its safety to the precaution which had been taken to keep the doors closed. But the Chartreuse and the principal Convents had been sacked. The monastery of las Huelgas, the wealthiest and most noble among the communities of women in Old Castille, was converted into stables, the tombs within the Church and Cloister had been broken open in search of the treasures which they were supposed to contain, and the corpses of the nuns were flung on the pavement, among human bones, and fragments of shrouds.

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* The despatch of these flags was the occasion of an official rectification, which proves to what a pitch Napoleon carried his jealousy of his prerogative as a Sovereign, and his fear lest the sending of these trophies should be regarded as a homage offered to the Body representing the nation.

Several newspapers had stated that the Empress, in replying to a Deputation from the Legislative Body, which was sent with congratulations on the victories in Spain, had said that she was very glad to see that the first thought of the Emperor had been "for the Legislative Body which represents the Nation." This expression was severely commented on in a note inserted in the *Moniteur* of December 15th. It was stated therein that the Empress understood the Constitution of France too well to have made use of this expression, and that the first representative of the Nation is the Emperor.

We remained a fortnight at Burgos, and during our stay I had time to become sick of horrors. We may date from this period the manifest moral change which took place in the French army. The resolution of abandoning the villages and even the towns, to which the inhabitants had come, had resulted in the impossibility of procuring any regular supplies for the army, and the soldiers, thrown upon their own resources for the necessaries of life, were no longer under any restraint. They would no longer do anything but fight and plunder ; military discipline vanished, and the Emperor, who witnessed all this disorder, being unable to command the daily distribution of rations, was obliged to tolerate it. I saw a bivouac fire kept up all night under the very windows of the Archbishop's house, where the Emperor was lodging, by burning musical instruments and articles of furniture taken from the houses. King Joseph remonstrated, but his interference was ill-received, and the pain with which he witnessed such treatment under his own eyes of one of the most important towns of the kingdom that he was supposed to govern gravely affected his health. He kept his room for several days, and the Emperor visited him twice during his stay at Burgos. The interviews between the two brothers were not of a pleasant nature. Napoleon no longer considered himself bound by the engagements he had made at Bayonne, and though he seemed quite willing that Joseph should retain the crown he had bestowed on him, he regarded himself as authorized, by right of conquest, to regulate afresh the system on which Spain was to be governed in future. It was evident that he would leave on the throne only the mere shadow of a king. And in fact, so soon as he had put his foot on Spanish territory, all other authority but his own ceased to exist among the French, and that of the King, feeble enough hitherto, completely disappeared. But if this concentration of power was necessary for the success of military operations, the Emperor, supposing him to be sincere in his intention of maintaining his brother on the throne, was bound to treat the sovereign he had given to Spain with the consideration due to the supreme rank to which he himself had called him. Far from doing this, he dispensed with even the simplest civilities, and neither permitted him to share in the command, nor to partake in the renown of the military achievements. The King was reduced to following in the track of the head-quarters. He would have even gone without an escort, if his Guards, the only regiment at his command, had not defended him against the bands that gathered on the rear of the French troops so soon as they had passed by.

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* A river which runs through Burgos and falls into the Pisuerga.

I was the King's companion on this melancholy journey, and he informed me of what had taken place in the two interviews at Burgos. I did not hesitate to advise him to resign a position of so little honour. I counselled him strongly to renounce a crown which he could only reach through torrents of blood, and which could never be made sufficiently secure to justify his acceptance of it at the price of such humiliation and insults. I still believe that had he followed my advice, making known the motives by which he was actuated, he would have been held in respect by his contemporaries and by posterity. But his fear that his renunciation of the crown would be imputed to weakness rather than to philosophy, his anxiety for the fate of the few Spaniards who had cast in their lot with him, and whom he thought he could better protect by remaining—perhaps also it is hard to renounce the name of King after having once borne it—all these considerations prevailed, and my advice was unheeded.

During his stay at Burgos, a financial measure of Napoleon's ruined a large number of Spanish landholders, and still further increased the hatred and aversion telt towards the French. He decreed the confiscation of the wool then in the town, which was the ordinary depôt for that valuable article of commerce, after the shearing of the sheep, until it is sent for export to Santander. This confiscation was effected under the pretence of indemnifying the French who had incurred losses in Spain.

The Emperor, who had only remained at Burgos to give time to the left wing of his army to cross the Ebro, and to advance on the Douro, having been informed that Marshal Lannes, who was in command, had beaten General Castaños' division on the 22d of November at Tudela, left the capital of Old Castille on the 25th of November and moved his head-quarters to Aranda. The King, on learning of this brilliant success by a letter from the Emperor himself, set out on the morning of the 28th attended by his guards and a small retinue, and we reached Aranda on the 30th of November. The Emperor had left the place the evening before, and on the 30th had defeated a body of Spanish troops entrenched in the Passes of Somo-Sierra. After this victory he advanced by forced marches on Madrid, being no longer opposed by any enemy capable of resisting him.

On receiving this news, we set off again in the evening of the 30th of November. At midnight we reached Fresnillo de la Fuente, which place we left at four o'clock A.M. of the 1st of December. After a few hours' march we came in sight of the lofty chain of mountains which crosses this part of Spain. It is called Guadarrama and separates New from Old Castille.* The road we were following enters this chain by a very narrow pass that runs between two parallel mountains, and ends in a *puerto* as it is called by the Spaniards, which separates the two watersheds of this range. The first, by which we were approaching, carried its waters into the Douro, and the second into the Jarama, and thence into the Tagus.

It was here, close to a village which doubtless on account of its situation had received the name of Somo-Sierra, that the enemy had attempted some resistance. A formidable battery placed on the height, and commanding the pass, seemed to render it impregnable. But this battery was forced and carried in an instant by a charge of the cavalry of the Guard and especially of the Polish Lancers.† The road was strewn with the bodies of men and horses. Twelve or fifteen guns and three hundred prisoners were the fruit of the daring and victorious action by which New Castille was opened to us. The road on the other side of Somo-Sierra was strewn with the wreck of the fugitive Spanish army. Buytrago, which we reached at two o'clock in the afternoon, is a very large village, but it was completely deserted, not a single inhabitant remaining in it. We only stayed the time necessary for resting our horses, and resumed our journey at six in the evening. We proceeded towards Madrid by a very fine road.

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* This chain runs from West to East, from Cape Finisterre to the frontiers of Catalonia. Here, trending to the South, it encircles the province of Cuença, the kingdoms of Mercia and Granada, and slopes down to the Mediterranean at the Straits of Gibraltar. It is very lofty, and several of its peaks are covered with snow during nearly the whole of the year.

† Count Philip de Ségur received three severe wounds in this engagement.

At a short distance from Buytrago, we crossed the last spur of the Guadarrama mountains, and at length entered on the plain of New Castille, a wide table-land at a great height above the level of the sea. We endeavoured to quicken our march so as to reach St. Augustin, where we knew the Emperor had fixed his head-quarters. But the exhaustion of our horses obliged us to halt a league on this side, at another village called El Molar, where we found provisions and forage. We had travelled on that day more than twenty French leagues. We were now only three (Spanish) * leagues from Madrid, which we expected to enter without difficulty on the following day, the 2d of December. But it fell out otherwise, and in order to explain the unexpected resistance of the Capital I must recur to what had taken place during the last few months among the Spaniards.

After the battle of Baylen and the retreat of the French to the Ebro, communications with the various provinces of Spain were re-established, and the want of a central authority began to be felt. The Government, which up to that period had been divided among the Provincial Juntas, was placed in the hands of a supreme Central Junta, appointed by the Provincial Juntas and consisting of thirty-two deputies. The members of this new Government assembled at Aranjuez on the 25th of September, 1808, under the presidency of Count Florida Blanca, and proclaimed their authority in a manifesto addressed to the nation. It was recognised, after some hesitation, by the Council of Castille, the first judiciary body in Spain, and even by the Tribunal of the Inquisition. In this manifesto, the Supreme Junta laid down the principles on which it purposed to act. It was drawn up so as to propitiate the prevalent sentiments in Spain. It contains the germ of the political changes ardently desired by the middle classes of society, who wished to introduce representative Government into Spain. The Central Junta at first conciliated the people by the adoption of certain revolutionary measures. The views of the citizens were enquired into, oaths were required of them, and retractations exacted from such as were suspected of partiality towards the French. Those who did not hold the opinions of the Junta were dismissed from their posts, while those who decidedly opposed them were banished. The Council of Castille had to annul the Acts of Cession and Renunciation by Charles IV. and his children, and to erase them from the registers. A special tribunal was appointed to arrest and to try as a spy every individual accused of keeping up

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* There are twenty Spanish leagues to a degree.

any communication with the French. The estates of those Spaniards who had held any post on the nomination of King Joseph, and those of his ministers in particular, were sold by auction. The only persons excepted were those, who, like M. de Cevallos, and the Dukes del Parque and del Infantado, after accepting political places and even posts in the household, had forsaken Joseph when his fortunes changed. The Prince of the Peace, who had incurred the unrelenting hatred of the nation, was treated with equal severity, as were also the members of his family: their goods were declared national property, and even their furniture was sold. Lastly, the Junta, in order to propitiate the clergy, allowed the Jesuits, who since the suppression of the Order had been banished from Spain, to return, and appointed the Bishop of Orense Grand Inquisitor.

These proceedings pleased the people of Madrid, satisfied their resentment, and added daily to the public agitation. The Junta, moreover, fearing to weaken the feelings on which its own power depended, carefully concealed from the Nation the danger now impending over it from the onward march of Napoleon's army. But when the campaign was opened, and that each day, so to speak, brought the news of fresh disaster, the Junta, no longer able to hide the misfortunes of the army, cast the blame on the generals; thus altogether loosing the bonds of discipline among the troops. The command of the Army of Galicia was taken from General Blake in consequence of the engagement at Espinosa, and given to the Marquis de la Romana. And after the battle of Tudela, Castaños, the conqueror of Baylen, was very near being declared a traitor by the same nation which three months previously had honoured him as the heroic Saviour of Spain.

Meanwhile, the Spanish troops, being no longer able to oppose the advance of the French on Madrid, the Junta, whose members acted only as popular tribunes, resolved to put the capital in a state of defence, regardless of the danger of exasperating a victorious enemy, and exposing the city to those penalties which it might incur by a vain resistance. The organisation of the defence was entrusted to General Don Thomas Morla * and to the Prince of Castelfranco. The pavement of the streets near the gates of the town was taken up; the Palace and the enclosure of Buen-Retiro,† which overlooks Madrid, were fortified and defended by batteries; the barracks of the Body Guard, situated on the north-west of the town, were garrisoned and crenelated. Redoubts were

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* The same who had been Captain General of Andalusia, and who commanded at Cadiz at the time of the capitulation of Baylen.

† A former residence of the Kings of Spain, situated to the North of Madrid, within the walls of the city.

raised to mask the principal gates, loop-holes were pierced in the outer walls, and also in all projecting buildings. More than a hundred pieces of ordnance defended these roughly constructed fortifications, which appeared to the ignorant populace to be impregnable ramparts. Nevertheless the preparations made by the Junta since the French had passed the Douro, and still more the departure of the Junta itself from Aranjuez,* immediately after the pass of Somo-Sierra had been forced, cooled the enthusiasm of the inhabitants. Private interests began to assert themselves; they might even perhaps have prevailed, and Madrid have opened her gates, if the lowest class among the populace, who had nothing to lose, and who had been too much conciliated up to that time to be controlled now, had not seized on authority. Fugitives from the Reserve Division, defeated at Somo-Sierra, who had reached Madrid in disorder, joined the mob, and were the more zealous that they hoped by a tardy display of ardour to atone for the defeat which they attributed to their officers.† The streets and squares echoed with ferocious shouts calling all citizens to arms. Those who dared to speak of any compromise were threatened with death as traitors. No flag of truce could be sent out, no negotiation could be opened, no proposition could be heard.

While these things were taking place in Madrid the French army arrived without further opposition close to the capital. On the 2d of December the cavalry of the Vanguard had reached the neighbouring heights and the Emperor arrived at noon. He had intended to enter the city on that same day, it being the anniversary of his coronation and also of the battle of Austerlitz; but his summons to surrender produced no effect, and he was obliged to await the coming of the infantry, which did not arrive until rather late in the evening, and to defer the attack until the following day. The Emperor fixed his head-quarters at Chamartin, in a country-house belonging to the Duke del Infantado, and the King remained in the same village.

Firing began on the 3d of December in the morning, and lasted until an hour after noon. The positions on the Retiro were forced, the French got within the walls of the town and thence into the Rado and the Alcala. But the attack was less successful on the side of the Guards' Barracks; the artillery failed to make a breach in the massive walls of the building, and the Spaniards kept up from the windows a deadly fire which inflicted serious loss on the French.

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* The Junta removed first to Talavera de la Reyna, thence to Merida; and later on, to Seville. Shortly before leaving Aranjuez, the Members took an oath to listen to no proposal for peace until Ferdinand VII. was restored to the throne.

† They rebelled against General Don Benito San Juan, their commander, who endeavoured to restrain their excesses, and massacred him. The soldiers suspended him by his right hand to a gibbet, and shot him.

During the attack on Buen-Retiro, and after the occupation of that position, there had been some negotiations between the Marquis of Castelar, Commandant of Madrid, and Marshal Berthier, but they led to no result. In the evening, however, there was a kind of truce ; General Morla came to Chamartin, and the firing ceased.

The ill-success of the defence of Buen-Retiro, and the sight of the enemy already master of a portion of the town, had shaken the confidence of the besieged : during the night the most ardent among them took their departure and left the field free to those who wished to come to terms. On the 4th of December, at six in the morning, General Morla and General Don Fernand de la Véra presented themselves at head-quarters to treat for a capitulation. This was signed in the course of the morning, and the French took possession of the city, of which General Belliard was appointed Governor. The principal stipulations of the surrender were as follows : Full and entire amnesty to those inhabitants who had taken up arms in defence of the town ; inviolability of private property ; exclusion of all other worship than the Catholic ; and maintenance of the tribunals until the new organization of the kingdom should be established.

In this capitulation, and in the numerous documents connected with it, there was no mention made of the King ; he had kept aloof from all the negotiations as from the military operations. Neither was there any mention of the constitution given to Spain a few months before, nor of the arrangements concluded at Bayonne. The Emperor, acting as a Conqueror, did not consider himself bound by those antecedents, and exercised the full extent of sovereign power, without admitting any intermediary between himself and the nation. All his decrees and all his orders being made without the concurrence of the King, the position of the latter at head-quarters, where he bore a vain title without any functions, became quite unbearable. Having no authority to exercise at Madrid, Joseph would not go thither, and preferred to withdraw to one of the country houses belonging to the Kings of Spain, while awaiting the course of events which should either restore him to his rights, or make him resolve upon renouncing them altogether. He therefore left Chamartin on the 6th of December, and took up his abode at Prado, an ancient castle built by Charles V. in an immense wood about a league from Madrid.

The strictest order and discipline were observed by the French troops on entering Madrid after the capitulation, and the inhabitants suffered only from the evils inseparable from the presence of a foreign army. Entire tranquillity reigned in the town from the 4th of December, and every one was free to return to his ordinary occupations.

But this moderate conduct, which was rendered all the more generous by the hostility of the inhabitants, obtained for the French neither regard nor gratitude from those whom they spared; and hatred, which the clemency of the Conqueror had failed to abate, might be discerned in the gloomy and severe countenances of the few inhabitants who showed themselves outside their houses. None came to meet the French, none sought to propitiate their new masters by attentions to the generals and officers. Even curiosity seemed to have lost its power. For several days no women appeared in the streets; none even could be seen at the windows. The theatres were re-opened by order of the French Government, but no Spaniards attended the performances. At the houses in which the soldiers were quartered, everything they required was either given them, or they were suffered to take it, but nothing was offered, and the masters of the house avoided as far as possible all contact with their guests. Never did the inflexible Castilian character display more obstinacy, and never was the greatest misfortune that can happen to a capital city, that of falling into the power of the enemy, borne with more dignity and pride.

Struck by the extraordinary deportment of the people, Napoleon was obliged to recognise that he had been mistaken, and that the seizure of Madrid had not produced the effect he had intended. Moreover, that capital, which is inferior in population and wealth to several other towns in the kingdom, does not exert the influence —often a dangerous one—that the vast capitals of some European States exercise over the rest of the nation. In taking Madrid he had only taken a city whose surrender would not have involved that of Toledo, distant only five-and-thirty miles, unless troops had been sent there also.

In vain did the Emperor try to change the public mind by using the means that had succeeded elsewhere. He had flattered himself that his famous name, and the desire to behold so extraordinary a man would have attracted the populace to him; that the road from Madrid to Chamartin would be thronged with a curious multitude; and that he would be watched and followed. Nothing of the kind occurred. He passed through the town to visit the palace of the Kings of Spain; no one followed nor even stayed to look at him on his way. He held a grand review of the army on the plain between Chamartin and Madrid. It had been announced two days beforehand in the hope that some of the inhabitants of the town would be attracted by curiosity, and that he should receive some kind of homage from them. In this also he was disappointed : the review took place, but there was not a single Spaniard present.

This determined enmity, and still more this disdainful indifference, were profoundly irritating to Napoleon, and were probably not without influence on his ulterior views for Spain. From the measures which he took after the capitulation of Madrid, and especially from his proclamation of the 7th of December to the Spaniards, it is clear that he already contemplated the annexation of at least a part of the Peninsula to his Empire. The proclamation ends with these remarkable words : "If my efforts are in vain, if you do not respond to my confidence, it will only remain for me to treat you as conquered provinces and to place my brother on another throne. I shall then put the crown of Spain on my own head, and I shall know how to make evil doers respect it, for God has given me both the strength and the will to overcome every obstacle." During Joseph's stay at Prado, the Emperor visited his brother and had a long conference with him, but it brought about no change in their relative positions, and the two brothers parted mutually dissatisfied. Although the King whom he had himself created six months before was present, Napoleon continued to reign alone. He alleged that as he had conquered Spain, all other rights had disappeared before those of conquest, and that it was no longer in virtue of the cession of Charles IV., or the renunciation of the Infante, but by right of arms, that he was master of Spain.

A few days later, on the 15th of December, when the necessity for his return to France had become urgent, the Emperor received a deputation from the city of Madrid. This step, which had been concerted with the Municipality, was taken ostensibly to request that King Joseph would assume the reins of Government and enter the Capital ; but its real aim was to afford Napoleon an opportunity of manifesting, more clearly than he had hitherto done, his sentiments and views with regard to Spain.

"The Bourbons," he says in his reply to the deputation,* "can no longer reign in Europe. The dissensions in the Royal Family have been brought about by the English. The real design of the Duke del Infantado, a tool of England, is proved, by papers recently discovered in his house, to have been, not the overthrow of King Charles and his favourite, but the preponderance of England in Spain—a senseless project, the consequence of which would have been endless war and bloodshed. No power can exist on the continent if influenced (*influencée—sic*) by England. If there be any Powers who desire this, their desire is senseless, and sooner or later will prove their ruin.

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* The discourse in full may be found in the *Moniteur* of 25th of December, 1808.

"It would be easy for me, and I might be obliged, to govern Spain, by appointing as many Viceroys as there are provinces. I do not however refuse to *yield my right of conquest* to the King, and to establish him in Madrid when the 30,000 inhabitants of that capital, ecclesiastics, nobles, merchants and lawyers, shall have manifested their sentiments and their fidelity, set an example to the provinces, enlightened the people, and made the nation understand that its existence and its happiness depend on a King and a liberal constitution, favourable to the people, and adverse only to the selfishness and pride of the grandees.

"If such are the sentiments of the inhabitants of Madrid, let her 30,000 citizens assemble in the churches, let them in presence of the Blessed Sacrament take an oath, not from the lips only, but from the heart, and without any Jesuitical reservation. Let them swear support, love, and fidelity to the King; let priests in the confessional and in the pulpit, let merchants in their correspondence, let lawyers in their writings and their speeches impress these sentiments on the people! Then I will divest myself of the right of conquest; I will place the King on the throne; and it shall be my pleasing duty to act towards the Spaniards as a faithful friend. The present generation may differ in its opinions—too many passions have been called into play; but your children will bless me as your regenerator; they will mark the days I have spent among you as memorable, and from those days will date the prosperity of Spain."

Hesitation is to be detected in this discourse. It is evident that the hostile attitude of Austria, which was becoming more apparent every day, and her armaments, had convinced the Emperor of the necessity of adjourning the execution of his designs on Spain. He perceived that the time he could still devote to that country would be insufficient for the complete subjugation and dismemberment of the Peninsula.

Among the numerous decrees issued by Napoleon during his stay at Chamartin, and which affected the various branches of the administration, many deserve to be quoted for their liberal tendency. Such are the abolition of the Inquisition, the suppression of the customs between province and province, and that of feudal rights and seignorial justice, the revocation of all alienation of the public revenues, the reduction of the number of monasteries to one third, the prohibition of vows under the age of thirty, the granting of liberty to monks to leave their communities and to return to the class of secular clergy. No doubt these decrees were in conformity with the principles of a wise administration, but they were only meant as a bid for public favour, and as no measures were, nor could have been, taken, to put them into execution, they remained for the most part a dead letter. It was otherwise with regard to an Imperial decree by which the Dukes del Infantado and d'Osuna, the Prince of Castelfranco, the Counts Fernan-Nuñez, and d'Altamira, Don Pedro Cavallar, and the Bishop of Saragossa were declared traitors to their country, and their property was confiscated towards payment of the cost of the war and to indemnify those Frenchmen or Spaniards in the service of the King, who might have sustained losses through its attendant circumstances. The administration of these properties was confided to French agents under the authority of the Comte de Laforet, French ambassador at Madrid, and of the Baron Fréville, Master of Requests.*

The impending rupture with Austria on the one hand, and on the other the advance of an English corps,† which was seen on the 20th of December marching on Foro and Valladolid, hastened the Emperor's departure from Chamartin. He would not miss the ardently desired opportunity of fighting the English. But while advancing to meet them he could not venture to leave Madrid in a state of uncertainty and confusion in which he himself had involved public affairs. Being forced therefore to set up a Government of some sort, he took what came to his hand, and resolved, without waiting for the execution of any of the conditions he had dictated a week before, to bring the King once more on the scene, although he had until then excluded him from all participation in Government affairs. The two brothers met, and a somewhat angry explanation ensued. Their mutual grievances were discussed; but as the Emperor needed a tool, he overlooked some few points of offence. At length he appeased his brother's resentment by informing him, that together with the title of Lieutenant-General to the Emperor he would give him direct command over the troops of the Marshal Duke of Belluna and the Marshal Duke of Dantzic. These two corps formed a total of forty thousand excellent soldiers. Both were holding Madrid in check, Marshal Victor having taken up a position at Aranjuez, and Marshal Lefebvre at Talavera de la Reyna.

Joseph could not resist this flattering concession. Although the extent of his authority was but vaguely defined, he conceived great hopes for his future freedom of action in the absence of the Emperor, and the brothers parted apparently reconciled.

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* Or "referendary." An officer whose duty consists in reporting petitions to the Council of State. (Translator's Note.)

† These troops, commanded by General Moore, had marched from Portugal to the assistance of Madrid; but, surprised at the rapidity of the Emperor's movements, and also advancing with extreme circumspection, they had done nothing to promote the safety of the capital. Instead of retreating directly into Portugal, they marched towards Le Carrion, threatening Marshal Soult who was at Suldaña.

Napoleon left Chamartin on the morning of the 22d of December. He halted that evening at Guadarrama, at the foot of the Puerto of the same name, which his guards had crossed that day, in spite of the intense cold and thickly-falling snow, and the next morning he marched with his accustomed rapidity to Tordesillas, where he crossed the Douro on the 24th of December. But Sir John Moore, who after crossing that river at Toro, had moved towards Sahagun to attack Marshal Soult, conjointly with the army of Galicia under the command of the Marquis de la Romana, received timely news of Napoleon's approach. At the head of his army, consisting of about 30,000 men, he left Sahagun, crossed the Esla at Valencia-de-Don-Juan, and at Castro-Gouzals, reached Benevento before the French, and retreated on Corunna. The French made vain efforts to reach the English. Some skirmishes with the rear-guard had no important results, and nothing was to be done, except to follow on the track of an enemy whom it was no longer possible to draw into a conflict.

While the cavalry under Marshal Bessières was pressing on the English, and Marshal Soult was driving the Marquis de la Romana and his army before him along the road to Leon, the Emperor arrived at Benevento. He stayed there a few days, and advanced thence to Astorga, where he met Marshal Soult. But, being aware of the uselessness of the pursuit, and unwilling to go too far out of the road to France, he went no further. He ordered Marshal Soult to pursue the English and to *drive them into the sea at the point of the sword.* He then returned to Benevento, and went from thence to Valladolid, where he fixed his head-quarters on the 7th of January.

For twelve days Marshal Soult followed up the English closely, but was never able to come up with them. The English army suffered greatly in this hurried retreat, and on the 11th of January they arrived under the walls of Corunna. There, they must of necessity hold out, in order to secure time for the embarkation of the army. On the 13th and 14th General Moore occupied a position about a mile from the town, and provided for the embarkation of his sick, his equipments, and the artillery not required for fighting. The French, whose march had been delayed by the necessity of replacing the bridges destroyed by the English, only arrived in presence of the enemy on the 15th. They attacked on the 16th, in the morning. The English fought with great courage and held their position all day. In the evening they withdrew to the gardens surrounding the town, whence the French could not dislodge them on account of the darkness.

At the beginning of the action, Sir John Moore had been killed by a cannon-ball, and shortly afterward General Baird, who had taken his place in the command, was disabled. But this two-fold loss made no change in the English front, nor in the plans made by Sir John Moore. The English army embarked in the night of the 16th. On the morning of the 17th their fleet was under sail, and the French could offer no opposition to its progress. A few cannon-balls fired from the heights surrounding the town only struck two or three of the English ships.

The Emperor, who had left Valladolid on the 17th of January to return to France, heard with extreme displeasure of this issue to the brief campaign against the English under Sir John Moore. His hopes of cutting off the retreat of the troops, and annihilating them, were disappointed, and all that he might say and publish to exaggerate the losses of the English, to represent their retreat as a disgraceful flight, and their inaction at the opening of the campaign as cowardice and treachery towards the Spanish nation ; in short, all the recrimination by which wounded pride seeks to console itself, availed nothing against the facts. The English had slipped out of his hands, soon to appear again, made stronger and wiser by experience, and to oppose his designs against the independence and integrity of the Peninsula by a determined, and in the end, a successful resistance.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The King leaves his retirement and proceeds to Aranjuez, and thence to Ocaña where Marshal Victor is—The beauty of Aranjuez—The King takes up his residence at Florida—A Spanish division under the Duke del Infantado is defeated by Marshal Victor—Precipitate retreat of the English, who are pursued by Marshal Soult—The King reconstructs his household and makes his entry into Madrid—A favourable change in the feelings of the inhabitants is apparent.

THE King, being recalled to public affairs because he was wanted, quitted his retirement at Prado and placed himself at the head of the troops under his command. He proceeded to Aranjuez, and thence to the advanced posts of the corps under Marshal Victor, who was occupying Ocaña at the entrance to La Mancha. I accompanied him on this expedition, and I found it as pleasant as it was instructive.

We started in very beautiful weather, on the 28th of December. On leaving Prado, we made directly, without passing through Madrid, for the Toledo Bridge in order to reach the Aranjuez road. It is a splendid road, but the country is gloomy and bare of trees. At five (Spanish) leagues from Madrid is the tower of Val-de-Moro, and one league farther on, the valley, watered by the Jarama and the Tagus, comes in view. The aspect of the country becomes more cheerful ; long rows of trees mark the banks and the neighbourhood of the two rivers. The background of the picture consists of low hills, partly planted with trees. A somewhat steep descent leads down into the valley, and at a short distance from this a magnificent bridge of twenty arches spans the Jarama. It is a perfect semicircle, beautifully proportioned. Everything denotes the approach to the palace of a great monarch.

From the Jarama bridge to Aranjuez the landscape continually increases in beauty. Cultivated fields, plentiful vegetation, groups of trees on either side of the road attract and please the eyes of the traveller. At length we reached the banks of the Tagus. This famous river flows through the valley in which the town and palace of Aranjuez are situated. In its numberless curves, it encloses fresh and fertile gardens, lends its waters for the needs of the inhabitants of this beautiful district, and on leaving it, flows on to fertilise the immense plain that extends from Aranjuez to Toledo.

The town and castle are situated on the left bank of the river. We crossed it coming from Madrid, by a bridge which the Spaniards had burned in their retreat, after our entry into Madrid, and which had been temporarily restored.

On the day after his arrival the King went to Ocaña, and I took advantage of his absence to explore the palace and gardens. The architecture of the palace is simple, but, generally speaking, in good taste. The principal block of the building, and the court, were constructed by Philip IV., Charles II., and Philip V.; the two wings were added by Charles III. and Charles IV. The distribution of the interior is good. There are some very fine pictures.

The most remarkable of the gardens is that one nearest to the Castle and which is called La Isla. It is picturesquely situated on an island in the Tagus. Part of this river has been turned from its course, and flows beneath the palace walls, and its waters are arrested by two artificial cascades which greatly add to the beauty of the place. The garden itself has little beauty but that of its situation to boast of. It is adorned with marble and bronze fountains, dedicated to the various divinities of fable, such as Neptune, Bacchus, Venus, etc. These are of little merit, and the repetition of such ornaments, all in a straight line, is wearisome. In short, the efforts of art correspond ill with the natural beauty of the site. The Prince's Garden, in which is the building known as Casa del Labrador, is only visited for the sake of its surroundings. It is a small house, consisting of one principal block with two parallel wings. A basement supports its one story, which is surmounted by a very low attic. The architecture is simple, but its projections and recesses are loaded with busts and vases.

The interior was, when I went over it, of extreme magnificence, and it would have been difficult to describe the beautiful and costly objects of all kinds, heaped together, or, so to speak, warehoused in so small a place. Valuable tapestries embroidered in gold and silk, products of the manufactories of Lyons and Valencia, adorned every room. Marble and alabaster had been lavished on the door-ways and chimney-pieces. The panels, the seats, the smallest articles of furniture were of mahogany, artistically carved and gilt with the utmost elegance. Costly clocks of the most varied designs stood on the tables, the consoles, and the chimney-pieces. These were particularly to the taste of Charles IV. who had built this sumptuous edifice, and who was said to take pleasure in pulling to pieces the numerous clocks he had collected, and putting them together again.

Among the many remarkable objects gathered together on this spot, where luxury and magnificence rather than good taste prevailed, what struck me most was a mahogany cabinet constructed in Paris in separate pieces and sent thence to Aranjuez. The four principal panels contained paintings by Girodet, representing the four seasons. The style is somewhat mannered, but the execution is good, and they are not unworthy of that great master's reputation.

On leaving Aranjuez, the King, who was not yet disposed to return to Madrid, took up his abode at Florida, a charming country house built at the gates of the town, and greatly embellished by its owner the Duchess of Alba. As for me, I settled myself in Madrid, in an apartment assigned to me in the palace, in my capacity as Superintendent of the Royal Household, and began to discharge my duties.

It was at this time that my friend Stanislas Girardin left us to return to France. He had hitherto held the post of First Equerry, but the King had imposed certain conditions on him, if he wished to retain that post, which did not suit him, and he would not remain in Spain. His departure was a great grief to me. Thus ended the year 1808, the last of happiness for me. All the succeeding years, so long as I was engaged in public affairs, were but a series of trials and misfortunes, until the catastrophe took place which restored me to private life.

The departure of the Emperor and of the troops he had with him, to fight the English in the Province of Léon had revived the courage of the Spaniards. A considerable body of them, organized by the Government Junta then at Seville, and commanded by the Duke del Infantado, had advanced on Madrid early in January 1809. The Spanish troops crossed the Tagus in several places, and some detachments advanced as far as Arganda, five leagues from the capital, where their appearance caused great consternation. It was even proposed that the French military establishments and the French families should take shelter in Buen-Retiro. But the alarm was transient. A move made by the Duke de Belluna, who, as I have already said, was occupying Toledo and Aranjuez, forced the Spaniards back over the Tagus, and even drove them from the left bank of the river. The Marshal pursued and defeated them on the 13th of January near Uclès, halfway between Madrid and Cuença. Two thousand prisoners and some flags were the trophies of the day.

After this victory, there could be no obstacle to the return of the King to Madrid, nor to his residence there. Deputations were sent almost daily from the capital to invite him thither, and he at last resolved to accede to the wishes of the inhabitants. He had already during his sojourn at Vittoria replaced those Ministers who had left him after Baylen. The Duke de Campo-Alanje (M. Negretti) succeeded as Minister of Foreign Affairs to M. de Cevallos, and Don Manuel Romero as Minister of the Interior to Don José Jovellanos. Don Pablo Arribas was appointed Minister of Police, a post which until then had not been filled up. Before re-entering the capital the King proceeded to re-construct his household, and again found, among the most illustrious families of Spain, grandees willing to replace those who, after accepting appointments at Bayonne, had deserted their posts at Madrid, because of the defeat at Baylen. The Marquis de Val de Carzana was nominated Grand Chamberlain (he had filled the same office under Charles IV.), the Duke de Frias, Grand Master of the Household (*Mayor-domo Mayor*), the Prince de Masserano, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and the Duke de Campo-Alanje, Grand Equerry. Several subordinate posts were also filled up ; the Marquis de Monte-Hermoso, de St. Adrian, and many others of distinguished birth, became chamberlains, equerries, and stewards.

The Court being thus re-established, the King prepared to make his entry into Madrid. This took place on the 22d of January, 1809, but the procession was altogether a military one. The King and his suite were on horseback. I was present, and had an opportunity of observing all that took place. The streets through which the procession passed were not deserted, occasional shouts were raised, and if there were neither warmth nor enthusiasm, there was no positive antipathy visible on the part of the spectators. In general there was an expression of curiosity, in some few cases one of resignation, in others there was hope, but no signs of dislike or contempt were exhibited. The King dismounted at the Collegiate Church of San-Isidoro and made a simple and manly speech. One phrase only was remarkable. "The unity of our holy religion," it ran, "the independence of the Monarchy, the integrity of its territory, and the liberty of its citizens, are conditions of the oath I took on receiving the crown, which shall not lose in dignity while I wear it."

He endeavoured by these words to refute the rumours that had been circulated concerning the intentions of his brother, and bound himself in some sort to the nation by engagements which it was out of his power to fulfil. This indication of independence was of course very displeasing at Paris.

After the religious ceremony the King proceeded to the Palace, where he found a large concourse of persons awaiting him in his apartments. The next and following days he went out, showed himself in the town, and inspected the public institutions, especially the hospitals. He was tolerably well received. There were decided symptoms of a favourable change in the feelings of the inhabitants and in the aspect of the town. Aversion was diminishing, hope and confidence seemed about to revive, and it must be said that this change was due to the King personally. His natural disposition was of the greatest service to him under the then circumstances; his amiability, his popularity, and above all the preference he evinced in all things for Spaniards over Frenchmen, were pleasing to the nation. At the same time, the general weariness of strife, the misfortunes of the war, the departure of the English, who had re-embarked after Corunna, and the apparent hopelessness of resistance, were concurrent causes which induced the people to lay down arms, and they began to accustom themselves to a yoke that proved less heavy than they had expected it to be.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Impossibility of a lasting reconciliation between the Spanish Nation and their new King, because of the state of subjection in which the latter was kept by the Emperor—Surrender of Saragossa—Victory gained by the Duke de Belluna over General Cuesta—Creation of a Council of State—The attempt to recruit the Finances by the sale of National Property—Increasing dissensions between the King and the Emperor, the result of which was to paralyze every Government measure and to render Joseph's authority nugatory—Appendix: Some particulars concerning the second siege of Saragossa.

Had it been possible to profit by this better state of feeling, a thorough reconciliation might perhaps have taken place. But to secure this, a perfectly independent Government, which would have been free to conduct public affairs in any way it thought fit, was necessary. Sufficient resources in money would also have been required, so that the whole expense of the support of the troops should not fall on the people. We had neither of these things. Although the King was at the head of the army, the generals under his orders always corresponded directly with the French Ministry, and received orders from them, which were frequently opposed to those that emanated from Madrid. The French Ambassador and the Master of Requests, who were charged with the administration of the property which the Emperor had confiscated, and the numerous agents employed by them, all quite independent of the royal authority, exercised their functions with severity, which probably they themselves deplored, but which it was out of their power to moderate, and this severity completely alienated the people whom the King was endeavouring to conciliate. On the other hand, the absolute deficiency of financial resources allowed of no protective measures. The public treasury, being utterly empty, could not supply funds for the most indispensable expenses. None of the public servants were paid, and all those who had taken the side of the new King, or who from particular circumstances had been obliged to serve under him, now that they received no salary, were added to the number of his enemies, instead of being a support to him. Thus, there was in reality no guarantee for the future; the situation was simply that of an uncertain conquest, made by the force of arms only, and which was to be retained by that same force alone. Such at least was my impression. But it was not the King's; he hoped for very different results, and thought to succeed by conciliating the Spaniards and admitting none but them to the more important posts. Several persons who had constant access to him endeavoured to foster these illusions; and victory, too, at the beginning of his reign seemed to favour the hopes of the King. Saragossa surrendered, after a terrible siege, on the 21st of February, 1809.* Two days later General Sebastiani † defeated and scattered, between Madridejos and Consuegra, a Spanish force which was advancing under the Duke del Infantado towards the Tagus; and four weeks after this, on the 28th of March, the Duke de Belluna gained an important victory over the Spanish army, which had assembled again under General Cuesta. The battle was fought in Estremadura, near the Guadiana, between Don Benito and Medelin; the latter gave its name to the day.

The Spaniards lost 7000 men; 3000 were taken prisoners. At the same time, a corps, commanded by the Duke d'Urbino, that was advancing on Toledo, was defeated near Ciudad-Real by General Sebastiani, and its scattered remnant took refuge in the Sierra-Morena. Thus, by the end of March, the French were masters of the whole of La Mancha and Estremadura. This succession of victories, and the accounts from Germany announcing the first triumphs of the Emperor over the Austrians, could not fail to make some impression on the population of Madrid, and at the same time gave confidence to Joseph's Government, which began to act with increased decision. The King created a Council of State, composed of thirty members, all Spaniards, to which, however, I was afterwards summoned, as was M. Ferri-Pisani, who, like me, was made a Councillor of State, although we were both French. The King wished to avail himself of the experience we had acquired in the administration of affairs, in support of certain projects which he was maturing, and which were founded on the principles adopted in France. Our usefulness being the cause of our appointment, and the conviction of our colleagues that neither of us had the smallest pretensions to more exalted posts, justified our nomination in their eyes.

The Government being thus organized, its earliest efforts were devoted to the recruitment of the finances. It sought to raise revenues for the State by the sale of the national property, under which denomination the property of the monks was included.

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* The reader will find some details of that memorable siege in the Appendix to this chapter.

† He had succeeded Marshal Lefebvre in the command of the 4th division of the army.

This was in fact the only operation by which Spain could restore her credit, and even at the present time it is her only means of so doing. But the Ministers, all Spaniards, and unaccustomed to the abrupt changes which the Revolution had made familiar to us in France, could only enter slowly and with difficulty on these unknown paths, and much precious time was wasted in discussion. Nevertheless they worked hard, they endeavoured to inspire confidence, they offered opportunities to lovers of novelty, and a welcome was given to all who had any experience or judgment. They made use of the smallest events to endeavour to consolidate the new Government. Russia had accredited the Baron de Mohrenheim as Chargé d'Affaires, until the arrival of a Minister Plenipotentiary, and Denmark had sent fresh letters of credit to Count Burke, her Minister at Madrid. This recognition by two Powers, one of whom had so much political influence in Europe, was a great event for us, and we received the diplomats with as much ceremony as circumstances would permit.

We did our very best to emerge from the state of convulsion in which the nation had been kept for the last two years. Some token of submission from the towns which had been entered by the French, a few deputations which formally presented themselves, gave the Government opportunities of asserting itself, and the newspapers opportunities for articles that established its existence.

But all these efforts, although they were, in general, wisely made, and tended to a desirable end, went to pieces against two insurmountable obstacles. The first was the resistance of the nation, which had not been conquered either by the defeat of the troops of the Junta, or by the departure of the English, and the second was the system that the Emperor had adopted with regard to the affairs of Spain, and by which the ill-feeling between the brothers was wrought up to the highest pitch. As all the letters written by the King to his brother passed under my eyes, I soon became aware of this dangerous rupture, and foresaw its fatal consequences. It began as follows. The more or less sincere reconciliation which had taken place at Prado, at the time of the Emperor's departure in pursuit of the English, seemed to have restored a good understanding between the brothers. But it did not last long. Napoleon, when replacing authority in the hands of Joseph, had only parted with it nominally; he had retained its reality. The King soon perceived this by the conduct of the Generals and French Agents who had remained in Spain, and his annoyance was extreme. He complained bitterly in his letters of the independence of him assumed by all these persons. The strong expressions he used, the threats, and even the personal invective which he frequently added to his complaints, roused the

Emperor's resentment, for he could not endure that a King made by himself should affect a tone of equality, and venture to speak as a sovereign. All correspondence soon ceased between them, or at least the Emperor no longer replied to the letters which he received from his brother. He transmitted his orders directly to the commandants of the French troops in Spain, and several arrangements which were very hurtful to Joseph, alike as King and Commander-in-chief, were prescribed and executed without his participation, often indeed without his knowledge.

Then, again, the French, who had reckoned on the King's gratitude and favours, were jealous of the preference for the Spaniards which he invariably exhibited, and rejoiced at the affronts heaped upon him by the Emperor. Everything seemed influenced by this malignant state of feeling. No measure of internal administration, no financial expedient, could succeed, because the pretensions of French administrators interfered with them. Before anything else was provided for, the French army must be paid and provisioned, and on this pretext, all the public money was claimed or even seized in advance. Ordering, regulating, taking or destroying all things at their pleasure in their respective provinces, these administrators not only ignored the authority of the King's officers, but even forbade subordinates to recognise it. A still more fatal spirit of independence among the military was openly established and soon brought the evil to a climax.

As the Emperor had quitted Spain without leaving instructions or even general directions for the conduct of the war, each Commander of an army-corps carried it on independently and according to his own ideas. The King's authority was indeed supreme; he was the Emperor's lieutenant, and, by right of this title, Commander of all the armies in Spain; but he could not exercise his command. Marshal Jourdan, his Major-General, who had won experience and fame by brilliant successes during the first years of the Revolution, had long been a stranger to military affairs. He had had no share in the glory of the latter wars, and was not among the generals who had served under Napoleon in Italy, Egypt, and Germany. Consequently, he did not possess the influence necessary for controlling exaggerated pretensions, and concentrating the actual power in his own hands. His extreme caution and his dread of offending the Emperor, whom he knew to be ill disposed towards him, added to the difficulty of his position, and to the inefficiency of the King's Commander-in-Chief.*

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* It seems difficult to suppose that the indifference shown by the Emperor to Marshal Jourdan could be caused by any feeling of jealousy; yet the following circumstance might lead to that conclusion. King Joseph, who had always entertained a great affection for Marshal Jour-

With materials such as these, it was not possible to build up a stable and lasting edifice. The hopes that had been raised by a few months of repose, and by our continued military successes, quickly vanished, and the position of the French in Spain soon became more critical than ever.

dan, requested his brother, when he conferred the title of Duke of Valmy on Kellerman, to make Marshal Jourdan Duke of Fleurus. "I shall do nothing of the kind," replied the Emperor, angrily, "I should be making him greater than myself."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SECOND SIEGE OF SARAGOSSA.

THIS fortified city, that has become famous by sustaining two sieges within the short space of six months, had been invested for the second time immediately after the battle of Tudela. The army corps commanded by Marshal Moncey invested it, on the 27th of November, 1808. The entire population of the town were in arms, and a considerable number of peasants from all parts of Arragon had voluntarily shut themselves up within it. There were in all fifty thousand armed men, and abundant stores of provisions. General Palafox was in command, and his steadfastness and self-devotion were not less admirable under this second trial than in the first. The town is situated on the right bank of the Ebro, and communicates by a bridge with a suburb on the left bank. It thus commands the course of the river. Its position is of considerable strength, but there are no regular fortifications. The courage and constancy of the inhabitants would have to compensate for the absence of artificial means of defence.

For some time the French flattered themselves that the reverses just sustained by Spanish troops, the occupation of Madrid, the departure of the English, in short, all the events of an unsuccessful war, would make some impression on the minds of the inhabitants, and would shake their constancy. In hopes of this, free communication was allowed, and care was taken that military reports and newspapers should enter the town. Not the slightest change ensued. The defenders of Saragossa were filled with supernatural confidence by their belief in the special protection of the Virgin,* and thought themselves invincible. Summonses to surrender, and proposals of capitulation, were rejected. The threat that the town would be treated as a place taken by storm, and that the inhabitants should be put to the sword, was answered by fresh vows to defend it to the last extremity, and to be buried under its ruins rather than to yield. These vows were almost literally fulfilled.

When all hope of conciliation was over, the work of the siege commenced, and was steadily pushed forward under Marshal Lannes who had succeeded Marshal Moncey.

The month of December was passed in gaining possession of the approaches to the town, and the exterior defences. The Spanish forces were successively dislodged from all their outposts, and reduced to the defence of the town and its suburbs only. During these various attacks, the engines of the siege, the greater part of which had been sent from Pampeluna, arrived.

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* Saragossa is under the special protection of the Virgin, called here the *Virgen del Pilar*, because the miraculous image of the Virgin is placed on the summit of a pillar. The annals of Saragossa are full of miracles worked by the Virgin in favour of the inhabitants.

The first parallel was opened on the night of the 29th of December. During the next month an advance was made, and breaching batteries were constructed.

At last, on January the 26th, the batteries were unmasked, and the attack was begun. The French firing soon silenced that of the besieged. So soon as the breaches were practicable, the French scaled the walls intrepidly and seized on the openings of some streets. But they met with greater obstacles within the town than those they had overcome to enter it. Every house was a fortress, and at every corner there was a battery that had to be stormed ; while a murderous and well-directed fire stopped the French at each step. At distances so short, artillery became useless ; the sappers and miners had to be called upon, and house after house was blown up in succession. Communications from one street to another involved regular works, and much labour. This subterranean warfare lasted twenty days, and one third of the town was a heap of ruins, yet the besieged gave no sign of yielding. At last, the Marshal having given orders to seize the suburb on the left bank of the Ebro, so as to shell the town throughout its extent, and this attack having been successful, the endurance of the inhabitants gave way at last. The garrison was confined within and restricted to the small island of houses which includes the church of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, the only one still standing. In this extremity the Junta of the town demanded to capitulate ; but Marshal Lannes refused his consent, and finally, on the 21st of February, the French, pressing their advantage, occupied the whole town, which was forced to surrender at discretion. On the whole, the conqueror used his victory with moderation ; two monks only were shot. The garrison surrendered and were sent as prisoners into France. Those soldiers who consented to take an oath of allegiance to King Joseph were set at liberty. A small number took advantage of this. General Palafox was dangerously ill when the town fell into the power of the French. He was taken to Bayonne, thence to Paris, and imprisoned at Vincennes.

Thus ended the second siege of Saragossa, after lasting nearly three months. History offers few examples of so obstinate a defence. Of the numerous troops composing the garrison when the siege began, only 15,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry laid down their arms before the French ; 20,000 men had perished, 13,000 were in the hospitals. The interior of the town presented a sickening spectacle. The public buildings, churches, and houses, were crumbling into ruin. Infectious fevers had broken out in the hospitals, and in those quarters of the town where the non-combatant portion of the inhabitants had been crowded together. There were five or six hundred deaths daily, and the dead bodies, heaped up on the steps and entrances of the churches, often remained exposed for several days before they could be buried. An ominous silence reigned in the deserted streets. The very victors shrank from entering the town, and Saragossa, though conquered, still threatened her conquerors with death. From time to time a few inhabitants might be discerned among the ruins, wrapped in their cloaks, and scarcely daring to accost each other ; but when they met, one name, uttered in accents of the deepest grief, broke the silence : it was Jesus !

Saragossa long remained uninhabited. The troops and the administration established themselves outside the walls. The garrison was relieved every day.

This melancholy and bloody conquest was nevertheless a very important one to the French. Saragossa subsequently became the centre of their military operations in Arragon, and the key of the nearest communication with France, by way of Jaca, a town situated at the entrance to the mountains, of which they possessed themselves shortly afterwards.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A second English army lands at Lisbon, and forces Marshal Soult to evacuate Portugal, and fall back, with Marshal Ney, on Astorga and Salamanca—The Junta brings two new armies into the field, intended to co-operate with the English—At the same time the Junta adopts the system of guerilla warfare—The King at the head of the fourth army corps marches against General Venegas, who declines battle and retires to the Sierra-Morena—The guerillas advance to the gates of Madrid—The English succeed in joining the army of General Cuesta, and march against the Duke of Belluna—The King leaves Madrid to proceed to the headquarters of the latter—His departure creates great alarm in the capital—Retreat of Cuesta and the English after the battle of Talavera—Defeat of Venegas at the battle of Almoneciad—The King returns to Madrid on August 15—Suppression of the Monasteries—Government Reforms—The King makes an excursion to San Ildefonso and to Segovia—Description of these places—Return of the King to Madrid—His efforts to improve the Governmental system are rendered vain by the enmity of the nation—The Emperor is displeased with the conduct of the war in Spain—A fresh army levied by the Junta and commanded by General Arizaga, appears in La Mancha, and marches on Madrid—It is dispersed near Ocaña by the King—General Kellerman defeats another Spanish army commanded by the Duke del Parque, at Alba de Tormes—The King resolves to undertake the conquest of Andalusia.

In conformity with the treaty of alliance concluded in January 1809, between England and the Central Junta at Seville, in the name of Ferdinand VII., the British Government despatched a second army to the Peninsula, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, which reached Lisbon on the 22d of April. Before this, General Lord Beresford had, with the assistance of some English officers, organized and put into the field a considerable body of Portuguese troops, while the Spanish Junta also prepared to recommence the struggle. General Cuesta was gathering together on the frontiers of Estremadura and Andalusia an army partly composed of the remnants of the troops that had been defeated at Medelin. General Venegas, at the head of another force, was at the foot of the Sierra-Morena, ready to enter La Mancha.

At the same time that these fresh troops took the field, the Supreme Junta issued a decree from Seville, in which, in a practical spirit, it authorized a land raid on the French and set up that famous system of guerilla-warfare, which afterwards assumed such alarming proportions. By this decree, it was enjoined on all the inhabitants of the provinces occupied by the French, to fall upon the soldiery when few in number, to attack them, to seize their arms and accoutrements, and either to take them prisoners, or to put them to death. This barbarous course of action being conformable both to the character and habits of the nation was adopted without difficulty. It intercepted all our lines of communication, and obliged us to provide an escort for everything we sent forward, and was the origin of the guerilla-bands, which, under daring leaders, caused us losses a hundredfold greater than those inflicted on us by the regular troops of Spain.

The Spanish Generals had the audacity to send heralds to our advanced posts, requesting that these land-pirates should, when taken with arms in their hands, be treated as prisoners of war. This demand was rejected ; but when the number and the importance of the guerillas had so greatly increased that reprisals were to be feared, the point was tacitly yielded.

Since the embarkation of the English at Corunna in January, two army corps, the 2d, commanded by Marshal Soult, and the 6th, commanded by Marshal Ney, had occupied Galicia. Another corps, the 5th, under Marshal Mortier, which had recently arrived in Spain, was at Valladolid, one division being at Santander. At the end of February, Marshal Soult left Corunna at the head of his corps, and marched towards the Portuguese frontier, leaving to Marshal Ney the final subjugation of Galicia, the principal places, such as Vigo-el-Ferrol, Santiago and others, having already fallen into the hands of the French. He crossed the Minho at Orense, took possession of Chavès on the Tamega in the Portuguese province of Tras-los-Montes, and arrived before the walls of Oporto on the 29th of March, without having encountered any serious obstacles. The garrison, although very strong, made but slight resistance, and the town surrendered almost without striking a blow. The Marshal took up his quarters there, and occupied the fortresses of Tuy on the right bank of the Minho, and of Viana on the Lima, so as to secure communication with the 6th corps ; but on the Lisbon side he scarcely advanced farther than the Vouga.

During his residence at Oporto, which in wealth and in the importance of its trade is the second city in the Kingdom, the Marshal, if rumour may be believed, assumed the position of a sovereign rather than that of a general at the head of troops of which the command has been given to him by a superior ; and his behaviour gave rise to the supposition that he had entertained the idea of setting up an independent kingdom of his own in that part of Portugal.* The correspondence that he kept up by means of secret agents in Lisbon, and the interior of the country, and the skill with which he attracted a certain number of partisans among the Portuguese, first originated and then confirmed those rumours which naturally found an echo in Paris. But it was impossible just then to dispense with Marshal Soult's presence in Spain, and it is probable that the need of himself and of his services saved him from disgrace or even from a still greater danger.†

The English army under Sir Arthur Wellesley left Coïmbra towards the end of April and crossed the Vouga early in May. After driving back the French outposts on that river, the English attacked the French on the 7th of May before Oporto on the left bank of the Douro, and forced them to recross the river and to evacuate the town. At the same time General Beresford had advanced with the Portuguese army to the Upper Douro to support the English towards the north, and by possessing himself of the fortress of Chavès, had cut off communications between the second army corps and Galicia. Marshal Soult's position now became extremely critical. He escaped from it by a daring measure. He destroyed all his artillery and heavy baggage, and entering on the almost impassable defiles of Salamonda, he succeeded on the 20th of May, with great difficulty and considerable loss, less in men than in material, in gaining Orense, and his communications with Marshal Ney at Vigo. The two army corps even when united were not, however, strong enough to hold their own in the provinces of the Asturias and Galicia, where the whole population under the lead of the guerilla chiefs, Marquerito and Ballesteros, had taken up arms against the French. The two Marshals retreated, Ney to Astorga, and Soult as far as Salamanca. Such was the issue of the second expedition against Portugal—nearly as unfortunate as the first under General Junot, and a presage of the still more fatal one that was to follow.

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* Since the elevation of Murat to the throne of Naples, more than one Marshal of France cherished hopes of similar exaltation.

† The *Moniteur* of January 14, 1809, contains the following paragraph on the subject of the suspicions entertained against Marshal Soult:

"Some injurious reports have been spread concerning the Duke of Dalmatia. We are authorized to state that these reports are malicious and unfounded. His Majesty continues to rely on the fidelity and attachment of the Duke of Dalmatia, and has given him a fresh proof of confidence by appointing him Major-General of his army in Spain."

Had the Marshal succeeded in pushing onwards, and had he succeeded in driving the English from Portugal, it is hard to say to what point the ambitious designs attributed to him might have led this man, who united with a high military reputation the faculty of interesting his officers and men in his personal fortunes. The events of war, however, as will be seen, put an end to the ambitious projects, of which, rightly or wrongly, the Duke of Dalmatia was accused.

While the Dukes of Dalmatia and Elchingen were thus relinquishing our conquests in the west of the Peninsula, and their retreat was leaving the English free to advance by the most direct road from Portugal to Madrid, with no enemy to fight, the Spanish armies under Cuesta and Venegas began to march towards the left bank of the Tagus, and to threaten the capital. The French troops that could be brought against them, and that were then occupying La Mancha and the valley of the Tagus, consisted of the 1st corps under Marshal Victor; of the 4th under General Sebastiani, and of the Reserve, formed in great part of the Royal Guard and which was stationed at Madrid and in its environs. Marshal Victor had about 30,000 men under his orders and General Sebastiani between 7000 and 8000; the Reserve might be reckoned at 5000 or 6000 men; in all 40,000 or 45,000. And although the Spanish forces might be computed at above 60,000 men, the superiority was not so great that we might not hope for success. The King left Madrid on the 22d of June and joined the 4th corps, which was occupying La Mancha, while the 1st remained to watch Cuesta at Talavera de la Reyna. The King and General Sebastiani marched on Venegas; but at their first move, the Spaniards retreated rapidly to the Sierra-Morena, and the French could only pursue them as far as Santa-Cruz-de-Mudela, at the foot of that mountain-chain. Thus, there was no engagement; the Spaniards waited for the advance of the English, and would risk nothing until they had joined them.

The King returned to Madrid on the 13th of July, after a fruitless campaign of three weeks. He found the capital much disturbed; the hopes of his enemies had revived, and consternation reigned among his followers. Numerous bands of guerillas roamed through the country, often approaching the very gates of the city. General Franceschi de Lonne, one of the most distinguished officers in the army,* and Antoine, a youthful nephew of the king, aide-de-camp to Marshal Soult, had been taken prisoners by one of these bands.

On the 21st of July, an aide-de-camp from Marshal Victor brought news to Madrid that Sir Arthur Wellesley had effected a junction with General Cuesta at Oropesa, and that the two armies were advancing together on the 1st corps. The King started immediately, and proceeded by way of Naval-Carnero to Casallegar, where were the head-quarters of the Duke of Belluna. His departure caused the greatest alarm to the French families in Madrid, and to the families of those Spaniards who had espoused his cause. The alarm of the latter was so great, that the utmost entreaties of General Belliard, Governor of Madrid, and of the French ambassador, barely sufficed to prevent the ministers from leaving the city, and joining the King's head-quarters.

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* In addition to his military talents, he was a clever sculptor and draughtsman. I shall have occasion, hereafter, to refer to him and his melancholy fate.

Meanwhile, the fortifications of Buen-Retiro were being strengthened ; but these very precautions instead of allaying the fears of the French, served only to increase them. Each day was passed in alarm, and there was great danger of a rising in the city. On July 26th especially, the most alarming rumours were abroad. It was reported that the King had been defeated, that he had been obliged to surrender, and that the English would enter Madrid during the day. An immense crowd assembled near the palace, and in the direction of the Segovia and Toledo Bridges to see them arrive. There was no disturbance, but the delight of the inhabitants was noisily expressed, and universal gaiety prevailed. This was the state of things when a courier, arriving at 3 a.m. on the 27th, brought accounts of a partial victory gained over the enemy on the previous day at the Guadarrama Pass, and informed us that the King had effected a junction with the 1st and 4th army corps. This news partly quelled the disturbance of the day before, and the danger of our position seemed to be averted. But the lull was of brief duration. On the evening of the 29th General Belliard warned me that there was not a moment to lose before removing my family to Buen-Retiro. We had to set about a hurried move, put up our most valuable belongings, and collect together all that could be saved. When these unpleasant tasks were accomplished, and my family were in safety, at least for a time, I returned to Madrid where I passed a very restless night.

The following were the grounds of alarm. General Belliard was acquainted with the particulars of the battle of the preceding day at Talavera, and he knew it had not been decisive. The enemy occupied a formidable position, and our troops, notwithstanding their impetuosity, had not been able to dislodge them. The English had fought with the utmost bravery, the loss on both sides had been heavy, and the armies had remained in their respective positions.

Meanwhile, the Spanish corps under Venegas, having crossed the Tagus at Aranjuez, was advancing upon us, and might be at Madrid on the next day. We had no troops with which to oppose it, for General Sebastiani's corps, which had been protecting the capital, had, four days before, joined Marshal Victor's to fight at Talavera. In the tumult produced by this alarming news, Buen-Retiro was regarded as a place of safety, if not from the enemy, at least from the fury of the populace, and those who had incurred or feared they had incurred that fury took refuge there in great numbers. It is difficult to describe the state of Madrid on the 30th of July.

From early dawn, a long file of carts, wagons, men, women, and children, on foot and on horseback, followed by porters carrying bundles, boxes, and beds, crowded the road to Buen-Retiro, and this curious procession lasted for several hours without intermission. In a short time, the limited space which served as a shelter for this crowd of people was full. Men, women and children, huddled together on all sides, vehicles and horses in hideous confusion, presented a terrible spectacle. I saw at once that the means of defence provided for our families were utterly insufficient. Buen-Retiro was, in itself, incapable of resistance, the only portion that was fortified at all was a building formerly reserved for the manufacture of porcelain, and called *La China*, but this could contain only a few persons. The remainder of Buen-Retiro was as defenceless as any other part of the town. I should have liked to select some other place of refuge for my family, or at least to have removed them to La China ; but the least movement made by me would have alarmed the other refugees ; they would all have wanted to follow me, and wild confusion would have ensued. I therefore had to resign myself to waiting.

The day passed in continual alarm. The gloomiest and at the same time the most contradictory accounts were received in rapid succession. Occasionally more favourable news was made known, and received with the avidity that always accompanies terror. Towards evening, however, more reassuring accounts reached us from head-quarters, and a letter written to me by my brother at ten o'clock on the preceding evening, although not completely reassuring, convinced me that our situation was not hopeless. The enemy, according to him, had not been defeated on the 28th (battle of Talavera), but had suffered severely, and had remained in their entrenchments. The 2d and 3d corps (Marshal Soult and Marshal Mortier's) were expected every hour. Their total strength amounted to 30,000 men, and having left Salamanca on the 25th of July, they were now believed to be at Placencia on the rear of the English army. This would necessarily oblige the English to retire, so as to escape from being surrounded, and thus General Sebastiani's corps might be detached from that of Marshal Victor, and could march with the Reserve, led by the King, on Toledo and Aranjuez. These united forces, which were sufficient to arrest the march of Venegas, would protect Madrid, and rescue the capital from the danger to which it had been exposed for the last three days.

When these things became known, excessive alarm was suddenly succeeded by excessive confidence, and although there could as yet be no certainty as to the results of these movements, everyone was in the evening as eager to leave Buen-Retiro as they had been to come there in the morning. Positive orders from General Belliard were necessary to check this exodus during the night. On the following day, 31st of July, firing was heard in the direction of Toledo ; a Spanish force was attacking that city on the left bank of the Tagus, but Madrid remained undisturbed. A large number of wounded soldiers, from the engagement of the 28th, arrived during the day. Lastly, on the 1st of August, the steps taken to protect the capital having obliged Venegas to renounce his intention of marching on Madrid, all those who had taken refuge at Buen-Retiro returned to the city. A momentary lull succeeded to a state of extreme disturbance, and for two days profound quiet reigned at Madrid. But, as the English had not relinquished their positions near Talavera, and Marshal Soult had not made his appearance on the Tagus, and the campaign was far from being decided, the King thought it well to prevent the repetition of scenes such as had just taken place in Madrid, by removing the families of all the French and Spanish in his service from that city, and sending them to San Ildefonso. I received orders to that effect in the evening of the 3d of August, and the succeeding day was employed in preparation for this unexpected removal, which gave rise to fresh alarm and agitation. The carriages intended for the journey to San Ildefonso drew up in the evening, and on the 5th, at daybreak, the departure took place. Among the travellers were the French Ambassador, the Danish and Russian Envoys, the Ministers, the Councillors of State, the officers of the King's Household, and in fact, everyone in Madrid who was connected with Government. In the meantime, the news from the army had become more and more favourable. Marshal Soult had effected his manœuvre, and the English had begun to retire. Marshal Victor had immediately marched in pursuit, in order to drive them against Soult, so as either to force them to fight under very disadvantageous circumstances, or to retreat on the left bank of the Tagus. The King, with the 4th corps and the Reserve, found himself free to fall upon Venegas and to force him to loose his hold on the country between Aranjuez and Toledo. Thus all cause of alarm about Madrid seemed to be entirely removed, and the retreat to San Ildefonso became, at least for the time, an unnecessary measure. General Belliard, who shared my views on this point, did not, however, venture to defer the execution of the King's orders.

On the same day that the departure to San Ildefonso took place, I left Madrid to join the King at head-quarters, which had been established on the 5th of August at Val de Moro, half-way between Madrid and Aranjuez. I arrived there in the evening, and found the army in a tolerably favourable position. Venegas had retreated from the right bank of the Tagus, but was still defending Aranjuez. The King had displayed great personal courage and coolness during the campaign. As for the military operations, I was not in a position to judge of them ; but it was evident that the King, with an army of forty or forty-two thousand men, had withstood more than a hundred thousand in a very restricted space ; that the English had sustained heavy losses, and that, at the moment of my arrival, our affairs were going pretty well.

I remained five days at head-quarters, and accompanied the King to Vargas and thence to Toledo, where he intended to cross the Tagus, and to attack Venegas on the left bank of that river. While this movement was in progress, the King received a courier from Marshals Soult, Mortier, and Victor at Vargas on the 8th of August. The three army corps had joined their forces on the 6th, and the enemy was retiring in disorder over the Arzobispo bridge to the left bank of the Tagus, not having had time to gain the Almarez bridge. More than four thousand wounded were left behind at Talavera, whom Sir Arthur Wellesley recommended, by a letter to Marshal Victor, to the generosity of the French. The campaign was thus pretty well ended on the Talavera side, and the Spanish corps commanded by Cuesta, which had been present rather as spectators than actors at the battle of Talavera, having likewise recrossed the Tagus, there was nothing further to interfere with the march of the 4th corps, which crossed the river without opposition at Toledo on the 9th of August. The King having entered that town with the reserve on the same day, all the troops intended for the attack on Venegas began their march. They joined battle with him on the 11th at Almonacid, and gained a signal victory. All the enemy's positions were forced, and the Spanish army, being several times charged by cavalry during its retreat, was completely routed. Two thousand killed, an equal number of prisoners, and the whole of the Spanish artillery, were the trophies of the day, on which Venegas' Corps was almost entirely destroyed, and the remnant took refuge in the Sierra-Morena. This short campaign could not have ended more gloriously.

I had left the King at Vargas. He had commanded me to return to Madrid, and to recall thither the families that had been sent to San Ildefonso. I gladly executed this commission, and on the 13th of August the refugees re-entered the capital, where after so many alarms, now happily removed, all was restored to its accustomed order.

The King returned to Madrid on the 15th of August, and repaired to the church of San Isidoro, where a *Te Deum* was sung. It was the fête day of the Emperor; there were illuminations and fire-works. A dinner to two hundred guests, at which I did the honours by command, was given in the building called the Armeria to the civil and military authorities. At the close of the repast, the King appeared in the Hall, and was received with acclamations by the guests. In the evening, he went to the theatre. But the inhabitants of the town merely looked on at these rejoicings and took no part in them. Their gloom contrasted with the liveliness and activity of the French. However, we had got breathing time, and the favourable issue of recent military events promised us a few months of repose.

The French Ambassador and the Spanish Ministers gave dinners; and every effort was made to efface the remembrance of the terror caused by the movements of the English army. Attempts were even made to persuade the public that no cause for that terror had ever existed, and the retreat of the French and Spanish families to San Ildefonso was represented in the newspapers as merely the usual summer excursion made by the Court to that royal residence. This miserable subterfuge, invented by vanity, deceived none.

The Government, feeling more at ease, resumed its activity. In a sitting of the Council of State which took place on the 18th of August, several important decrees were discussed and adopted. The gist of them was as follows:

"All the religious houses for men were suppressed. The monks were ordered to return to their places of birth; they were forbidden to wear the religious habit.

"The rank of Grandee of Spain, and all Castilian titles, not confirmed by the King, were abolished.

"The Councils of War, of Marine, of Orders, and other ancient forms of administration, under whatsoever name they might be designated, were suppressed, as were also all the posts not confirmed anew by the King.

"Confiscation of property belonging to Spanish absentees, or to Spaniards serving in the army of the Junta, was decreed; a sum of twenty million reals, taken from the produce of the monastic property, was placed at the disposal of the Minister of War and the Minister of the Interior, to be distributed as indemnity to such persons as had suffered loss by the war, or in payment of the salaries of officials, for which the State could not otherwise have provided, on account of the condition of the Public Treasury."

These arrangements, and several others tending to the amelioration of the state of the finances, having been made, and promising a greater degree of success than they eventually obtained, the King took advantage of a few days of leisure to visit San Ildefonso and Segovia. I accompanied him on this excursion.

We left Madrid on the 8th of September. The road by which we travelled crosses the Manzanares by the San Fernando Bridge, and follows the Escurial Road in a north-westerly direction so far as the village of Las Rosas. There it divides, the road to the left leading to the Escurial and to the village of Guadarrama ; and that to the right, which we followed, taking us to Nava-Cerrada.* It traverses a barren plain, strewn with blocks of granite from which stone has been and is still daily quarried for the buildings of Madrid. After journeying for five hours, we began the ascent of one of the slopes of the Guadarrama range, to reach the puerto of Nava-Cerrada where we were to cross the chain. The road we followed is well planned and well constructed. The mountain is wooded, and its lower slopes are covered with shrubs, among which I remarked the *Cistus ladaniferus*, which diffuses its aromatic scent very widely, and whose large red or white flowers were everywhere to be seen. From the *Venta de Circedilla*,† the ascent to the Puerto is more rapid. This pass is one of the highest in Europe, and almost equals in that respect the passes of Mont Cenis, St. Gothard and the Simplon. But as, in order to reach it, a traveller starts generally speaking, from Madrid, a spot of great altitude, and as the length of the way is very great from Madrid to the highest point of the puerto, its elevation is less perceptible. On the summits of the Guadarrama chain, to the south, there was no snow, but when we reached the puerto, we could perceive some traces still lingering, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year. From this we may conclude that in some parts of the range the snows are perpetual.

After the puerto of Nava-Cerrada has been crossed, there is a very steep descent through a magnificent forest of pine-trees. Several streams of pure water run through this forest, and their confluence gives birth to the Eresma, a beautiful river which has made a bed for itself among the granite rocks, and, after watering a great part of the province of Segovia, runs into the Douro. Two or three hours' journey on this delightful road brought us to San Ildefonso. The palace, one of the most elevated buildings in Europe, was built by Philip V. The architecture is second-rate ; the style is that which was fashionable in France under Louis XIV., and which may be seen at Versailles and the Trianon.

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* "The enclosed plain." *Nava* is an Arabic word, which, with many others, has been retained in the Spanish language ; but it is generally applied to high plains only, surrounded by mountains, and forming *cols* or *puertos*.

† *Venta*. A sort of inn where travellers find shelter, and may eat and sleep, if they have brought provisions and bedding with them.

The gardens extending to the south and west of San Ildefonso are large, well designed, and adorned with magnificent fountains in marble, bronze and lead ; they are remarkable for their water-works. On the whole, the situation of this Royal residence, which also bears the name of la Granja, is picturesque and beautiful. The high mountains by which it is surrounded on all sides impart an appearance of wildness to it, but on the other hand they provide shade, water and promenades, which, under a burning sky and close to the gloomy barrenness of the Castilian plains, are of inestimable value. I wandered through these gardens with the King, and we climbed the mountains to one of the peaks, where the snow was still lying. This excursion, which was rendered delightful by the variety of its views and the freshness of the verdure, occupied nearly six hours.

We stayed three days at San Ildefonso, enjoying a delicious repose that we had not known for many a long day, and started on the 12th of September to return to Madrid by way of Segovia.

Segovia is a very ancient town situated on the Eresma. It was long famous for its manufactures of cloth and other woollen fabrics, and was in old times populous and commercial. But when I was there in 1809, it retained no trace of its former splendour, and offered nothing worthy of a traveller's attention except its antiquities, especially the fine aqueduct built by the Romans in the reign of Trajan.

This aqueduct spans the valley in which part of the town is situated. It unites the hills on the opposite sides, and brings the waters of the Eresma to the upper part of Segovia. Its height, measured from the lowest part of the valley, is from ninety to ninety-five feet. It consists of two rows of semicircular arches, one resting on the other. The arches and the pillars supporting them are composed of layers of the gray granite of the country, simply placed on each other without cement. The purity of the design of this aqueduct is admirable, and the lightness of the building is as marvellous as its solidity.

It is difficult, in fact, to understand, how an edifice so fragile in appearance can have resisted the wear and tear of more than seventeen centuries. The most striking view of the aqueduct is obtained from the valley. The pillars, supporting the first row of arches, are sixty feet in height, and seen from below, the arches seem almost to be suspended in mid-air.

In short, this aqueduct is one of the finest remains of antiquity, and there are few that can be compared with it either in Italy or Greece.

As we only stayed a few hours in Segovia, I had not time to visit the Alcazar or the cathedral,* but I shall have occasion to speak of them hereafter.

We left Segovia for Rio-Frio, a hunting-box appertaining to San Ildefonso. On his arrival the King found a Spanish regiment, which had been raised recently, drawn up in battle array on the esplanade of the Castle. This regiment was recruited from prisoners, or deserters from the armies of the Junta, and former servants of Ferdinand VII., whom the officers of the regiment had hired or kidnapped. M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, aide-de-camp to the King, was in command. We saw him at the head of his corps, in a brown uniform with yellow facings, and the red cockade. He put his regiment through its drill, giving the word of command in Spanish, a piece of courtier's flattery which was very pleasing to the King. He expressed his satisfaction to the colonel, and invited him and his principal officers to breakfast. After the breakfast, we resumed our journey to Madrid, and reached the capital on the evening of the 12th of September.

There now occurred in Spain a suspension of military operations. After the campaign of Talavera the English had retreated to the frontiers of Portugal, and the Spaniards, not having yet recouped their losses at Almonacid did not venture to show on this side of the Sierra-Morena. While the truce lasted, the King took an active part in the Government of the interior. I have already mentioned the measures taken by him before his departure for San Ildefonso. Many others were also discussed and adopted on his return. A new order of chivalry was instituted, to take the place of the former ones, which, with the exception of that of the Golden Fleece,† had all been suppressed by a previous decree. A system of public education was established on the basis of that which had been adopted in France. The right of sanctuary, which still existed in Spain, was abolished. A number of other administrative measures, generally speaking in harmony with the ideas which then prevailed in Europe, succeeded to these, but they invariably failed of their intended effect. Those that were of a severe character aroused resentment, and indulgence was met with ingratitude. For example, the abolition of the religious orders was desired by every right-thinking man in Spain; the influence of the monks was greatly diminished even among the lower classes; then suppression was an indisputable benefit; yet that measure was severely censured, and the monks were pitied because the hand that struck at them was abhorred. Public opinion was inexorable ; it rejected everything coming from us, even benefits.

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* *Al Cazar*, an Arab word, signifying the palace, the fortress. This name was generally given to the residences of the Moorish kings in Spain, and after their expulsion it was retained in Southern Spain.

† When the Emperor heard that the King had retained the Order of the Golden Fleece, he instituted that of the *Three Golden Fleeces*, which, however, was never distributed.

Thus the King, his Ministers and his Councillors spent themselves in fruitless labours. Nothing answered their expectations, and the worst danger to the Government, the void in the Public Treasury, showed no sign of diminution. On the contrary, the financial distress increased every day, and the unpleasant means to which we were forced to have recourse, in order to supply the never-ceasing wants of the army, completely alienated the people from us.

We were not much more fortunate in Paris. The Emperor, conqueror of Austria, who was then concluding a peace soon to be cemented by an alliance with a grand-daughter of Maria Theresa, considered that the military operations in Spain did not correspond with the greatness of his designs. He was far from sharing the satisfaction of Madrid. He detested blunders in the campaign, and disapproved of the haste with which the enemy had been attacked at Talavera, and of the tactics of the engagement. His displeasure was perceptible even in the reports he caused to be published, and in the notes he appended to them, though he did not hesitate to represent the general result of the campaign as favourable to the French arms, and full of confidence on this account, he renewed his pledge that he would hoist his eagles on the towers of Lisbon.*

But his rebukes and his criticisms were not addressed directly to his brother. As I have already stated, he had ceased to write to King Joseph. They were expressed in the correspondence between his Ministers and the Generals of the army. Neither honour nor favour was granted to the troops who had fought at Talavera and at Almonacid. Marshal Jourdan sent in his resignation. It was accepted, and Marshal Soult succeeded him as Major-General to the King.† At about this time it was announced that the Emperor, being free from anxiety in Germany, was returning to Spain. At the end of October the King sent several officers of his household to meet him,‡ and new political arrangements were spoken of by which the Emperor would wear the Spanish crown, and would send his brother to Milan. But if the project of once more changing the destiny of Spain had really occurred to the Emperor at this time, other cares diverted him from it, and subsequently time failed for carrying it into execution.

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* See the *Moniteur* of September 28, 1809, and February 11, 1810.

† He arrived at Madrid on November 5.

‡ General Strolz, First Equerry, the Marquis de Casapalacio, one of his aides-de-camp, and the Marquis de Montehermoso, First Chamberlain.

The peace with Austria brought no change to our position in Spain. We were left to our own resources, and it was not long before we were obliged to make use of them all.

The harmony and mutual understanding which alone could ensure success to the combined armies of our adversaries, had no existence between the English and the Spaniards, and the tardiness of Sir Arthur Wellesley's movements after the expulsion of the French from Portugal, is explained in great part, at least, by the want of concord between the military leaders of the two nations. After the battle of Talavera, and the defeat of Venegas at Almonacid, there was an increase of distrust, and the ill-humour that followed on ill-success made the intercourse between them still more strained and difficult. From that time the English ceased to make common cause with the Spaniards, and applied themselves solely to preserving their line of communication with Portugal, where their ships and their supplies were. During the three months which followed the battle of Talavera, Lord Wellington * took no part in the operations of the Spaniards, and kept his army in cantonments between Mérida and Badajoz, until the French once more began to threaten Portugal. This conduct was in conformity with the principles acted on during the whole war in Spain by the English Government, for it would be an error to attribute its efforts in the Spanish cause to that feeling of generosity which it is natural to suppose would impel a nation to go to the assistance of another when unjustly attacked. The real aim of the English in supporting the Spaniards was to enfeeble France, and the real spoils of victory, if they obtained it, was the subjugation of Portugal. The liberty, the independence, the prosperity of Spain, the restoration of Ferdinand VII., were the least of their motives, or, to speak more correctly, were only the pretext for their enterprise. We must therefore always refer the movements of the English to this two-fold end ; that of doing as much harm as possible to the French, and that of becoming masters of Portugal. Starting from these premises, everything is easily explained : the delay of the English general in his march towards the Tagus, the indifference he displayed to the fate of the Spanish army after the battle of Talavera, his haste to approach Portugal,

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* On August 16, 1809, the British Government had created Sir Arthur Wellesley, Baron Wellesley of Douro, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera.

The titles successively conferred on him by the Government in recognition of his services, are as follows :

February 18, 1812, Earl of Wellington.

August 18, 1812, Marquis of Wellington.

And, finally, May 3, 1815, Marquis of Douro and Duke of Wellington.

and his immobility during the remainder of the campaign, and during the conquest of Andalusia, which took place in the following year.

The Spaniards, however, though left in some sort to themselves, appeared in no wise alarmed at their isolation. Their confidence seemed rather to gather strength. They believed that their armies, when entirely unfettered, would accomplish alone what they had failed to achieve in conjunction with the English.

The Junta of Seville had raised a new army as if by magic. Fifty thousand men, well equipped, and well armed, with a strong force of artillery, had assembled at the foot of the Sierra-Morena, under General Arizaga, who had succeeded Venegas. In the beginning of November, this force made its appearance on this side of the mountains, and, advancing across the plains of La Mancha, where it met with no opposition, came to the banks of the Tagus, marching on Madrid. The opportunity had been well chosen for this movement, to which the dispersion of our forces was favourable.* The Second Corps, which since Marshal Soult's appointment as Major-General had been under the command of General Regnier, was occupying that portion of Estremadura lying between the Tagus and Truxillo. The First Corps, under Marshal Victor, had been drawn out on our left as far as Cuença, and an order to return to the Tagus, of which M. de Clermont-Tonnerre was bearer, was delivered too late to be executed in time. These two corps were the most numerous. The Fourth and Fifth, occupying Toledo, Aranjuez, and the environs of Madrid, and forming, together with the Royal Guard, a total of twenty to twenty-four thousand men, marched against the enemy, who were already holding the bridges on the Tagus and on the Jarama. The King and Marshal Soult left Madrid on November 18th, and passed the night at Aranjuez, which the enemy had abandoned on our approach, to take up a stronger position behind Ocaña at the entrance of the plain of La Mancha. Their front was covered by a deep ravine, which encircles the town for three quarters of its circumference.

Arizaga's army was attacked on the 19th by the French, who gained a most complete victory; 20,000 prisoners, fifty guns, and thirty flags, fell into the hands of the victors. I was informed of this the next day, by a courier who brought me the following note:

"Monsieur le Comte de Melito: The Junta's army is completely destroyed. Your son-in-law † distinguished himself. I am very well. Your affectionate Joseph. Dos Barrios,* November 19th, 1809."

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* The Spaniards were so certain of success, that they had brought to Seville with them a company of actors, who had prepared a play to celebrate the entry of their army into Madrid.

† Colonel Jamin, commanding a regiment of light cavalry in the guards. A charge made by his troop had contributed to the defeat of the enemy.

The prisoners taken on that day were sent to Madrid, and quartered at the Buen-Retiro, where they arrived in succession. The first column, consisting of more than 16,000 men, entered the town on the 22d of November. A large number of the inhabitants had gone beyond the gates to meet it, so as to convince themselves of its existence, for the people of Madrid still doubted the reality of the defeat. The spectacle seemed to make some impression, and the kindness shown by the King towards the prisoners, who were treated with the utmost humanity, awakened some gratitude just at first. But the national hatred and enmity towards the French soon got the upper hand, and neither our victory nor the moderation with which we used it could gain for us any popularity.

The fortune of war, meanwhile, continued favourable to us. At Alba de Tormès, General Kellerman gained a decisive advantage over the troops of the Duke del Parque, who had advanced from Ciudad-Rodrigo towards Salamanca, where he had crossed the river in order to reach Valladolid, and to cut off the communications in that direction between Madrid and France.

This force was completely defeated on the 28th of November, and was wholly scattered. In consequence of that success, the French entered Salamanca. From thence they began to threaten the frontiers of Portugal, whither, after the loss of the battle of Ocaña, the English had withdrawn in order to protect Lisbon, leaving the Spaniards to their own resources.

Thus, on the whole, this troubled year ended more auspiciously than it had commenced. The recent military operations had come to a successful end, and the tranquillity of Madrid was ensured, at least for a time. Yet our troubles were far from being over. Public feeling was still against us, and the blood that had been so profusely shed during the year had effected no change in our favour. We had conquered, but we had not convinced. After the disaster at Ocaña, the Seville Junta still spoke in the same tone as before the defeat of the Spanish army. Thus we had to expect the continuance of a struggle, which time, and events, even those favourable to us, did but intensify.

As to our relations with France, the same uncertainty still prevailed about the intentions of the Emperor. His obstinate silence on the King's course of action, and on the recent successes, portended real or pretended displeasure, which he held in reserve, so that he might adopt the line most conducive to his own interest.

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* A village of la Mancha, two leagues south of Ocaña.

Meanwhile, it became necessary, in spite of the Emperor's silence, and in the absence of all direction from him in the conduct of the war, to adopt a plan of campaign. There was no longer an enemy between the Douro and the Sierra-Morena. The two Castilles, La Mancha, and Estremadura, with the exception of the stronghold of Badajoz, were occupied by the French. A formidable expedition was in preparation against the English in Portugal.

A considerable army-corps was advancing on Valencia from Catalonia and Arragon, while troops, whose spirits had been raised by recent victory, were assembled on the Tagus. Was it desirable to leave these forces in inaction until the result of the expedition against Portugal and that of General Sechet's march on Valencia should be known? or, would it not be well to make use of the enthusiasm of the troops in order to attempt the conquest of Andalusia? Such was the question that called for a solution in Madrid, since the Emperor would not decide it in Paris. The first alternative was the more prudent, the more in conformity with the true rules of warfare, which ordain that the centre body of an army shall not advance while the wings that should cover it remain behind. This was the counsel given by a few persons, who endeavoured to press it on the King. The other was more dashing: supposing it to be successful it offered an opportunity for glory, and if the Junta could be dispersed, and possession of Cadiz obtained, it might complete the conquest of Spain, and end the war by a single blow. The latter alternative, which was flattering to ambitious hopes, had, therefore, more numerous supporters than the former, and the King's inclinations evidently leant to that side. It prevailed, and the expedition to Andalusia was resolved on, at the end of December 1809, and was begun in the early part of January 1810. Marshal Soult, who, as I have every reason to believe, was also inclined in the same direction, and on whom, in his capacity of Major-General, the carrying out of the expedition would devolve, declined to undertake it without a formal written order from the King, which would exonerate the Marshal in the case of failure. The King consented to give him this, and wrote to the Emperor, explaining his motives for the expedition. Marshal Soult also wrote, but to their letters, or at any rate to that of the King, no reply was made.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Departure of the King for the Andalusian Expedition—Having passed through Toledo, Madridejos, etc., he arrives at Almagro, where he joins Marshal Victor with the First Corps and where military operations are commenced—The army, the centre formed by the Fifth Corps and the Reserve, and the right and left wings by the First and the Fourth Corps, enters the passes of the Sierra-Morena, and takes possession of them without great opposition—It advances by way of La Carolina, Baylen, and Andujar, and occupies Cordova, where the King is well received by the inhabitants—Description of the principal buildings of Cordova—The colonies of Andalusia—On reaching Carmona, the King, instead of marching directly on Cadiz to surprise the Junta there, resolves to pass through Seville—He is warmly received by the inhabitants of that city, the capital of Andalusia—This gives him confidence, and he thanks the army in an emphatic order of the day—Seville, its public buildings and its environs—The summons sent to Cadiz by the Duke of Belluna having produced no effect, the King leaves Seville, and proceeds by way of Utrera and Xerez to Puerto-Santa-Maria—Attempts to enter into negotiation with the Junta of Cadiz are repulsed, and the necessity of a siege in form is recognized—The King, after visiting the town of San Lucar, returns to Xerez, and thence takes the road for Ronda and Malaga—Enthusiasm excited among the people by Joseph's entry into the latter town—Antequera and its antiquities—Cueva de Minga—The King's entry into Granada—Description of that city, and its buildings—Jaen and its ancient Cathedral—Return of the King to Andujar, and end of the Andalusian expedition.

The Central Junta at Seville, which by its presumption and improvidence had sacrificed the most valuable resources of unhappy Spain at Ocaña, and which was the spectator and in great part the author of the disasters to her army, was beginning to tremble. Before the battle of Ocaña, when still full of confidence, the Junta had endeavoured to counterbalance, by a manifesto addressed to the nation, the impression that would be produced in Spain by the conclusion of peace between Austria and France.

"Our enemies," so runs the proclamation,* "in announcing the conclusion of peace in Germany, already threaten us with the powerful reinforcements that are advancing to complete our ruin.

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* This is dated November 21; but when publishing it, the Junta did not yet know of the defeat of Arizaga, which took place on the 19th.

Puffed up by the favourable issue to their policy in the North, they insolently exhort us to submit ourselves to the clemency of the Conqueror, and to bow our heads beneath his yoke.

" No, vile slaves of Bonaparte ! placed as we are between ignominy and death, what choice would you have us make except that of defending ourselves to the last extremity ? Continue to plunder, to rob, to massacre, to destroy, as you have been doing for the last twenty months ; increase the enmity towards you, the thirst for revenge which we shall always feel ; never will we fall at the feet of the crowned slave whom Bonaparte has sent us for a King.

" That Spain should be free, is the desire of the whole nation. Let Spain be free, or let her become an immense desert, a vast grave-yard, where the heaped-up bones of Frenchmen and of Spaniards shall proclaim to future ages our glory and their shame. But so dreadful a fate cannot be reserved for Spain ; sooner or later victory must be the reward of courage and constancy.

" Spaniards ! the Junta does not disguise from you the dangers that threaten your country ; it proclaims them to you, confident that you will prove yourselves worthy of that holy cause which is ours. That sword which has been drawn from its scabbard by the eternal hatred we have sworn to an execrable tyrant, shall no more be sheathed. Never again shall the standard of independence and liberty be furled. Hasten to enroll yourselves beneath its colours, all ye who cannot endure an infamous yoke, who cannot make a league with iniquity, and we shall triumph in the end over all the artifices and all the power of an inhuman despot !"

Such language was too much in accordance with the feeling of the nation not to be well received. The news of the defeat at Ocaña, however, now beginning to become known, lessened the effect of the proclamation. The Government-Junta, after vain efforts to disguise the disaster, was, at length, obliged to speak out. In a further proclamation, dated the 20th of December, it admitted the whole extent of the defeat, and stated to the nation the measures it proposed taking to escape the impending dangers. All the silver vessels of the churches with the exception of those that were indispensable for daily worship, were to be taken to the Seville Mint, a loan of six millions of piastres was to be opened in Spain, and one of forty millions in America. A hundred thousand men were to be raised to recruit the forces ; a hundred thousand pikes or daggers were to be manufactured and distributed in the country parts ; and engineers were to be despatched to the Sierra-Morena, to reconnoitre and fortify the mountain passes. These measures all indicated the gravity of the situation, and the alarm of the Government on the one hand, and on the other hand the exhausted state of the means of resistance in Spain. In fact, the Junta had made so poor a use of its authority, that now, when the fairest provinces of the kingdom were in danger of invasion, Spain no longer possessed an army, and had only the shadow of a government, while she was deserted by her English allies.

The French therefore had no serious obstacle to encounter in their expedition to Andalusia. They had only to decide whether the present was a fitting opportunity for the campaign, since the English army, quite intact, was occupying Portugal, and the provinces of Arragon and Valencia were not yet subdued. This question, as I have said in the last chapter, had been, in defiance of all the rules of strategy, decided in the affirmative.

The French Army destined for the expedition to Andalusia, consisted of the united 1st, 4th, and 5th Corps,* and numbered, including the Reserve and the Royal Guard, about 60,000 men.

The King, whom I accompanied on this expedition, left Madrid on the 8th of January, 1810, at seven in the morning, and passed the night at Toledo, having taken the high road through Getafa, Illescas, Cabañas and Ollas. Early the next morning, the 9th, we resumed our journey towards Madridejos; and passed a fatiguing day in travelling nearly twelve Spanish leagues. After leaving Toledo, the Tagus is spanned by a very narrow but well-built bridge. After crossing this bridge, there is a steep ascent, with an admirable view of the town, which is situated on the right bank of the river, on several picturesquely grouped hills, the highest crowned by the Alcazar. Before the use of cannon Toledo was a strong place, at the present time, overlooked as it is by the neighbouring heights, although the town is an important point, it has no longer any means of defence. At a short distance from Toledo we passed by Almonacid and the spot where, on August the 10th of the preceding year, the King had gained an important victory. I was at his side as we rode over the field of battle, and he pointed out to me the enemy's positions, and recalled the principal circumstances of the engagement. We continued our route across La Mancha, and on the 10th of January we left Madridejos for Villa-Rubia, whence we again set forward on the 11th. Between that town and the Guadiana the ground is rather marshy. We crossed the river at its source, commonly called Los Ojos de la Guadiana.† It flows very slowly, and, generally speaking, has but a slight fall. Many wonderful fables as to its origin are rife in the country, and Cervantes has made use of them in one of the most delightful episodes of his *Don Quixote.* From the source of the Guadiana as far as Damiel, the country is pleasant and well cultivated, olive-trees especially abounding. After leaving Damiel, a large and well-built town, where we rested for a couple of hours, the road becomes more shaded. We passed through a fine plantation of oaks, and found ourselves on an extensive plain which conducted us to Almagro. On the 11th of January our head-quarters were fixed in that town, which is but a short distance from the Sierra-Morena. The Duke of Belluna's army-corps was there before us, and it was here that our military operations commenced. The Marshal, with the right wing of the army, advanced towards Almaden del Azogue,* to reach the high road to Seville, and avoid the ordinary pass of the Sierra-Morena, while the 5th Corps, which with the Reserve and the Royal Guard was commanded by Marshal Mortier, and formed the centre of the army, marched in a direct line on this pass.† We remained at Almagro until the 18th of January, waiting for news from Marshal Victor, and when we learned that he had effected his movement without opposition from the enemy, the centre, consisting of the forces I have named, and forming a total of from twenty to twenty-two thousand men, left Almagro, and advanced to Santa Cruz de Mudela at the foot of the Sierra-Morena, while General Sebastiani with the Fourth Army Corps, forming the left wing of the army, was leaving Los Infantes and advancing so as to act in concert with the centre. All was therefore in preparation for a decisive attack. We received intelligence that the enemy had thrown up great earthworks in the mountain, that deep cuttings and mining-works had been executed in the defile of *Despeña Perros*‡ which crosses the Sierra-Morena, and that a serious engagement was expected.

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* The 2d Corps, which was on the bank of the Tagus on the frontier of Estremadura, was at first intended to co-operate in the expedition; but direct commands from the Emperor summoned it to the right bank of the Tagus, where it was to form the left wing of the army destined to operate against Portugal.

† *The eyes of the Guadiana.* This name is given to great pools of

On the 20th of January at six a.m. we left Santa Cruz, and took the high road to the village of Virillo, which we reached at nine a.m. The King made no stay there, but continued to accompany the army until within a short distance of the *Venta de Cardenas*, situated at the foot of the pass.

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water, intercepted by masses of earth forming small islands, or more strictly speaking, marshes.

* The famous quicksilver mine of Almaden is situated here. *Azogue* is the Spanish for quicksilver.

† He had, however, been obliged to send back his artillery; it had been impossible to get the guns along the nearly impassable mountain roads.

‡ The name of this pass may be rendered thus: *a pass where even dogs will fall over.* Before the road was made, the pass could not be traversed without danger.

Our forces were divided into three corps; Gazan's division on the right, Gerard's in the centre and on the left, both forming part of Marshal Mortier's Corps. Dessolle's division, which formed the reserve, had taken another road on our right, and was turning the enemy's positions by an independent movement.

The attack began towards eleven o'clock. The Spaniards had established two batteries on the side of the mountain overlooking the defile from the right, and had raised some intrenchments at the head of the bridge on the high road, the other side of the Venta de Cardeñas. In two hours all their positions were carried, the batteries were seized by the cavalry, and the road was left with no other defence than the two cuttings in the defile, and two or three mines in other parts of the pass. These obstacles were soon removed; the cuttings, undefended by the enemy, were filled in; only one of the mines exploded, and it produced little effect. At two p.m. the pass was entirely free, and the King passed through it with his guard. General Gerard's division marched on an entrenched camp that the Spanish had established on the summit of a plateau on our left, and which was known under the name of *Collado de Jardines*. The division carried it readily, and forced the remainder of the Cordova Regiment, who were holding it and part of which had perished in the attack, to lay down their arms.

Meanwhile Dessolle's division was doing its work, and driving the enemy before it. Then having crossed the mountain at the *Puerto del Rey*, it rejoined the centre column between *Santa-Elena* and *Las Navas de Tolosa*. The King passed the night at La Carolina, where he had arrived at six in the evening.

Thus, in the course of a few hours, the pass of the Sierra-Morena, which seemed the last hope of the Junta, was forced, the army that defended it was entirely dispersed, and the gates of Andalusia were opened to the French.

The road we had taken on that day, from Santa-Cruz de Mudela as far as La Carolina, is a magnificent one, thoroughly well planned. The Despeña Perros Pass is rendered practicable by a road built cornice-like on the mountain to the right, over a deep precipice with a torrent at the bottom. A stone facing supports the road for a considerable distance. On the whole it is a fine structure. The range of the Sierra-Morena, at the point where we crossed it, is not very elevated. At a short distance from the plateau of Santa Elena, the plains of Navas de Tolosa become visible. It was there that Alfonso VIII. gained a decisive victory over the Moors in 1212.

On leaving Santa Elena, the view was magnificent. The Andalusian plains were mapped out before us; the chain of the Sierra-

Morena stretched along on our right from East to West, and in the distance on our left we perceived the mountains of Granada and the summits of the Sierra-Nevada, which I believe to be the highest mountain in Spain. The summits, covered with eternal snows, reminded me strongly of the Alps.

Night overtook us as we began our descent towards La Carolina. But on the following day, January 21st, I had leisure to inspect this thoroughly modern town and its environs. Towards the end of the last century (in 1788), the Spanish Government had established colonies in the Sierra-Morena, and some other uncultivated parts of Andalusia, which at first had prospered sufficiently well. But the French Revolution, the prosecution of M. Olavidez, who had founded these colonies, by the Inquisition, and lastly the war in which Spain had been involved for the last two years, had retarded their progress. La Carolina, one of these settlements, is of inconsiderable size, but built with regularity. Streets laid out in parallel lines, at right angles, and composed of well-built and nearly uniform houses, present an agreeable appearance. There are gardens in front of some of these houses. A fine avenue of trees on the high road to Andalusia, which is bordered with several kitchen-gardens, completes one of the most charming sites for a dwelling place that I have met with in my wanderings. But, at the time of my visit to the spot, its beauty was greatly obscured by the damage done during the night to the houses and gardens. It was a scene of desolation.

We left La Carolina towards noon to pass the night at Baylen. At a very short distance, to the south of that town, is the battlefield where eighteen months previously General Dupont's troops had been beaten and forced to capitulate. The disgrace of that fatal day had been effaced by the success that our arms had just obtained in the same locality.

At Baylen which was otherwise quite deserted, the King received reports of the operations of the corps commanded by General Sebastiani. The Spanish troops, which had been repulsed by the centre of our army on the 20th of January, had thrown themselves on our left. There they were attacked by General Sebastiani, who took from 7000 to 8000 prisoners, and General Castejon, who commanded the division, was obliged to surrender. We learned at the same time that the 1st corps had joined the 5th below Andujar. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, Marshal Victor had contrived to get from Almaden to the high road to Cordova, after crossing the Guadalquivir at Montoro. Thus the movement that had been planned twelve days before at Almagro, had been effected with perfect success.

After sending off his despatches, dated Baylen, to Madrid and

Paris, the King left that place for Andujar on the 23d of January.

The journey from Baylen to Andujar is a delightful one. The way lies through a fertile country, abounding in olive groves of immense extent. Vegetation is vigorous throughout, and I noticed in the uncultivated parts some plants that I had previously remarked in the south of Italy or in Corsica, such as the Rose-laurel, and on the banks of the streams many varieties of the Cistus and the Daphne.

At a league from Andujar, the Guadalquivir* becomes visible, flowing peacefully through a pleasant plain at the foot of a hill.

Andujar, situated on the right bank of this famous river, is a town of considerable size, and some parts of it are well built. There is a large plaza, or square, and a fine bridge over the Guadalquivir. The greater number of the inhabitants had fled from their houses on the approach of our troops. As usual, there had been much disorder, doors were broken in, and windows smashed, part of the town was set on fire, in short, all the evils of war, aggravated by want of discipline.

During the two days we spent at Andujar, the King received the news of the occupation of Cordova by the French troops. General Vilate had entered the city at the head of a division of Light Cavalry, and of some companies of infantry belonging to the 1st Corps. No resistance had been made. The inhabitants had remained in their houses, and had sent a deputation to receive the General. We heard at the same time that the town of Jaen had surrendered to General Sebastiani, who, after leaving a garrison there, had marched on Granada.

This good news decided the King on proceeding to Cordova, and on the 25th of January we left Andujar.

After crossing the Guadalquivir by the bridge I have mentioned, we followed the high road on the left bank of the river so far as the village of Aldea del Rio, where we diverged from it, crossing the country on our left to Bujalance, a small but well-built town, with a pòpulation of 8000 or 9000 souls. None of the inhabitants had left the town, and we were well received. On the 26th we returned to the Andalusian high road, beyond a town called Carpio, and recrossed the Guadalquivir at the bridge of Alcolea del Rio. This fine bridge had not been destroyed as we were told, and the enemy, who, it was supposed, would have held a position here, had abandoned the bridge, after having constructed some earthworks there. At about a league from this spot, we began to catch sight of Cordova.

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* The Arabian name of the Bœtis of the Romans; *Guada*, or rather *ouada el Kébir*, the Great River.

The aspect of that tower, from a slight eminence on the road, is agreeable and picturesque. The surrounding hill sides are covered with olive groves, among which small country-houses are scattered. The land is well cultivated, and there are all the signs of a delightful climate, and a fertile country. The town rises in the midst of a narrow plain bounded on the west and north by the last slopes of the Sierra-Morena, but opening on the east and south, towards the Guadalquivir, on whose right bank the town is entirely built. It is one of the most ancient cities of Spain. Having long been under the domination of the Romans and later under that of the Moors, it contains remarkable remains of these two peoples.

We found that the town was inhabited, and the King was well received by the crowds who pressed round him. He took up his residence in the Episcopal Palace, built at the Southern extremity of the town, on a height which commands the river and the plains watered by it. Gardens of orange-trees and myrtles beautify this abode, which is most happily situated.

We remained three days at Cordova, waiting until Marshal Victor, who was advancing along the Andalusian road through Ecija and Carmona, should have passed the latter town. I took advantage of our stay to visit some of the principal buildings, and especially the Cathedral, which was built by the Moors, and is alleged to have been the chief mosque of Cordova.

The whole edifice consists of one building, constructed on a vast parallelogram. The exterior is an enclosure formed by a wall of about thirty feet in height from the floor of the building, and a few feet higher from the pavement of the streets, which are lower to the east and north, being on an ascent towards the west. This wall is of very simple architecture. It is only ornamented at intervals with projecting towers, square shaped, and with a crenelated edge.

Part of the enclosure is empty, and forms a court or garden, surrounded with porticoes adorned with fountains of limpid water, and planted with orange-trees, cypresses, and palm-trees.

A very lofty steeple rises on the west side of the court. It is supported by a great arch, which serves also as an entrance-porch. These are quite modern, and date from the time when the Gothic style was in part abandoned, and became mixed with Greek or Roman architecture.

Two doors lead from this court, or garden, into the interior of the Church. That one which is opposite the steeple, and by which I entered, is ornamented with two fragments of milliary pillars, one bearing an inscription of the time of Augustus, and the other an inscription of the time of Tiberius. The letters have been restored and modernized, and even a date of the modern era has been added. Below the right hand pillar, an Arabic inscription is visible on the wall. The other door is at the extreme end of the court, and is also adorned with a milliary pillar.*

On reaching the interior, one is struck with the curious aspect of this singular building. At the first glance, nothing is distinguishable but a forest of little pillars, ten or twelve feet high, in rows parallel with the length of the building, and divided into quincunxes separated each from the other by an empty space of twenty-five feet. Each of these pillars supports the arbacus of a small arch springing from one column to another and itself surmounted by a second arch of eccentric form, thus leaving a space between the two in the shape of a crescent. The higher arches support the shafts of a vault which constitutes the roof between each row of pillars.

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* I copied the inscriptions; they are as follows:

On the pillar to the left of the principal entrance, opposite the steeple:

Imp. Cæsar. Divi. F.
Augustus. Cos. XIII. Trib.
Potest. XXI. Pontif. Max.
A. Bæte. et. Jano. Augus.
Ad. Oceanum.
⊥XIIII.

In modern characters, underneath this inscription, I read,

Hoc. Anno. Natus.
D. N. Jesus. Christ.

On the second pillar to the right of the same entrance:

Ti. Cæsar. Divi. Augusti. F.
Divi. Julii. Nepos. Augus.
Pontif. Max. XXI. Cos.
V. Imp. Trib. Potes. XXXVII.
Ab. Jano. Augusto. Qui. Est.
Ad. Bætim. Usque. Ad.
Oceanum.
⊥XIIII.

Below this, in modern characters:

HOC. ANNO. PASSIO. D. N.
JHS. XP. JUXTA. CASSIO.

On the pillar to the right of the second entrance:

C. Cæsar. Germa.
nicus. Germanici.
Cæsaris. F. Ti. Aug. N.
Divi. Aug. PRON. Divi.
Julii. ABN. Aug. Pat. PAR.
Cos. II. Imp. Trib. Pote
State. II. Pont. Max.
A. Bæte. et. Jano. Augusto.
Ad. Oceanum.

On this third pillar there is neither milliary sign, nor any modern inscription.

The name of Janus occurring in the three inscriptions leads to the supposition that Augustus, who had had the glory of closing the temple of Janus at Rome, had raised a temple to that god at Cordova on the banks of the Bétis, or else that the inhabitants of that town, in order to flatter the Emperor by perpetuating the memory of so notable an event, had themselves raised it. It was from this temple that the itinerary measure started.

The two L's joined together in the form ⊥ in the two first inscriptions, signify twice fifty or one hundred. Thus from Cordova to the sea, the distance was reckoned at one hundred and thirteen or one hundred and fourteen thousand Roman feet. The abbreviation CASSIO represents the name of the chronologer Cassiodorus.

In the central space, several rows of pillars and arches have been destroyed, to provide room for the construction of a choir and a nave, entirely modern in design, and covered with gilding, painting, and other ornamentation quite out of keeping with the simplicity of the rest of the edifice. In other parts small chapels and devotional altars have been erected without regard to the symmetrical order of the arcades ; with the result of producing unequal spaces and irregular openings, which disfigure the building, and quite destroy the majestic effect that would result from the simplicity and unity which doubtless originally constituted the principal beauty of the building.

It would appear that this edifice was built by the Moors, with the fragments of some temple or theatre of Roman construction. The columns are all either of marble or granite, of graceful proportion, and without either base or pedestal ; * but all have Corinthian capitals finished or unfinished, and those that are completed are evidently of Roman handiwork.

I particularly remarked the so-called baptistery, or chapel of the Baptismal Font, which is much richer in ornament than the rest of the edifice. It is said to be on the spot where the Koran was formerly deposited. The chapel is of the same design as the others, but the double arcades are cut into deep indentations, and carved with flowers and leaves, in the style which from its Arabian origin, has been called Arabesque. The design is rich and not ill executed, though the manner is somewhat formal. On the north façade, I also remarked some doors and windows in good preservation, and decorated in the same style as the chapel of which I am speaking. The same kind of ornamentation probably existed on the four façades, but the changes and repairs which have been effected at various times to adapt the building to its new purposes have obliterated the carvings.

Such is this edifice, which is more interesting than beautiful, and such is the impression that I received from it.

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* The Milliary columns in the court are on bases of the Corinthian order.

During my stay at Cordova I also visited the Alcazar. That ancient palace of the Moorish kings of Cordova, was, at the time of my visit, in the occupation of the Inquisition. It is situated on the banks of the Guadalquivir, at a short distance from the Cathedral, and retains few traces of its former self ; a few square, battlemented towers are the sole remains of the work of the Moors. But the situation of the building is admirable, as are also the riverside gardens, and the fountains springing up amid them. At the time that I wandered through them, they were planted with the finest orange-trees I had ever beheld. My guide pointed out one in particular, called *el Moro*, probably because it is supposed to date from the time of the Moors ; and this is indeed very probable. The principal branches are propped up with masonry, having become too heavy for the aged trunk.

We left Cordova early in the morning on the 29th of January, and after crossing the bridge, resumed our route on the left bank of the Guadalquivir. At first our road lay, for about two leagues, along a plain, then we entered a small mountain range enclosing a district which is quite new. It formerly consisted of broad uncultivated wastes ; but for twenty years the ground had been gradually cleared, and pretty dwelling-places erected, forming what were called at that time the colonies of Andalusia. La Carlotta, a pretty town, of very regular construction and in the modern style, was the chief place of these settlements, which, like those of the Sierra-Morena of which I have already spoken, are the creation of M. Olavides. La Carlotta had suffered no harm. On the whole, as we made further progress, we found provisions for our soldiers in greater abundance, the inhabitants having remained in their dwellings, and there were fewer signs of disorder. Thus we were no longer distressed by the melancholy spectacles that had hitherto grieved us, and our journey from Cordova to Ecija and Carmona, where we remained while waiting to learn the result of Marshal Victor's and Marshal Mortier's movements, was particularly agreeable. The vegetation was of a novel kind. Hedge-rows of Cactus-opuntia and of Agava bordered the fields. Here and there date-bearing palm-trees stood high against the sky and grew luxuriantly in the fields ; the Fan-palm-tree (*Chamærops humilis*) was also very plentiful.* Everything proclaimed that we were approaching the extremity of Europe and drawing near to Africa. Between Ecija and Carmona, we passed through several settlements similar to those we had seen between Cordova and Ecija. La Louisiana is the principal one. This village, pretty and pleasant, is situated on the high road, and a league farther on, we came to La Monclea, a large farm of the modern style, with a fine oilmill, cisterns, granaries, large stables, and in short, all the necessary adjuncts of an agricultural establishment on a scale almost unknown in Spain. The principal building is situated on a height commanding a valley through which runs the Madre Vieja, which is spanned by a very fine bridge. Magnificent palm-trees in picturesque groups gave an aspect as attractive as it was novel to these buildings.

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* These Fan-palms are gathered for the purpose of making brooms commonly used in Andalusia, and almost the only kind that is known there.

The King, who had reached Carmona on the 30th of January, remained there on the following day. There was an important decision to be taken before going farther. A little way beyond Carmona,* which is only at five or six miles distance from Seville, the high road bifurcates. One branch leads to Seville, the other, through Utrera and Xeres de la Frontera, to Cadiz. The question to be determined was whether the army should continue to advance in the latter direction, leaving Seville on its rear, in order to march at once on Cadiz, or whether Seville should be taken before attacking Cadiz.

The first alternative was doubtless the more soldierly. If there were any reasonable hope of taking Cadiz, it was by surprising the place, and making use of the first moments of confusion and terror into which a sudden invasion would have thrown the town; and Seville would follow the example of Cadiz. Once driven from the latter city the Junta and all its influence would be destroyed. Besides this, we might come up with the Duke of Albuquerque's corps, which, on hearing that the French had forced the pass of the Sierra-Morena, had hastily left Estremadura, and was retreating by forced marches on Cadiz.† These troops, consisting of ten or twelve thousand men, were scarcely a day's march in advance of the French army which had entered Carmona on the 29th of January.‡ And supposing that we failed alike to surprise Cadiz, and to join the Duke of Albuquerque, at least we should not have to reproach ourselves with not having made the attempt, and Seville would be equally able to defend herself. At the most, there might be a delay of a few days before taking possession of that town.

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* At the village of Alcala de Guadaira.

† The Junta had ordered the Duke of Albuquerque to proceed with his corps to defend the passes of the Sierra-Morena, but Castaños in a private letter begged him in the most urgent terms to march as soon as possible to the assistance of Cadiz, and to disregard the orders of the Junta, and he resolved on marching in the latter direction. To this action of the Duke of Albuquerque and to the foolish decision taken on the 31st of January at the French head-quarters, may be attributed the salvation of Cadiz, and perhaps that of Spain.

‡ The Duke of Albuquerque only entered Cadiz, which he saved by his presence, on the 3d of February.

The other case was different. The occupation of Seville had no influence on that of Cadiz. All the chiefs of the opposition against whom we had to contend, were in the latter place, which was also the refuge of the Junta. In Seville, we should find only the authorities of the town and the municipality, but no members of the Government, or representatives of the nation, with whom to treat. However quickly the town might be taken, it would cost us the loss of at least four or five days, and those days were decisive : they would give Cadiz time to breathe, and the chiefs time to concert together ; the English would have an opportunity of exerting their influence, and the garrison would have time to gather confidence from the situation of the town, and to provide the first works for its defence.

These suggestions, which were natural enough, were made, but they were not heeded. The same mistake that led to the failure of all our operations in Spain, was the cause of this irreparable blunder also. It was believed that with the surrender of Seville the war would come to a close, just as a year before the same belief had existed concerning Madrid, and there was so strong a conviction that the goal and the fruit of the expedition were to be found at Seville, that at the King's dinner-table at Carmona, at which I was present, with his ministers and several generals, I heard Marshal Soult declare himself openly for the march on Seville, saying : " Let me be sure of Seville, and I will answer for Cadiz !"

It is, however, scarcely probable that a man so experienced and so skilful in war should really fall into so manifest an error. The intention of the Marshal, as the sequel has shown, was to fix himself in Andalusia ; and if at that moment Cadiz were to fall into the hands of the French, his presence in the conquered province would no longer be necessary, and his aim would be missed.

The decision, which turned out so unfortunately, was taken, and the *whole* of the army, instead of taking the road to Cadiz, received orders to march on Seville.*

The King had at first hoped to enter the capital of Andalusia on the 31st of January, but we heard in the morning, that, on the previous day, the Spaniards had fired on our outposts which had advanced beneath the ramparts of the town, and the march of the head-quarters was countermanded. However, as nothing further occurred, the King left Carmona early on the 1st of February, and on reaching Alcala de Guadaira, we learned that Marshal Victor had concluded the negotiations begun that night with the magistrates concerning the surrender of the town, and that the capitulation was signed. Shortly afterwards a deputation, consisting of the principal inhabitants, came out to meet the King. We set out, therefore, towards 10 A.M. The sun was shining in all his splendour over the immense plain in which Seville is situated, and gilding the Giralda * and the numerous spires which rise from the town. We were filled with admiration of this splendid spectacle.

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* Unless we admit that Marshal Soult *did not at that time desire* the fall of Cadiz, it is difficult to understand why a sudden attack on that town should not have been combined with the advance on Seville. Both expeditions could easily have been accomplished. A small body of troops was sufficient to take possession of Seville, which was then quite unable to make any serious resistance, and there was nothing to prevent Marshal Victor with the rest of the army from marching forwards at once to surprise Cadiz, and come up with Albuquerque and defeat him.

At three quarters of a league from the town, we found Marshal Victor's corps drawn up in order of battle on either side of the road. The troops, all in parade order, were a splendid sight ; the joy of success shone in every countenance. The King as he passed through was received with loud acclamations, and he then made his entry into the town preceded by his guard. He was received and followed by an immense crowd of the people who filled the streets and public places as far as the Alcazar, where he dismounted from his horse and took up his residence. Cries of *Viva el rey* arose on every side. Curiosity and fear had no doubt a greater share in that triumphant reception than any other sentiments ; but whatever may have been its true cause, it seemed at the time to justify the occupation of Seville. Once more we believed ourselves to have reached the end of the war, and the King rejoiced more than ever at having, in opposition to some of his advisers, undertaken an expedition which had been so rapidly successful ; twenty days only had elapsed since we had left Madrid.

The unexpected success of the campaign inspired confidence, which displayed itself in all the public acts emanating from head-quarters, after the army had crossed the Sierra-Morena. A proclamation by the King, published during his stay at Cordova, and drawn up in imitation of the style of the Emperor, had announced "that immutable destiny had already decided the fate of Spain, and that all resistance had become unavailing." An order of the day, dated Seville, February 1, containing the King's thanks to the army, was expressed in still more presumptuous terms :

"The war with Austria," so it ran, "that has just been so gloriously ended by the Emperor, had revived the hopes of the

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* The cathedral tower of Seville is so called.

English cabinet. English troops in Spain were to conquer Madrid, and there create an important diversion ; but they learned a lesson at Talavera, and no longer dared to present themselves.

" The insurrectionary forces, on being abandoned by their so-called allies, made a last attempt at the moment of the pacification of Vienna. Ocaña destroyed their senseless projects. Soldiers ! you recognised in those troops your own brethren led astray by the common enemy. You desired to save them, and I received them as my children.

" Frenchmen ! that recollection will never be effaced from my memory. I shall reign in Spain, but France will live for ever in my heart.

" The barriers placed by Nature between the North and the South of Spain have fallen. You have met with friends only beyond the Sierra-Morena ; Jaen, Cordova, Granada and Seville have flung open their gates. You have traversed those provinces in the same peaceable and orderly spirit with which you would have marched through Languedoc or Burgundy. Welcome from the inhabitants, abundance, and peace, have been the reward of your conduct.

" Soldiers of Talavera, of Almonacid, of Arzobispo, of Ocaña, of Sierra-Morena ! how can I express all I owe you !

" I recall to your mind your own conduct. The Emperor shall hear of it.

" The King of Spain desires that between the pillars of Hercules a third pillar shall arise, to recall to posterity and to the navigators of both the new and the old world the memory of the officers and men of the French army, who drove back the English, saved thirty thousand Spaniards, pacified ancient Betica, and regained for France her natural allies."*

The reader will perceive that in this proclamation the King carefully avoided any reference to conquest or invasion. According to him, we might believe that the Andalusian provinces were only recognising their legitimate king, and that the French army, in driving out a band of insurgents, had but restored to the country the power of expressing its true sentiments.

This was a delusion ; but, at first, everything contributed to strengthen it. Joseph had been enabled to establish the seat of his Government in the Alcazar at Seville, where the Junta had resided for the past year. In the same spot where his name had so often been reviled he now received the homage of the magistracy, of the chief merchants of one of the largest cities in Spain, and of humble deputations from her richest provinces. And, that nothing might be wanting to the triumph of the moment, Fortune had decreed that he should find in the cathedral of Seville the eagles and the colours that had been taken at Baylen, and that he should have the glory of restoring those trophies to France.

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* Such is the wording of the order of the day, as published at Seville and translated into Spanish. The reader will hereafter see the alterations in it, made by the Emperor, on its appearance in the *Moniteur.*

But, when the first glow of success began to fade, and that it became possible to appreciate the real position of affairs, the difficulties still remaining were found to be much greater than they had seemed at first. The impression produced by the passage of the Sierra-Morena and the occupation of Seville did not extend and increase as had been hoped. Cadiz seemed no nearer a surrender. Again, therefore, it became necessary to have recourse to arms, and with renewed activity. Marshal Victor, at the head of the 1st Army Corps, had left Seville on the 2d of February, and was marching on Cadiz, and Marshal Mortier with the 5th Corps was advancing in Estremadura, in hopes of surprising Badajoz. Neither of those expeditions was successful. The 4th Corps under General Sebastiani was more fortunate. Jaen, Granada, and Malaga opened their gates one after the other, and by the beginning of February that part of Andalusia was entirely subjugated.

While awaiting the issue of these movements, the King remained at Seville, and I took advantage of my stay there to examine that celebrated city and its environs.

Seville, next to Barcelona, the largest town in Spain, is situated on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, which divides it from a very fine suburb on the right bank. The river, which is crossed by a bridge of boats communicating with the suburb and with the road to Estremadura, is sufficiently deep for vessels of three or four thousand tons to ascend it as far as the bridge. Handsome flights of steps, and a quay on the side of the suburb, facilitate the import and export of merchandise. Fine avenues* of trees form the public promenade on the city side, and at the end facing the bridge is a marble group on a lofty pedestal, adorned with Ionic columns. This is a curious work of art, consisting of two male figures seated, one represents the Eternal Father, the other the Divine Son ; between them is a dove completing the Holy Trinity. The work is in bad taste.

All this part of the town is handsome, and pleasing to the eye. In the interior the streets are narrow and winding, but, generally, well constructed. The houses are almost all of uniform design, consisting of a large, square courtyard, surrounded by arcades, supported on pillars ; the upper story is a gallery on the arcades from which the rooms open.

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* One of these avenues is of Sapotilla (*Achras sapotilla*), a tree cultivated at the Antilles.

Seville contains several remarkable buildings : the Alcazar, the Cathedral, the Lonja (Stock Exchange), all three in the centre of the town,* and in addition to these, beautiful churches and wealthy convents. The Cathedral is a vast Gothic edifice of very great height, but with nothing noteworthy in its architecture. A square tower at one of its angles, on the east side, serves as a belfry. At the top of the tower to which there is easy access by a convenient staircase, is a weather-cock, in the form of a female figure, known as the Giralda. The interior is adorned with pictures of the Spanish school, by Zurbaran, Murillo, Valdes, Herrera, Louis de Vargas, and others.

The Alcazar, formerly the palace of the Moorish Kings, retains many traces of its origin. The courts, the window-arches, even the interior of the apartments, are ornamented with arabesques dating from the rule of the Moors in Spain. A portion, however, of these decorations is modern, and merely an imitation of Moorish work. The gardens, enclosed within the palace walls, are of vast extent, and watered by sparkling streams ; but the buildings and shrubberies are, generally speaking, in bad taste. The whole, when seen from a terrace on the south side of the palace, is, however, picturesque and curious.

Tobacco is manufactured in a large building divided by a street from the Alcazar. The exterior of the establishment is very handsome, and rather that of a palace than a factory. Besides ordinary tobacco and cigars, *polvo*, known as Spanish snuff, is manufactured there ; and I believe has never been made in any place except Seville.

The *Lonja* (Stock Exchange), built on Juan Herrera's † plans, is remarkable for its elegant simplicity and for the excellent style of its porticoes and galleries. The latter contain the archives of the Indies, arranged in spacious shelves supported by mahogany pillars. Among these archives, which are kept in admirable order, there used to be original letters of Christopher Columbus, Fernand Cortez and Pizarro ; but they had been removed to Cadiz by the Junta.

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* My attention was called to the arms of the town on the façade of that building. They form a curious rebus. They consist of a skein of thread in the shape of the figure 8 ; on one side are the letters NO, on the other DO ; thus :

NO 8 DO

In order to understand this symbol, it must be explained that a skein of thread, in Spanish is *madexa ;* thus by reading in a straight line we get these words, *No madexa do*, which spelt properly would run thus : *No me ha dexado*, " He has not forsaken me," and this is, in fact, the meaning of the symbol. It originated in the following way. Hard pressed by the Moors, the town of Seville asked for help from the King of Castile. That sovereign hastened to send to its succour and assisted the inhabitants to drive out the Moors. The town perpetuated her gratitude by adopting for motto, " *No me ha dexado*," turned by a wit of the time into the above riddle, which Seville adopted for her arms.

† One of the architects of the Escurial. I shall have occasion to speak of him hereafter.

The cannon-foundry is one of the finest establishments of the kind in Europe. The architecture of the building is handsome, and well adapted to its purpose. The copper used in the foundry comes chiefly from the Riotinto mine ; the lead, from Linarez, a short distance from Baylen.

On the 7th of February, I accompanied the King to Italica. The remains of that ancient town, the birthplace of three Roman Emperors,* are at a short distance to the west of Seville, near a small village called San-Tiponce, which, however, contains a fine convent dedicated to San Isidoro. The parish church is dedicated to St. Germain, who, according to tradition, suffered martyrdom at Italica.

There remain few traces of the former splendour of that town. There are, however, some fine and interesting ruins of a vast amphitheatre, and a mosaic pavement representing the nine Muses, which has been described by M. de Laborde. There are besides some remains of aqueducts and fountains, the work of the Romans, but in a very dilapidated state. Excavations on the site of the town had resulted in some fragments of statuary and pillars, which had been formed into a collection at the Alcazar of Seville, where I saw them.† The Marquis d'Almenara possessed a hand of Jupiter holding the thunderbolt, that was discovered in one of the excavations. This fragment of antique sculpture appeared to me to be of extreme beauty.

I will now return to our military operations. Marshal Victor had arrived at Xeres on the 5th of February, and summoned Cadiz to surrender, without effect. The King resolved therefore to proceed to the spot, and left Seville on the 12th. On reaching Utrera we learned that the Duke of Albuquerque with the troops under his command had entered Isla de Leon on the 3d of February, and was preparing to defend the town. His presence certainly saved Cadiz from a sudden attack, and the consequences of the mistake we had made in remaining at Seville instead of pushing on to Cadiz soon became apparent. That we still entertained some hope was proved by the attempts that were made to bring about the surrender of the town. But they soon completely vanished.

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* These three emperors were :

Trajan ; the historians who give Italica as his birthplace are Appianus of Alexandria (*De bello hispanico*) and Eutropius.

Adrian ; belonging to a family of Cadiz, but born at Italica according to Ælianus, Spartianus, Eutropius, and Aulus-Gellius.

Theodosius, successor to Gratianus and Valentinian, was also born at Italica, according to some historians, though many others name another town as his native place, but all of them assign his birth to Spain.

† The most remarkable of these antiquities are : two mutilated statues of colossal size, of very fine workmanship, and evidently imperial statues ; another with part of the head mutilated, and which would seem to be that of Nerva from other mutilated statues, life-sized, and several funereal inscriptions.

On hearing that Albuquerque was at Isla de Leon, an evil augury for the future, we left Utrera on the morning of the 13th, and at the end of a long day's journey across an almost desert country, we arrived at Xeres de la Frontera : day was beginning to close in, but we could still enjoy the charming prospect afforded by that beautiful town, which seems to rise from the bosom of a forest of olive-trees, palm-trees and cypresses. We could admire the surrounding gardens and the vineyards that produce that celebrated wine of Xeres (Sherry), one of the principal branches of commerce in Andalusia. The interior of the town, with its large and airy streets, and fine well-built houses, perfectly corresponds with the ideas conveyed by its external appearance. Everything bespeaks prosperity, due to a fertile soil, a glorious climate, and the situation of the town, close to a large seaport. Xeres is destined by all these, and by its rich agricultural produce, to every kind of prosperity. Although we were at a distance of only four leagues from Cadiz, the King was greeted with acclamations by the inhabitants of Xeres, and the welcome we received might have made us believe ourselves in the midst of a friendly people. Yet we stayed only two days at Xeres, and left the city on the 4th of February for Puerto-Santa-Maria.

The road from Xeres to Santa-Maria is very pleasant. After traversing a well-cultivated plain for about a league the traveller reaches by a very gentle slope the summit of the hills which overlook the basin of Cadiz. From this spot, which is marked by two pillars, each surmounted with a cross, the environs of Cadiz are distinctly visible. But, fitly to enjoy this magnificent view, the traveller should bear to the right, towards a signal station called Buenavesta, situated on the highest point of the hill. We made our way thither, and the view which we enjoyed amply rewarded us.

Down in the plain we could see the winding course of the Guadaleta, a little river that runs through marshes to the bay of Cadiz ; the picturesque town of Puerto-Santa-Maria, on the great bay ; opposite this the city and harbour of Cadiz ; on the left the town of Puerto-Real ; farther on, the little bay of Caraca and the dockyards for ship building ; Isla de Leon, and the narrow isthmus that unites the continent and the peninsula on which Cadiz is situated ; beyond lay the ocean, reaching to the horizon. Towards the centre of this great picture is the Strait of Trocadero, which connects the great bay with the small one, in which are the naval establishments of the State, the entrance being guarded by the fort of Matagorda and Puntalez. On the right we could see the town of Rota, and the Andalusian coast, to the mouth of the Guadalquivir. The background of the picture is occupied by the town of Xeres, and the Sierra de Xeres mountains, dividing the basin of Cadiz from that of Gibraltar.

Puerto-Santa-Maria, where the King established his head-quarters on the 14th of February, is a town containing fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is well built, with wide rectangular streets, some of them having foot-pavements. An appearance of life and prosperity indicates the neighbourhood of the large city, of which Santa-Maria is, so to speak, one of the suburbs.

On the day after our arrival, I walked along the shore of the bay to Fort Santa Catalina. It is on the farthest promontory of the coast, and at the shortest distance from Cadiz. I could clearly distinguish the houses in the town, and the principal buildings, and the vessels in the Bay, under the protection of the batteries, might be counted. At the time of my visit there were eleven or twelve Spanish or French vessels (for the latter, the scattered remnant of Trafalgar, were under Spanish colours), and four English men-of-war and as many frigates. On succeeding days I visted Puerto-Real and Chiclana, the other suburbs of Cadiz, equally pleasant and well built.

During our stay at Puerto-Santa-Maria, several flags of truce were sent on various pretexts into Cadiz. They were received and listened to, so long as they presented themselves as bearers of the customary communication between besiegers and besieged. But any demand of surrender, any attempt even to introduce political negotiations was firmly rejected. The principal cause of this determined opposition no doubt lay in the feeling of security with which the situation of Cadiz, almost unassailable by land, inspired its inhabitants. But, independently of this, the internal condition of the city, and the political movements taking place, would have prevented any portion of the people who might have been inclined for negotiation from expressing their opinions.

To make the reader understand what was then taking place among the Party of Resistance in Cadiz, I must retrace my steps, and begin a little farther back in the history of events.

We have already seen how, in consequence of the incapacity and presumption of the Central Junta, the Spanish armies had been successively defeated and scattered, and how at the end of November 1809, only a wreck of the national means of defence remained. At the same time, the great majority of the members of that Supreme Tribunal, instead of setting an example of the self-devotion and patriotic abnegation which they inculcated upon the nation in their proclamations, had taken shameless advantage of their position to satisfy their cupidity.* By acting in this way the Junta had lost all public esteem and regard, and had become an object of general contempt, and when the French crossed the Sierra-Morena, and the Junta was obliged to leave Seville, that body had already incurred so much dislike, that several of its members were in serious danger on the short journey from Seville to Cadiz. At Xeres, the President Archbishop of Laodicia and two of the most unpopular members of the Junta were attacked by the mob, and would have been killed, had not some of the citizens dispersed the crowd by the device of taking the Archbishop and his two colleagues to the convent of La Chartreuse where they were received as prisoners of State. When it was known at Cadiz that the Junta was about to arrive, the people rose up in arms. General Castaños was at that time discharging the duties of Captain-General of Andalusia and was at Isla de Leon. He endeavoured to tranquillise the people and contrived to assemble the Junta at Cadiz. But the members who ventured into the streets were assailed with shouts and insults, and very soon none of them dared to appear in the daytime. The Junta perceived that it must yield, and convened the Cortes, appointing them to meet at Isla de Leon on the 1st of March, 1810. But this tardy concession, not made until the French were advancing in all parts of Andalusia, was not enough, and although great hopes were built on the approaching meeting of the Cortes, everyone felt the necessity of a prompter remedy. Crowds assembled, clamouring loudly for a regency. Resistance would have been vain, and the Junta at last relinquished its rule, which was conferred, until the meeting of the Cortes, on a regency consisting of five members, the Bishop of Orense,† as President; Saavedra, Minister of Finance; General Castaños, Minister of the Navy; and Fernandez de Leon,

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* After the battle of Ocaña, the Junta was in a very critical position, and most of the members hastened to convert their property into ready money which they contrived to send to England or America. Among others a certain Count de Tilly embarked at Cadiz and arrived at Philadelphia with a fortune of several millions of piastres.

† He had made himself conspicuous by his proclamations against the French, and had greatly contributed to arm Galicia against them.

Minister of Justice. The latter resigned a few days later, and was succeeded by Don Miguel Ardizabal. A private Junta, chosen among the merchants of Cadiz, was at the same time placed at the head of the Municipal Government of the town.

On the dissolution of the Central Junta, the new Government was installed, and its first care was for the defence of the little spot in which it had taken refuge, a defence on which the fate of the monarchy would depend. The English were appealed to for help, but for the moment they could only spare a few hundred men from the garrison of Gibraltar. The vessels taken from the French,* and the Spanish ships were brought into the Bay of Cadiz,† and were got ready to put to sea at the first signal. General Castaños ordered the general enrolment of all men fit to bear arms.

But these measures were still very far from sufficing for the pressing needs of the defence. Notwithstanding the help sent from Gibraltar, both the town and the Isle of Leon were almost without troops, and those whom the English were sending from Lisbon could not arrive under two or three weeks. The population of Cadiz was every day increased by the influx of those persons, who, being alarmed at the approach of the French, came thither for safety, and this added to the difficulties, without increasing the strength of the defence.

It was at this moment of extreme distress that a deliverer appeared in the person of the Duke d'Albuquerque, who, as I have already said, reached the Isle of Leon on the 3d of February with the troops which he had brought from Estremadura to the help of Cadiz. His totally unexpected arrival, the general esteem in which he was held, the special affection felt for him by the English, all contributed to revive the courage of the inhabitants and to concentrate their hopes and energies on one single aim. The command-in-chief was conferred on him by the Regency. The terror that had been felt at the approach of the French was gradually dispelled. The means of resistance were calculated up, and the proposed defence no longer seemed rash and foolhardy. The approaches to the Isle of Leon, very difficult in themselves by reason of the marshy nature of the soil, were fortified and strengthened with formidable batteries. The narrow causeway connecting it with the continent was cut through. All the troops were cantoned in the neighbourhood of the village of Isla, as being the most exposed point. A civic guard only remained in Cadiz for the internal garrison and police of the town.

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* I have already said that the French vessels that had escaped from Trafalgar had taken refuge at Cadiz. The Spanish had seized on them on the breaking out of hostilities.

† The outer bay. Until then they had been in the interior Bay of Puntales.

Such was the political and military situation of Cadiz when the French sat down before it, on the 6th of February, to commence the siege. I have already spoken of the inutility of Marshal Victor's summons to surrender, and I have now explained its cause. A more direct attempt made by Marshal Soult was equally unsuccessful. He had written to the Duke of Albuquerque on the 10th of February, once more calling upon him to surrender the town, and proposing an interview. In this letter the Marshal also expressed his compassion for the inhabitants of Cadiz, shut up in a city which would soon be exposed to all the horrors of a siege. He entreated them to trust themselves to the King, and to take advantage, while it was yet time, of his clemency, and of the consideration with which he was disposed to treat them. Lastly, he warned them to be on their guard against the English, who, under pretext of helping them, sought only to get possession of their ships and their commerce.

The Duke of Albuquerque declined the conference; but he sent a courteously-worded reply to the Marshal, giving him some details which must have convinced the latter of the immense mistake he had made in not marching directly on Cadiz.

"The state of the place is such," wrote the Duke of Albuquerque, "that we have nothing to fear from an army of a hundred thousand men. There is no comparison between our state of defence at present, and that of a few days since. The Spaniards had powerful means of defence close at hand, and they have made use of them. They no longer rely on the ancient fortifications of Cadiz, but on new and very superior works, which they have increased even to a superfluous strength. The faithful Spanish subjects of Ferdinand VII. will not lay down their arms until they have regained their rights. They have recovered from the alarm caused by the invasion of the French, because they know that they are really masters only of the territory that they actually occupy."

Referring to the interest displayed by the Marshal in the inhabitants of Cadiz, the Duke of Albuquerque said that he ventured in his turn to advise him to renounce an enterprise in which he would sacrifice his men to no purpose.

He alludes also to the insinuations against the English contained in the Marshal's letter.

"The English," he writes, "have no other intention than that of helping us. The defenders of Cadiz are Spaniards, and by their side stand their allies the English and the Portuguese."

A letter written by the King himself, a few days later, and addressed to influential members of the Junta, which was believed to be still in power, was no better received than that of the Marshal, and received only the following laconic answer. "The city of Cadiz, faithful to her principles, acknowledges no king but Ferdinand VII."

The failure of these attempts at negotiation did not however prevent further efforts. A deputation, consisting of a certain number of inhabitants of Seville who had been induced to proceed to Cadiz, left Puerto Santa-Maria on the 21st of February. They intended to confer with some of the inhabitants, and to open the way to an agreement. Much was hoped from the influence of Spaniards over their compatriots ; but they were refused admittance into the town, and, greatly to their own satisfaction I believe, the vessel that conveyed them returned in the course of the day without having been able to land its passengers.

Thus our last hope vanished like the others. From that time all political communication came to an end ; and we had to make up our minds to a regular siege, which could not commence in earnest until after long and laborious preparation. The King's presence was quite unnecessary at Santa-Maria, he therefore resolved on returning to Xeres, thence to proceed to Malaga, by crossing the Sierra de la Ronda, and afterwards to make the circuit of the rest of Andalusia, which had just submitted to his authority. But before leaving the neighbourhood of Cadiz, he made a short excursion, on which I accompanied him, to San-Lucar de Barrameda.

San-Lucar, three leagues to the N. W. of Santa-Maria, is a pretty town, containing 15,000 to 18,000 inhabitants. It is situated at the mouth of the Guadalquivir which forms a fine harbour,* and was formerly the residence of the Dukes of Medina-Sidonia, who owned a great part of the neighbouring estates and villages. It had formerly been the seat of a considerable trade, but since the great prosperity of Cadiz it had lost the privilege of direct trade with the Spanish Colonies, and had been restricted to traffic in Spanish wines, which were despatched to Cadiz, and thence distributed throughout Europe. But the privilege of direct trading with America and the Indies had just been restored to San-Lucar by the Junta, which had been anxious to obtain the support of that important town.

The climate is beautiful, and suitable to American plants, which are easily cultivated. I remarked a nursery ground devoted to their culture near the gates of the town.

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* San-Lucar was a Roman colony under the name of *Fanum Luciferum.* At a priest's house in Ronda I saw a coin medal of the colony representing a sun with rays. Lucar is evidently a corruption of *luciferum.*

On our return from this excursion, we left Santa-Maria on the 25th of February. We returned to Xeres for the night, and on the following morning we set out for Ronda and Malaga. We were accompanied by two or three thousand infantry, and a detachment of cavalry. The road was impassable for artillery. On leaving Xeres and advancing eastwards, we crossed vast pasture lands with numerous herds of cattle. Then we came into the mountains, and after our day's journey passed the night at Arcos de la Frontera. This is a populous town on the summit of a sort of crest overhanging the Guadaleta in the valley below. It is surrounded with a forest of olive-trees, clothing all the neighbouring heights, but its curious situation makes it an inconvenient place of residence. The King was welcomed ; a *Te Deum*, at which he was present, was sung in the principal church in his honour.

On the following day, the 27th of February, we went from Arcos to El Bosque. The country is uncultivated but pleasing. Beautiful natural growths make up for the absence of culture. The village of El Bosque is situated among very wild scenery at the foot of the high mountains that we were to cross, but a pretty little stream and some meadows watered by it beautify the valley.

February 28th. From El Bosque to Ronda.—On leaving El Bosque we entered the mountains. The pathways become very rugged, and in some parts dangerous. With a few companions, among whom was Señor O'Farill, I took the shortest route, while the King made a circuit of two leagues to avoid the most rugged passes. We found ourselves in difficulties that were not readily overcome, but we were rewarded for our exertions by the magnificent scenery through which we passed. Our path led us up to the ridge of Mount San-Cristoval, the highest mountain in the chain known as the Sierra de Tolax. This mountain, on the coast of Spain, is the first European land that is sighted on coming from America. From the col, or puerto, through which we passed and which divides the waters that flow in the ocean from those of the Mediterranean, we descried at a distance of twelve or fifteen leagues the heights of Gibraltar, the Straits, and, in the background, the African coast. The descent commences at the col, and after a long and fatiguing journey, we, at last, reached Grazalema, a little town in the midst of a desert. It is very populous, and contains several manufactories of an inferior kind of cloth which is in great demand. From Grazalema to Ronda the aspect of the country improves, but it is very little cultivated. I noticed some fine forests of cork-trees (*Quercus suber*) ; the bark is an article of commerce.

The situation of Ronda, where we arrived in the afternoon, is most singular. The town is built on a high table-land through which a river runs more than two hundred feet below the soil of the town, in the deep and almost inaccessible channel it has made for itself. Over this river, called the Guadiaro, a fine bridge connecting the two sides of the town has been built. It consists of one great arch, supported on two immense pillars, rising from the bottom of the valley, and of two smaller side arches on pillars built on the rock. It is very handsome as a whole, and I consider it one of the most remarkable objects in Spain. At the time of my visit to Ronda it had been finished about twelve years. It is said to be 200 feet in height. I counted the stone blocks forming the pillars, as far as the surface of the water, and found that there were two hundred, which, allowing fifteen inches to each, would give a total of 225 feet.

During our stay at Ronda, the neighbourhood was infested with brigands and bands of marauders, composed principally of the scattered remnant of General Arizaga's army. They even attempted to attack the town, but were driven back by the Grenadiers and Voltigeurs of the Royal Guard, and by a detachment of the 2d Hussars. At the same time reconnoitring parties were sent forward on the road to St. Roque and Gibraltar. After some unimportant engagements, the troops returned to the town, and there was no further cause for alarm. On the whole, the King was well received at Ronda. He there met with a descendant of Montezuma, who bore the name of that ancient sovereign of Mexico, and attached him to his service in the capacity of Majordomo. He was a handsome man, very tall, with an extremely brown skin, and very pleasant manners.*

The neighbourhood of Ronda, near the fields of Munda, where Cæsar conquered the sons of Pompey, is remarkable for its antiquities. A grotto is shown at a short distance from the town, supposed to be that in which Sextus Pompey took refuge, and where he was killed by a Roman soldier. The spot goes by the name of Cueva de Pompeyo. There are also, at two leagues north of the town, some remains of an amphitheatre, and a temple dedicated to Mars, on the site of the ancient town of Acenipo. Coins are frequently discovered in the neighbourhood of Ronda. A priest of the town had made a rather valuable collection which he showed me ; it consisted principally of Phœnician coins and those of the Andalusian colonies.

After a stay of three days at Ronda, we set out on the 3d of March for Malaga, and passed the night at Casarabonela. We marched in military fashion, fearing to be surprised by the bands who were watching us; but we were not attacked. The roads between Ronda and Casarabonela are frightful. The village is situated in the midst of barren and gloomy mountains, on the steep side of one of the last of the Sierra di Ronda, that we had just crossed. The streets are steep and rugged. A few water-falls, by which a great number of mills are worked, lend a little animation to this dreary place.

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* Charles V. gave the title of Count to the eldest son of Montezuma, who had become a Christian, together with a second son, and two daughters, who had survived the Emperor of Mexico, their father.

After leaving it early the next morning we continued our descent by roads that cannot be called good; but at the foot of the mountain on which Casarabonela is situated the valley begins to widen, and discloses the sea at its extreme end. It opens considerably after this, and the aspect of the country becomes altogether different. Deserts and stony mountains are succeeded by cultivated districts and by meadow-lands green with the freshness of Spring; these made us forget our toils of the preceding day. This lovely valley is watered by the river Guadajoz, which flows into the Mediterranean at a short distance from Malaga. It can be forded at two leagues below Casarabolena,* and, for the four that lie between that plain and Malaga, it runs through fertile and well-cultivated plains.

The King made his entry into this large town † on the 4th of March, and was received with a welcome far surpassing all that might have been expected from a submissive and devoted people. The streets were strewn with flowers, and hung with tapestry; at the windows were elegantly-dressed women waving their handkerchiefs; cries of "Viva el rey!" joyous shouts were uttered on all sides, and if Joseph Napoleon could ever have regarded himself as the real sovereign of Spain, it was certainly at that moment. A ball and a bull-fight ‡ were given in his honour; and nothing that adulation could offer was omitted.

Malaga, where we made a stay of several days, is situated at the end of the valley through which runs the Guadajoz. The sea is to the south-west, and to the west are the high mountains of the Sierra di Ronda, that we had just crossed. The harbour is small, formed artificially by a pier that juts out into the sea from west to east; but the anchorage is both deep and secure, and it affords shelter to men-of-war, which are moored to the jetty. The town is well built, with straight though narrow streets; rather an advantage in so hot a climate. The Alameda, with fine houses on each side, and planted with orange-trees and sweet-smelling shrubs, interspersed with fountains, is used as the public promenade. The Cathedral is the most remarkable building ; it is of mixed Greek and Gothic architecture, in which an abundance of ornament is combined with elegance and lightness. The environs of Malaga are charming ; the land is highly cultivated and the vineyards produce the celebrated wine, which, together with lemons, oranges, raisins, and almonds, form a very considerable export trade. Sugar-cane is grown in the fields, especially at Velez, and in sufficient quantity to supply several sugar factories. The canes are usually sold in the market-places. In times of prosperity the Malaga Custom House yielded thirty million reals to the exchequer treasury of the Kings of Spain.

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* A fine bridge was in process of construction over the river at two leagues from Malaga. It is probably completed by this time.

† It contained from sixty to seventy thousand inhabitants.

‡ Curiosity induced me to witness once more this barbarous form of amusement that I had already seen at Santa-Maria. I could not, however, endure it, and I left the place before the bull-fight was over. But it is a delight to Spaniards; they have a passion for it, which must be gratified at any cost.

We left this delightful spot for Antequera, on the 13th of March. The road follows the course of the Guadajoz, ascending towards the source of the river. It was constructed at great cost through the mountains ; it spans several streams and is a triumph of art over nature. Olive-trees, almond-trees, and vines are grown on the sides of the mountains ; and in every uncultivated spot the ground is covered with rare and lovely plants, which fill the air with their sweet scents. It was early Spring, yet the heat was powerful enough to render our progress fatiguing. The rye and barley was in ear, and the almond-trees were laden with fruit. Antequera, which is situated at the entrance of a plain stretching northwards, is a well-built town of average size. It contains nearly five thousand 'vecinos' or heads of families, which, multiplied by four, to represent the family of which the vecino is the head, gives about twenty thousand inhabitants. The town is built on the site of the ancient Anticaria of the Romans, and was long in possession of the Moors. It was taken from them, in 1411, by the Infante Don Fernando, who subsequently ascended the throne of Arragon, and bore for many years in memory of this conquest the surname of the Infante of Antequera.

The Castle, at the south side of the town, was originally built by the Moors, but little of their work remains. The mosque has been converted into a church under the invocation of San-Salvador. A collegiate church of fairly good modern architecture has been raised within the precincts of the Castle. There are several framed boards placed against the walls in the latter church, bearing, in large type, the names and rank of persons condemned by the Antequera Inquisition, with the date of the judgment against them. The inscription states the individuals who were really executed and those who only suffered in effigy. I counted more than twenty of these lists.

The Castle gate is of good modern architecture, and, on the right of the gateway, a portion of the building is in the Italian style, with a pretty *loggia*, the whole in excellent taste. To the side walls of the gateway have been fixed several inscriptions that were found near Antequera, or on the site of the neighbouring ancient towns of Singila, Nescania, Ilura and Aurica. They bear the names of Caligula, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, and Adrian. A modern inscription gives the date, 1635, at which this collection of antiquities was made.

In addition to these ancient remains, there is a grotto on the left side of the road to Granada, which is known as the Cueva de Minga. It is said to date from the most ancient times, and is certainly neither of Arabian nor Roman construction. Local tradition attributes it to the Carthaginians. But on visiting this curious edifice, I arrived at the conclusion that it had been originally a temple whose roof was much more lofty before the soil had risen by the crumbling of the walls.

After remaining two days at Antequera we left it on the 15th of March, and passed that night at Loxa, about half-way on the road to Granada. We crossed the Vega d'Antequera,* a well-cultivated plain. At about a quarter of a league from the town we came in sight of a kind of ruined portico, known in the country as los Carniceros del Moro.† There is however nothing Moorish about it ; it is evidently the remains of some Roman monument. We next skirted a very high and very steep rock, standing solitary in the plain, called the Pena de los Enamorados.‡ An old legend relates that two lovers, being pursued, cast themselves from its summit. There are some verses on the subject in the romance of (Gonzalve de Cordoue) by Florian.

Loxa is a small town on the banks of the Genil, built partly in a semicircle on the left bank of the river, and partly on a plain on the right bank. The two parts of the town are united by a very fine bridge. In the middle there is an inscription stating that it was begun in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1505, and finished under Charles V. in 1522. The territory of Loxa is fertile, but very circumscribed. Almost immediately on leaving the town, on our way to Granada, we found ourselves among barren moorlands until we reached Lecher, where our road lay by the banks of the Genil, and the scenery improves. At two leagues distance from Granada, we came to Santa Fé, a town founded by

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* The name of Vega is given to cultivated plains in the vicinity of the large Spanish towns.

† The Moors' slaughter houses.

‡ The Lovers' Rock.

Ferdinand the Great, to compete with Granada. But in spite of all the King's endeavours to draw thither the population of the older town, Santa Fé has always held a very inferior rank.

We made our entry into Granada on the 16th of March, at 2 P.M. The weather was magnificent, and the whole population turned out to meet the King and gave him as warm a welcome as that which he had received at Malaga.

Granada is on the right bank of the north of the Genil. The Darro, a mountain torrent, traverses the town and passing through Plaza-Nueva, partly underground, and partly above, flows into the Genil at the southern side of the town. Granada is commanded on the east and north by high mountains, forming part of the Sierra Nevada, the loftiest range in Spain, and so called because it is never altogether free from snow. The last hills of the chain are contiguous to the town, of which the most ancient part, the Albayzin, is built on the hill itself. The Alhambra, the Generalife, the palace and gardens of the Moors, and a few fortresses, are situated on its steepest side on the left bank of the Darro, which runs at its foot.

From this sketch of the situation of the town, it will be easily understood to be most picturesque, and that the air must be keen and the temperature cool in summer. Yet, notwithstanding these advantages, the abundance of water and the beautiful promenades, Granada, on the whole, is gloomy : the streets are narrow, the houses of poor appearance, and, with the exception of the cathedral and the Alhambra, few of the public buildings call for remark. In short, I was disappointed in this celebrated town.

Granada contains 14,000 vecinos, or about 56,000 inhabitants, besides monks and priests in considerable number, who bring up the population to 60,000 souls.

I shall now make a few remarks on the objects of art which alone can be of any interest to the reader.

The cathedral of Granada is extremely beautiful. Enormous pillars, consisting of four columns of Corinthian architecture, resting on very high pedestals, support the roof. These pillars, in parallel lines, form five naves ; the largest and central one containing the choir and the high altar. This is placed in a sort of round point detached from the general design, and is formed by arched domes of extreme lightness, which are carried up to the roof. The effect is admirable. On the whole the interior is picturesque, although the architectural details are bad.

Malaga Cathedral, of which I have already spoken, was copied from that of Granada ; but its pillars, and especially the clerestory above them, are of much greater height, thus giving more boldness and lightness to the building. In size and majesty, however, it is surpassed by its original.* Both these churches are the work of one architect, Siloe, who lived in the reign of Charles V., and was the precursor of the Herreras and the other architects of the Escurial. A magnificent chapel, contiguous to the cathedral, and called the Chapel Royal, contains the tombs of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Philip the Fair and Juana (called la Loca, or the Fool), the daughter of Ferdinand, and mother of Charles V. Both monuments were raised by Charles V. They are in white marble, and were executed by Torregiano, and various other Italian artists at Genoa, whence they were conveyed to Spain. The work is, in general, good ; the decoration is rich, and the statues are in good taste. There is, however, no allegory in the composition. The tombs stand on a large pedestal and bear the recumbent figures of the princes whose remains they enclose. At each side of the principal altar in the chapel are the kneeling, praying figures of Ferdinand and Isabella, carved in wood. Above each is a kind of banner. That of Ferdinand bears the representation of a yoke for oxen with its traces. Isabella's represents a sheaf of eleven arrows, six crossed by five, and tied together in the middle by a knot. Both banners have the same motto : *Tanto monta.* These two emblems formed the seal of the king and queen, and the motto common to both, *Tanto monta*, signified that one was of as much worth as the other. Bas-reliefs in wood ornament the sides of the altar. They represent the principal events of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, especially those relating to the conquest of Granada in 1492. Among these are the handing over of the keys of the town, the baptism of the converted Moors, etc. In the bas-relief, representing the handing over the keys, Isabella is depicted on horseback, by the side of Ferdinand, and likewise Cardinal Don Gonzales de Mendoza.

The chapel is interesting and recalls memorable events. It is divided from the cathedral by a handsome iron railing, remarkable for the fine execution of the figures and ornaments forming part of its design. The artist's name, Master Bartolomé, is inscribed on one of the centre pillars. On the doors of two splendid reliquaries are four beautiful paintings by Albert Dürer. The reliquaries, which are of very fine workmanship, are secured by three locks ; the key of one is in the custody of the Dean ; the second key is held by the Archbishop, and the third by the Governor of the Alhambra. Their doors are never opened, except on great occasions. King Joseph's visit was one, of course.

The Palace and stronghold of the Moorish kings of Granada is called the Alhambra.* It stands on a hill to the east of the town and within a walled-enclosure of immense size. We first came, at the foot of the hill, to a gate built by Charles V., and, after crossing a pleasant wood with splashing fountains, we entered the original enclosure, through a gate of Moorish architecture. On reaching the esplanade the palace commenced by Charles V. is the first striking object. The only portion that has been completed is in perfect taste, and of great beauty. There is a very remarkable circular court, formed by two rows of pillars, one above the other, the first of the Doric, and the second of the Ionic order. It is one of the finest achievements of modern architecture now existing in Europe. The external façade is simple and majestic. The basement and spaces between the pillars are carved in bas-relief. The whole is of Spanish marbles. It is said that when Charles V. undertook to erect this splendid pile, from designs of Italian masters, he intended it to surpass all the Moorish buildings in the surrounding country, and he would no doubt have succeeded had he had time to complete it.†

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* Both cathedrals are amplified copies of that at Jaen, which is the real original.

To the left of the modern palace is the Moorish palace of the Alhambra. This is the most important relic of the rule of the Moors in Spain now remaining. The Alhambra was the seat of the power, of the love intrigues, and of the splendour of the kings of Granada. In every part of it are traces of the peculiar tastes and of the grandeur of the Moorish nation, at a period when the rest of Europe was still sunk in ignorance and barbarism.

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* This is an Arab word signifying *red* or *coloured*, either from the red colour of the soil of the country, or that the palace was built or inhabited by a Moorish king surnamed Rufus, or red-haired.

† Opposite the palace of Charles V. are the prisons. I visited that one in which the unfortunate General Franceschi had been confined. He had been taken prisoner, the year preceding, by a guerilla band. During his captivity he had drawn the story of his capture on the prison walls. The style was grand as well as correct, and the pictures very spirited. They were well worthy of preservation. Marshal Soult had given orders to have them copied, and intended to have them engraved. I do not know whether his intentions were carried out. If he relinquished them he deprived the world of a wonderful proof of the philosophy as well as of the talent of one of the most distinguished and most lamented officers of our army.

When the French troops, under Sebastiani, entered Granada, Franceschi was removed to Malaga, whence he was put on board ship for Minorca ; but he died during the crossing. His wife was a daughter of General Mathieu Dumas. She displayed greatness of soul as well as conjugal devotion, by the efforts she made to obtain her husband's release from prison. Her exertions were unfortunately fruitless. Madame Franceschi survived only a short time the husband whom her heroic devotion had failed to save.

The most remarkable and the best preserved portions of this palace are as follows :

The entrance court with its two porticoes and a great basin of running water in the centre.

The principal apartment, called the Hall of the Ambassadors, opens on the court. It is square, with a vaulted roof and is decorated with arabesques, mottoes and Arabic inscriptions in stucco.

The Court of Lions, so called from the fountain in the centre with a basin supported by eight lions, is oblong, and surrounded by porticoes supported by numerous pillars, with a projecting peristyle at either end. The effect, to our unaccustomed eyes, was novel and quaint.

Three apartments communicate with the Court of Lions. One, on the west side, is called La Sala de las Dos Hermanas, the Hall of the Two Sisters. The name is derived from two very large pieces of marble, which were sawn from one block, and form part of the pavement. The walls are elegantly decorated, like the rest of the building, with arabesques, and other designs in stucco.

The second apartment, to the east of the Court and containing a fountain in the centre, is known as the Hall of the Abencerrages. It is alleged that thirty-six knights of the family of the Abencerrages were decapitated in this hall, on the false testimony of their rivals the Zegris, who accused one of the knights of a love intrigue with the Sultana, and the others of conspiring against the life of Boabdil, the child-king of Granada. The novel or romance of *Les Guerres civiles de Grenade* was founded on this anecdote, true or false. Some red stains on the marble basin of the fountain were pointed out to me as being the blood of the Abencerrages. This miracle is attributed to their having professed themselves Christians at the moment of death.

Lastly, the third apartment on the north side of the court is called the Hall of the Tribunal. It is noticeable chiefly for the somewhat rough paintings on the vaulted roof which were thought to be of Arabic origin ; but they are probably the work of a slave who obtained permission to decorate the arches, at the period when the art of painting was beginning to revive in Europe.

The Baths, and the Tocador, or dressing-room of the Sultana, are also worth visiting. The latter apartment, which is a very pretty room, surrounded with porticoes, is built on one of the steepest parts of the hill, and commands a delightful view of the town and the beautiful country around. It was restored and modernized in the time of Charles V., and decorated with fresco paintings of great beauty. These have been attributed to Titian, and are not unworthy of his brush. But they are in fact the work of Julian and Alexander, pupils of Juan of Udine. When I saw them they were unfortunately much torn and defaced, through the carelessness of the guardians of the place.

I must say a few words on another Moorish building, the Generalife,* situated on the hill called the Silla del Moro, or the Moor's saddle.† It is divided from the Alhambra by a deep ravine, and was a country retreat belonging to the Moorish kings of Granada. It contains several halls and galleries in the Arabian style, similar to that of the Alhambra. Pleasant, though small gardens, and beautiful fountains make it a delightful dwelling-place. At the time of my visit it was the property of the Marquis de Teja, to whose ancestors it had been a gift from the Most Catholic King.

On leaving the Generalife I extended my walk to the summit of Silla del Moro. From this spot there is a splendid view of Granada, of the fertile Vega surrounding the town, and of the neighbouring mountains. It is the best point from which to judge of and to admire the country.

After spending a fortnight at Granada, we left it on the 30th of March, for Jaen. Our way at first lay through lovely scenery, part of the fertile country called the Soto de Roma. The fields are irrigated by canals. The course of the Genil, marked by trees and an advanced state of cultivation, presents an aspect of universal abundance and fertility. But these delightful scenes, framed as they are by the Sierra Nevada on the horizon, are of no great extent. On reaching Pino-Fuente, we found ourselves again among the mountains. Barren and desolate slopes succeed to the beautiful scenery which seems to vanish from the gaze of the traveller. The country improves a little as one approaches Jaen, which we reached on the 1st of April. We had passed the night of the 30th of March at Alcala la Real, and the succeeding night at Martos, two unimportant little towns.

Jaen stands at the foot of a mountain, on whose summit a fortress built by the Moors is still in existence.

The environs of the town have nothing to recommend them, its streets are narrow and its houses badly built. The cathedral only is worthy of attention. It is more ancient than those of Granada and Malaga, for both of which it served as a model, and the model is superior to the copies, for, in the endeavour to surpass the original in lightness and in size, the simple majesty of Jaen has been lost. The name of the builder is unknown. It is only known that the work, begun by him in 1492, was carried on, according to his designs, after his death, by Castillo do Valdeverra.

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* From the Arabic word *genet*, garden.

† Although the Alhambra and the Generalife are built on hills, they receive an abundant supply of water from the Sierra Nevada.

At Jaen we brought our excursion in Andalusia to conclusion. It had lasted over a month. We returned to Andujar on the 3d of April, still undecided whether we should proceed to Madrid or return to Seville. I must explain the reasons of our uncertainty and those of our subsequent decision. I will also explain the political position on our return from Andalusia. During our journeyings, it had become greatly altered ; but I have not entered on the subject as yet, so as not to interrupt the course of my narrative. Full particulars will be found in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER XXX.

News from Paris concerning the Emperor's intentions with regard to Spain disperse the delusions respecting the King's position, to which his journey through Andalusia had given rise—An Imperial Decree of February 8, 1810, precedes the dismemberment of Spain by Napoleon—The Author vainly endeavours to persuade Joseph to relinquish the throne of Spain—On the occasion of the Emperor's marriage with Marie Louise, the King sends the Duke of Santa-Fé to Paris, and directs him at the same time to negotiate the revocation of the decree of February 8—Having arrived at Andujar, the King, acting on the advice of Marshal Soult, decides on returning to Seville—He is coldly received—Death of M. de Cabarrus, Minister of Finance—The King returns to Madrid—The Duke of Santa-Fé fails in his negotiation—The King tries in vain to oppose the severe measures of the Emperor—Ferdinand VII., banished to Valensay, asks for the hand of a niece of the Emperor—Napoleon is not unwilling, but the young lady refuses her consent—The King despatches the Marquis d'Almenara with a kind of ultimatum to his brother—Constant encroachments of the French Generals on the authority of the King—The Emperor demands the cession of the Spanish provinces on the left bank of the Ebro, in exchange for Portugal—The King declines the proposition—The King journeys to Guadalaxara—Alcala de Henarez—On returning to Madrid the King despatches M. Clary to Paris bearing a letter to Queen Julia, in which he requests her to inform the Emperor that he intends to leave Spain, unless his position there be altered—Massena's expedition to Portugal—Battle of Busaco—Retreat of the English to the unassailable passes of the Torres-Vedras—Wretched condition of the French army in Portugal—Santa-Fé and Almenara return to Madrid—Propositions of the Emperor made through the Marquis d'Almenara—They are debated in a private council, found to be impossible of execution, and rejected—The Author again endeavours to induce the King to leave Spain, or to repair to Paris to treat personally with the Emperor ; the King cannot make up his mind to this and continues to temporize.

While the King was receiving the homage of the Andalusian people, while Malaga, Granada, and Jaen were vying in their homage, and offering all kinds of fêtes in his honour, and that he, deceived by these flattering symptoms, was gladly delaying his progress, and seemed rather a beloved sovereign visiting his provinces than a conqueror at the head of a foreign army, accounts coming from Paris were far from favourable to the hopes which the events happening in his immediate presence seemed to justify. He was informed that even were the people of Spain sincerely disposed to acknowledge him as their king, the Emperor would never consent to his retaining the rights and independence implied by that title. In truth, how could the King expect to retain the undivided sway of the vast kingdom of Spain, when he who alone could lend the strength necessary to hold it was not inclined to bestow it on him? The arguments used by Joseph to draw the Spanish to him were principally these: "That they should distrust the English, who under a feint of helping them, concealed their design of seizing on their trade and their colonies; while, on the contrary, they had nothing to fear from the French, who were as much interested as themselves in their prosperity, and who would attempt nothing against their independence, against the integrity of their territory in Europe, or their possessions in both the Indies." This was the habitual text of his long speeches to the deputations and to the various authorities of the country. While he had been exhausting himself in convincing the people of these things, the Emperor with one word had destroyed the result of his labours.

As we have previously seen, the Emperor had neither given nor withheld his approval of the Andalusian expedition. But when he was assured of its success, he endeavoured to utilize it for the accomplishment of his own personal designs, which were entirely opposed to those of his brother. The latter wished to make a purely moral conquest, and affected to regard the Spanish people as erring subjects who had now returned to their allegiance. The Emperor, on the contrary, looked on them only as a conquered people whom he might dispose of as he chose. Joseph intended to apply the wealth of the Andalusian provinces to the establishment and maintenance of his government: Napoleon wanted it for the pay and the enriching of his own troops; at most he consented to hand over the surplus to the King. But what surplus could there be? The needs of the soldiers, and the greed of their chiefs, were alike boundless.

Thus, at the very moment when Joseph was lavishing assurances and promises, and everywhere extolling the thorough disinterestedness of France, severe and crushing exactions were being laid on the provinces in our occupation. An iron hand was grinding them to the dust. The King's tone of regal independence, in his proclamation to the French soldiers, from Seville, had displeased the Emperor, who had allowed it to be published with restrictions, by which his sentiments on the subject might easily be estimated. In the copy published in the 'Moniteur,' every allusion to the victories gained under the King's rule in Spain is omitted. The confident words uttered in the flush of success, "*I shall reign over Spain*," have disappeared. The word 'conquest,' that had been so carefully suppressed, is restored. In the emphatic sentence where a third column is spoken of as an addition to the pillars of Hercules, there is no mention of Spaniards being saved, of natural allies being recovered, but only of Spain being conquered ; and the imaginary pillar that was to be a monument of peace and unity, is converted into a trophy of victory over a fallen enemy.

This attack on the King's conduct, and the principles by which he had guided it, would alone have been sufficient to denote the intentions of the Emperor ; but he declared them still more clearly by another and more momentous act. So soon as he was informed of the passage of the Sierra-Morena, he suddenly changed the form of administration in Spain. From the time of the Stipulations of Bayonne in 1808 the King's authority was supposed to extend, both civilly and judicially, over all the provinces in the occupation of the French. There was no political division made in the Monarchy ; France acknowledged, or appeared to acknowledge, in the Sovereign she had placed on the throne, the same powers that had been exercised by his predecessor.

A decree of the 8th of February, 1810, completely altered that system, and the Emperor openly took his share in the conquest of Spain, which he then looked upon as complete. The decree was based on the excessive cost of the army in Spain, impoverishing to the French treasury, which received nothing from the revenues of the country, and it commanded the formation of four large governments—Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre and Biscay—placing French generals at their head with full civil and military authority. This was, in fact, to bring the provinces in question, which are all, so to speak, bounded by the Ebro, under the rule of France, and to effect a practical dismemberment of Spain, until a Senatus-Consultum should declare its union with the Empire.

The King received this decree at Ronda, and communicated it to me during our sojourn at Malaga. I perceived how deadly was the blow which it inflicted on him. If among the Spaniards there were any who had joined his cause in good faith, it would become impossible for them to adhere to it without openly betraying their country. The semblance of independence, of integrity to Spanish territory, that had so often been put forward as a justification for the change of dynasty, was vanishing. The King was powerless to resist this open violation of the promises which had been made to him, and of the pledges which he was daily giving, and in my opinion he had no other means of clearing himself from the accusation of consenting to it but that of laying down the crown. He could not continue to wear it, without admitting his participation in the Emperor's views. To remain on the throne was to declare that he was conniving at the dismemberment of the Monarchy, and would be satisfied with what was left, so that he might retain the title of king.

In a conversation with him on this subject, at Malaga, I candidly gave him my opinion. "This is the only course you can adopt," I said, "and you should take it at once. It affords an honourable retreat from a country to which your presence seems to have brought nothing but misfortune. Profit by this opportunity of separating your cause in the sight of Europe from that of the real author of these calamities. Fortune herself seems to have contrived this happy issue for you. Your brilliant campaign, your warm reception in Andalusia, your humane and unassuming behaviour—all these things contribute to lend an honourable and reasonable aspect to your withdrawal from Spain, and your departure will be witnessed perhaps with regret, but at least with sincere wishes for your welfare."

My endeavours failed. The Emperor's recent marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria gave the King an opportunity of despatching an Ambassador Extraordinary to Paris, and in the hope of obtaining a revocation of the decree, he delayed taking any decisive resolution. Therefore he carefully concealed the information he had received, and we continued to be warmly welcomed by the crowds, who pressed eagerly about us in every town.

Such was the state of our relations with France, when, as I have related in the last chapter, we reached Andujar on the 3d of April, 1810. We remained there for three days. It was there that the King fixed on M. d'Asanza, the Minister of the Indies, as his Ambassador to Paris. He created him at the same time Duke of Santa-Fé and Knight of the Golden Fleece. The negotiation that was entrusted to him, in addition to the congratulations on the marriage of the Emperor that he was to convey, could not have been placed in the hands of a more upright man, or one more capable of stating the truth; but success in it was beyond his power and beyond the power of any man. The decision just taken by the Emperor was part of a well-matured purpose that nothing could shake. The candour and uprightness of the negotiator, who made known at Paris the contents of a memorandum that had been written without reserve, and intended only for instructions to himself, was in fact injurious to the cause he came to plead; at any rate it was used as a pretext for refusing all concessions.*

After despatching the Duke of Santa-Fé to Paris, the King was doubtful whether to proceed to Madrid, on leaving Andujar, or to return to Seville. He was rather in favour of the former alternative, but on representations made to him by Marshal Soult, he determined on the latter. He was assured that his presence at Seville would hasten the surrender of Cadiz; that, although all negotiations had hitherto been rejected by the Junta, some fortunate circumstances might occur which would induce the Junta to entertain them, and that, in such a case, to have to send to Madrid for final approval would jeopardise a successful issue. On the other hand, Andalusia possessed far greater resources for replenishing the treasury than the exhausted provinces of the centre. Those of the north could no longer be reckoned on, since the Emperor had just claimed exclusive dominion over them. Such arguments as these, plausibly set forth, convinced the King. He took the Marshal's advice, gave commands to Count Cabarrus, his Minister of Finance, to join him at Seville, and set out himself for that city on the 11th of April. But the motives put forward by the Marshal, although real up to a certain point, were not the only ones on which he acted. If the King proceeded to Madrid from Andujar, Marshal Soult as Major-General must accompany him thither. Such a post suited him no longer. His secret ambition was to establish himself in Andalusia, in command of the army that must remain in order to hold possession of that valuable conquest. Meanwhile a certain period of time was necessary to obtain the King's acquiescence in the project, and at Seville only could he be brought to sanction it. Such a post, doubtless, could not be conferred on an abler soldier, nor on one better fitted to fill it; but at the same time it would render him more independent and powerful than the King himself. Subsequent events proved that Joseph could not have selected a less submissive lieutenant, nor have provided a rival with more formidable resources. We travelled slowly back to Seville, whither the King arrived on the 11th of April. He was somewhat coldly received. The defence of Cadiz, and the rumours of the Emperor's designs on Spain, had opened the eyes of the people, and it was all in vain that to please them the King was present, during Easter-tide, at all the striking and theatrical religious ceremonies of that period. He was none the more warmly received, and meanwhile he was more than ever occupied with the cares of government. He held frequent councils, to which I was generally summoned. I was even commanded to draw up a project for the division of Spain into departments, and for regulating the interior administration as in France. This project, which comprised the provinces forming the four great governments that the Emperor had reserved to himself, was passed and published as a kind of protest against that usurpation.

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* The memorandum had been drawn up by M. d'Urquijo. I have read it, and the style certainly was both improper and offensive to France. The Duke of Cadore, Minister of Exterior Relations, returned it with the note that accompanied it, to the Duke of Santa-Fé, saying, that such a production could not be suffered to remain in the archives of the department.

On M. Cabarrus' arrival various questions of finance were brought forward. But scarcely had we begun to debate them, than he fell ill, and died in less than five days. His death occurred on the 27th of April. He was buried with public honours in Seville Cathedral.

M. de Cabarrus was of French origin. He was created Count by Charles III. He had great talents, great aptitude for business, and was an indefatigable worker; but he was said to be deficient in judgment, and in the necessary strength of character for managing affairs in cases of difficulty. He thoroughly understood the finances of Spain, and would probably have administered them with ability under the former Monarchy, but he was quite incapable of doing so in the confusion that followed on the conquest. He could never have released himself from the trammels of the routine in which he had been brought up, and he had neither studied nor appreciated the French system, which would necessarily be introduced into Spain. It is principally to this defect that we must attribute the errors into which he fell after joining the Ministry. Had his death occurred a couple of years earlier, it would have been considered as a very serious loss, because he was the only man of financial repute who had attached himself to the cause of Joseph, and had adhered to it. But when it occurred it produced no sensation. Placed in a post unsuited to him, M. de Cabarrus had lost the prestige of his former reputation, and had not acquired any other. He owed his first distinction in Spain to many natural gifts and to most agreeable manners. In his offhanded treatment of business, and especially in his desire of pleasing all those in authority, he much resembled M. de Calonne.* After the death of M. de Cabarrus, the King remained but a short time at Seville. The siege of Cadiz was making no progress; the financial measures had been adjourned; there was no longer any reason for detaining the government in Andalusia, and Marshal Soult, on whom the command of the army had devolved, was as impatient to see us depart from Seville as he had been to bring us thither. We therefore set out for Madrid on the 2d of May.

We travelled along the same roads, or nearly so, that had brought us into Andalusia. We did not, however, pass through Toledo, and this deviation caused us to traverse part of La Mancha, and especially Puerto-Lapiche, the scene of the exploits of Don Quixote. It was in this spot that Cervantes' hero received knighthood. Shortly before our arrival, the hostelry depicted by the author as the scene of the ceremony, was still standing, and on the door was an inscription recalling the supposed incident. Both hostelry and inscription had disappeared during the war, and Puerto-Lapiche was at that time a mere heap of ruins.

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* M. de Cabarrus was the father of the celebrated Thérèse Cabarrus, wife of Tallien, and afterwards Princesse de Chimay. At the time of his death he was in his sixty-seventh year.

The King reached Madrid on the 14th of May, and returned from the expedition, which had begun so well, with a melancholy conviction that he would always find his brother's will an invincible obstacle to the accomplishment of his designs. Far from yielding to the representations made to him by the Duke of Santa-Fé, the Emperor increased the severity of the measures which by the decree of the 8th of February, 1810, he had already taken in Spain. By a second decree he added two new governments, Burgos and Valladolid, to the four he had at first named. And in like manner as he had dealt with Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, and Biscay, he appointed intendants and receivers-general of finance, so that every vestige of the former government was swept away.

At the same time, the Emperor decreed a new organisation of the French forces in Spain. Hitherto the nine army corps,* stationed in different provinces, had all formed part of one single army, of which the King, as Lieutenant-General of the Emperor, was, at any rate nominally, the Commander-in-Chief. Thenceforth each province was to have its separate army, under the command of a general, absolute in military authority, subject only to Major-General the Prince of Neufchâtel, and also possessing the civil authority in those provinces that had been organised as governments.

From that period six armies, completely independent of each other, were established in the Peninsula, viz.:

The Army of Catalonia (the 7th corps).
The Army of Aragon (3d corps. They had taken Saragossa).
The Army of the South (1st, 4th, and 5th corps).
The Armies of the North and of Portugal (2d, 6th, 8th, and 9th corps).
The Army of the Centre.

The latter was the least numerous; it consisted of the Reserve, the Royal Guard, and a few battalions of the depôt, and remained under the immediate command of the King. Thus Joseph was in reality reduced to the position of Commandant of one army, and his authority did not extend beyond the provinces occupied by the Army of the Centre. Like all the other Commanders, his first duty was to support his troops out of the revenues of his provinces, and he could only apply the surplus to the needs of his government. Even Andalusia, where he had believed himself to be more really a King than elsewhere, was passing into the hands of Marshal Soult, who, as the head of the Army of the South, was the true sovereign of that beautiful and wealthy province. On his return to Madrid, as I have said, the King felt that the expedition to Andalusia, which had opened so auspiciously, had brought to him the grievous conviction that he was but a puppet in the hands of his brother, and that he would never be permitted to fulfil the engagements he had publicly made.

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* Besides the eight army corps that had long been stationed in Spain, a ninth had been formed at the beginning of 1810, under the command of General Drouet.

Yet he did not endure these encroachments on his authority without some attempts at resistance. He even tried to brave the Emperor by passing some decrees in which he expressed himself more strongly than he had ever before expressed himself as a King and independent Sovereign. I have already spoken of his Seville Decree, regulating the division of the Spanish territory, and the interior administration of the country, without excepting those provinces which the Emperor had just erected into governments. On his return to Madrid, he organised several Spanish regiments and a civic guard for the capital, with the intention of dispensing with the French garrison.* But these efforts did not and could not succeed. Power was in the hands of the French generals, who took their orders from the Emperor only, and the King's decrees received no more consideration in Catalonia and Aragon than they would have received in Galicia, or the Asturias, where we had no troops. Nor did the creation of a civic guard at Madrid prevent the French, who held the fortress of the Retiro, from ruling over the town also.

These various measures, as might be expected, only increased the Emperor's resentment against his brother. An officer of the staff of Major-General the Prince of Neufchatel, who brought to the King a duplicate decree for the institution of the new governments of Burgos and Valladolid, handed him at the same time a letter from the Prince, in which he was informed that the Emperor formally disapproved the King's orders for the armament of the Spaniards, and which modified several military regulations, all of which tended to remove the army beyond the influence of the King.

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* At this period also, in order to please the people of Madrid, the Government gave permission for bull-fights, which had been forbidden under Charles IV.

That, although the Emperor had quite resolved on retaining part of Spain under his direct rule, he had not at that period made up his mind as to the means of carrying this out, a curious circumstance which came to my knowledge proves. Ferdinand VII., who had been sent off to Valençay, had asked the Emperor for one of his kinswomen in marriage. At the time of this demand, Lucien Bonaparte's two daughters were in Paris, their father having consented to their residence there, and the Emperor had promised to dispose of them in marriage. He offered Prince Ferdinand as a husband to the eldest, and on her consent, would have adopted the Spanish Prince as a son. The young girl refused, and declared she would "never give her hand to a parricide." "In that case," she was told, "you have no other alternative than to go to America."

"So be it!" she replied, "I will go to America." On this all negotiations were broken off, and shortly afterwards, in August, 1810, Lucien Bonaparte and his family sailed for the United States.* On the refusal of his niece, the Emperor endeavoured to arrange a marriage between Ferdinand and a princess of the House of Austria, but this project also failed. The two attempts prove that the Emperor was not averse to the idea of replacing Ferdinand on the throne, on condition of obtaining, as the price of his restoration, all that part of Spain which was suited to France, and which was already, as it were, indicated by the six governments he had just established. This would have been a speedy method of bringing the war to a conclusion, and he counted on more deference from Ferdinand than he met with from his brother, who daily declared himself more strongly against dismemberment, and was resolved never to agree to any arrangement of the kind. The abdication of the King of Holland, who, weary of his brother's yoke, had voluntarily given up his throne, made Napoleon fear that the King of Spain might follow his example, and he wished either to be beforehand with him, or if this could not be, to be ready at any rate to take advantage of the occurrence.

Owing to all these causes, the King's position was becoming more and more unbearable, and he resolved on despatching the Marquis of Almenara, father-in-law of Marshal Duroc, to the Emperor, trusting that his envoy's relationship to a man who enjoyed the Emperor's confidence might tend to the success of the negotiation. The Marquis was the bearer of a despatch, which was shown me, containing a kind of ultimatum. The King set forth the absolute impossibility of his continuing to reign, in the position forced on him by the various measures taken by the Emperor with regard to the greater number of the Spanish provinces. He demanded the revocation of those measures, and that the authority over the French generals originally conferred on him should be restored. He declared, in conclusion, that if his demands were rejected, he would relinquish the crown, and leave the country.

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* On the voyage Lucien was taken prisoner by the English, and conveyed to England.

The language of this letter was noble and temperate ; it bore the impress of truth. I appreciated it fully, yet I had not the least hope of success. "If the Emperor had been willing to speak," I said to the King, "he would have spoken long ago. The Duke of Santa-Fé has been four months in Paris. The Emperor knows him, and in fact treats him with a certain consideration, and yet has refused to listen to him. He is clearly resolved on declining any explanation with a third person. The only way of obtaining one is by going to him yourself. Sooner or later you will be forced to do this, and the longer you put it off, the greater will be your own reluctance, and the greater the difficulties you will have to overcome."

Notwithstanding these arguments, M. d'Almenara was despatched, and the King persuaded himself that his envoy's ability, and the influence of his son-in-law, would bring about some fortunate issue. In any event, time was gained ; and the King's strongest desire was to put off the decisive moment.

Meanwhile, Joseph felt his position growing more untenable every day. The disordered state of affairs, the discontent and complaints of the Government employés, who were not paid their salaries, the ruinous expedients to which we were driven in order to procure money, the requisitions, and forced loans, made regular administration impossible, and threw everything into confusion. There was every sign of the decadence of a government, which, rejected both by the French and the immense majority of the Spaniards, was an object of ridicule to the former and dislike to the latter.

Every day also the power of the French generals increased, and their independent attitude became more marked. An aide-de-camp of the Prince de Neufchatel, who was bearing to Marshal Soult the decree appointing him to the command of the army of the South, had, indeed, on his way through Madrid, handed the King a letter from the Prince, in which, after informing him of this new arrangement, he went on to assure him that it would only be in force during the absence of the King, and that whenever he was present with an army corps, the command would revert to him. But as such an occasion might never happen, since the King could not leave his capital without serious inconvenience, this modification of the principle on which the Emperor was acting was rather apparent than real, and the blow struck at the King's authority was none the less deadly.

Joseph's anger at this new affront was perceptible (notwithstanding all his efforts to restrain it) in his speeches; and on the Emperor's fête-day, which was publicly celebrated on the 15th of August, 1810, he addressed the various authorities and the crowds assembled at the palace, and spoke with extreme heat of the state of affairs in Spain, and of the alarming reports which represented him as being on terms of open hostility with the Emperor, and on the point of making some desperate resolve. He endeavoured to remove this impression; but he was unable to hide his annoyance with the French administrators and generals, and above all with the financial agents, and the various sentiments by which he was agitated rose constantly to the surface. "I love France," he exclaimed, "as I love my family, and Spain as my religion: my heart draws me to the one, and my conscience to the other."

Although this public profession of faith was hardly politic, and was calculated rather to alarm than to reassure his few remaining partisans, it was nevertheless impossible to blame the King for vehemence which was justified by a situation more than ever terrible. All the government resources were exhausted; the civil war was daily assuming a more alarming character; and the guerilla bands, set on foot by the Cadiz Junta, spreading in all directions, were advancing to the very gates of the capital. A convoy could no longer leave Madrid without an escort of three hundred men. The behaviour of the generals towards the inhabitants, and the disgraceful and systematic plunder allowed by them, had aroused the utmost indignation, and driven them almost to despair. Everything and everybody was a matter of sale and bargain. At Valladolid there was a public table of rates, at which the prisoners taken at Ciudad Rodrigo,* which had fallen into our hands long before, could obtain permission to remain in Spain. The sums paid for their ransom were paid to the account of General K——, the governor of Upper Castile. I was made acquainted with the above facts, and with several others of a like nature, by a letter from Marshal Massena, who at that time was staying at Ciudad Rodrigo, in command of the army he was about to lead into Portugal. On the 4th of August, 1810, he wrote to the King that "robbery and plunder were carried to the greatest excess; that he lamented having neither the means nor even the hope of putting a stop to this condition of things, and that he wished sincerely to leave that unhappy country, and to renounce a command which forced him to witness revolting breaches of order which he found himself powerless to prevent.''

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* The place had surrendered at discretion on the 28th of June, 1810. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and it was intended to send them to France.

At the moment when this letter reached the King—distressing him the more because he was unable to provide a remedy for the grievances it made known to him—he learned that this same governor of High Castile had issued orders, in the name of the Emperor, to the various civil and judicial authorities under his government to cease further correspondence with the King's ministers. Every delusion was now removed, and the Emperor's designs on Spain were clearly revealed. Joseph was now reduced to the rank of Commandant of the smallest French force in Spain. He had been gradually stripped of all authority, and he would no longer have hesitated to return to France, only that before taking that supreme resolve, he was anxious to know the result of the mission he had confided to the Marquis d'Almenara, who had, at that period, just reached Paris.

He had not long to wait. Towards the middle of September M. d'Almenara wrote to the King that a negotiation had been opened with the Duke de Cadore, on the subject of the Emperor's demand of the cession of the provinces on the left bank of the Ebro, in exchange for Portugal, which should be united to Spain, so soon as the French troops had conquered it. But this promise was to be kept secret, so as not to increase the difficulty of conquering Portugal by announcing beforehand to that nation that they were destined to pass under the yoke of a power which they have always hated even more than France. In short, the Emperor was determined to have the Ebro provinces, and for the moment would give nothing in exchange, and at most bound himself but slightly for the future. All that was required was the legal recognition of an invasion already accomplished by force. M. d'Almenara added that he would sign no treaty of surrender that did not contain a positive stipulation as to the proposed compensation. The Emperor had not replied to the King's letter to him, of which I have already spoken; but he was hurrying the negotiation, and promised to insert in the act of treaty all the clauses necessary to secure the dignity of the King, and to confirm his authority.

As, however, Joseph had steadfastly refused any surrender of Spanish territory, and as he repeated his formal instructions to M. d'Almenara on this point, the negotiation came to nothing. The Emperor's ministers evaded any reply to the complaints M. d'Almenara had been instructed to make concerning the conduct of the French Generals, or replied only by recrimination. Time was frittered away ; disorder and violence continued to prevail, and the Emperor seemed to have adjourned his final decision until the expedition to Portugal should have been brought to an end. This, as I have said, was being carried out by Marshal Massena.

As the English, who, at that time, were exclusively occupied in repelling the threatened invasion of Portugal, had withdrawn altogether from Spain, with the exception of the Isle of Leon, and as the Cortes convened at Cadiz were assembling there, and setting up a new government under the name of a regency,* there was during the latter months of 1810 a sort of suspension of military operations in the Castiles, Estremadura and La Mancha ; and in the environs of the capital we were disturbed only by occasional raids on the part of the guerillas, whom we pursued and sometimes captured with our flying columns.

The King was desirous of profiting by these moments of breathing time. He consequently adjourned all deliberation on the state of affairs until the return of one of his two envoys to Paris, now shortly expected, and resolved on making an excursion to Guadalaxara, where some cloth manufactories belonging to the Crown excited his interest. I accompanied him on this journey.

We left Madrid on the 18th of September, and halted at Alcala da Henarez. This town, which is the ancient *Complutum* of the Romans, is built on a vast plain, at a short distance from the river Henarez, which two leagues further on flows into the Jarama. The town owes its celebrity to Cardinal Ximenes. He founded at Alcala da Henarez a magnificent college, which still existed in 1810, an university and numerous chairs of learning. He also built a palace for the Archbishops of Toledo. The university of Alcala flourished for a long period. Fine printing-houses were also established in the town by the Cardinal, and the first Polyglot Bible was produced by them, between 1514 and 1517. It was anterior by fifty years to the Antwerp Polyglot, known as the Biblia Regia. But at the time of our visit to Alcala, there remained but few traces of its ancient splendour. The University was all but closed, and the population, which was formerly from 15,000 to 20,000 souls, was reduced to 5000 or 6000. I accompanied the King on his visits to the still-existing monuments.

The principal church, dedicated to St. Justus and St. Pastor, is an ancient edifice of the fifteenth century. There is nothing remarkable in its architecture, but it contains objects held in great veneration by the inhabitants of Alcala ; among others a remonstrance in which are enshrined twenty-two consecrated wafers, which three or four centuries ago were thrown to the winds by the Moors. They were afterwards recovered, and have remained incorrupt ever since. This remonstrance, a standing miracle, is only shown on occasions of extraordinary solemnity, or in the presence of kings. The relics of two child-martyrs, preserved in an underground chapel, are removed from their shrine on the same occasions. To the King's presence therefore we were indebted for a sight of them. The principal part of the relics of the two saints consists in a well-preserved tibia and foot, but which belonged evidently to a man of at least five feet six inches in height, and not to a child of ten, according to a legend of the youthful martyrs. These relics were devoutly kissed by those whom curiosity or piety had induced to accompany the King, and the ceremony lasted over an hour.

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* The Cortes met on the 26th of September, 1810. They reserved for themselves the title of Majesty, only conferring that of Highness on the regency.

The College of San Ildefonso, to which we next went, is a very fine building, and contains the schools and the library. The schools were deserted, and the library much impoverished. A fine collection of coins had been removed, as well as a number of valuable books. A very few rare books were however exhibited to us; among others, a copy of the Bible I have already mentioned, printed on vellum and in perfect preservation, and some Greek and Latin MSS., at which I could only glance.

The college chapel contains the tomb of Cardinal Ximenes, who died in 1517. This monument, which is probably the work of Italian artists, is in Carrara marble; it is very handsome. In the treasury of the chapel there are also the Turkish standards taken at Oran in Africa, at the time of its conquest by Cardinal Ximenes, and the bronze roof of one of the minarets of the town. A painting of no great value, on the chapel wall, represents the conquest of Oran. In short, everything in the chapel is consecrated to the memory of Cardinal Ximenes. His arms and his portrait meet the eyes at every turn, and the memory of that great man seemed to animate the ruins.

Guadalaxara, our next halting-place after leaving Alcala, is the ancient Arriaca of the Romans. The town is pleasantly situated in a plain, watered by the Henarez, and surrounded by hills. The plain is well cultivated, and produces corn, olives and vines. There is rich pasture-land on the heights. Guadalaxara was long inhabited by the Moors, from whom the name is derived (*ouada al jackara*, the stony river). In 1810, the number of its inhabitants was about 12,000, but it was much more populous in former times. We stayed there two days, while the King inspected the cloth factory, and took various measures for reviving it. We returned to Madrid on the 22d of September.

In the capital we resumed our habitual mode of life. We were encompassed with the same difficulties, and were as unable as before to cope with them.

We were reduced to the most deplorable expedients of finance, and had no hope of a remedy. Constantly expecting some decisive news from Paris, or the return of the two envoys he had sent thither, the King had added a third, in the person of M. Marius Clary, the Queen's nephew, by whom he had sent a letter to his wife, begging her to declare to the Emperor, that he was resolved, unless some change were made in his position, to leave Spain and take up his residence in France ;* a further device for gaining time and for deferring the moment at which he must take a definite decision. October and part of November thus passed away.

Meanwhile Marshal Massena, at the head of 75,000 or 78,000 men, had entered Portugal and taken Almeida, which capitulated on the 26th of August ; and after the reduction of that important stronghold, he had advanced into the interior of the country. But all communication with Spain was cut off in his rear, and for a considerable time we received no direct news of the expedition. Rumours of an alarming character were becoming prevalent in Madrid, when on the 20th of November the King received a letter from General Kellerman, containing particulars that, far from allaying our fears, were calculated to increase them. According to Kellerman, General Foy had left Marshal Massena at Villafranca, a few leagues from Lisbon, on the 2d of November, and after running great risks on the road, had reached Valladolid, whence he was setting out for Paris with despatches from Massena to the Emperor. On the 28th of September there had been a sharp engagement at Busaco, near Coimbra, between the French and the combined English and Portuguese forces, in which many lives had been sacrificed. On our side we had Generals Graindorge, Merle, and Simon, 4000 men killed, and more than double that number wounded. After this sanguinary battle, in which we had gained the day, the English and their allies had tranquilly effected their retreat, and had entrenched themselves near Lisbon, in a position they had previously reconnoitred and fortified. The French army had followed, but had perceived the impracticability of an attack. The English were entrenched from the sea to the Tagus ; their left rested on Torres Vedras, their right on the river, in their rear was the sea, and the Tagus, covered with gun-boats, protecting their flank, rendered their position unassailable. All the audacity and impetuosity of the French, under a most daring and determined general, had failed before these obstacles, and Massena had not ventured to attempt a battle of which the issue must inevitably be fatal to us.

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* M. Clary was directed also to obtain information respecting the purchase of a property, where the King wished to take up his residence in the event of his return to France, his Morfontaine estate being too near Paris.

To the strength of their entrenchments, and that of natural position, the enemy added also the advantage of superior numbers. There were 25,000 English, 50,000 Portuguese, and the La Romana corps was expected to join them. Massena had but 30,000 or 35,000 men to oppose to these. His army had been thus reduced, by losses at the battle of Busaco, by 3000 men left to garrison Coimbra, who had been surprised and taken prisoners by a Portuguese column manœuvring in the rear of the French army, and lastly by illness among the troops, forced marches, and scarcity of provisions. To these almost insurmountable difficulties were added the equally serious ones arising from political circumstances. The country was entirely deserted from the Spanish frontier to Lisbon. The inhabitants of that great capital had all taken arms, and were so terribly in earnest, that the Marshal declared that, even in the event of complete success, he could not venture to enter the city at the head of the small force remaining to him.

In this critical situation, he applied to the Emperor for help; but at the same time he hoped to effect a retreat, by crossing the Tagus between Abrantes and Lisbon, in order to reach the left bank of the river and return by Estremadura.* According to this plan, he hoped to conclude the campaign by besieging Elvas and Badajoz, intending by this means to repair the misfortune of having failed in the principal aim of the expedition.

Such were the melancholy facts, and whatever was our reasonable confidence in the abilities and character of Marshal Massena, however great were the resources of his military genius, it was evident that he himself despaired of success; and that a third reverse in Portugal must have the most fatal effect on our affairs in Spain, and on our own fate.†

Everything contributed therefore to render our position more than ever painful and harassing. Everything foreboded an inevitable crisis, and confirmed me in the opinion I had formed since the beginning of the Spanish affair, that this war was bringing the Emperor's prosperity to a close, and would prove to be the rock on which his glory and his fortune would be wrecked. Subsequent events have too surely justified my presentiment.

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* The *Moniteur* of the 23d of November, announcing General Foy's arrival in Paris, gives an account of the state of affairs in Portugal quite contrary to that which I have presented to the reader. It is a series of successes and victories, it is a diatribe against the English, instead of facts, which it was perhaps wise to conceal, while it was unworthy of true greatness to replace them with palpable falsehoods.

† Massena was subsequently obliged to relinquish this design.

While the reports we had just received from Portugal were spreading through the city, and every day receiving malevolent exaggeration ; while the public mind was being variously affected by them, the Duke of Santa Fé was on his way back from Paris. He reached Madrid on December 2d, after an absolutely fruitless negotiation. Before his departure he had a long conversation with the Emperor, or rather, he listened for a long time while Napoleon spoke, but had himself been scarcely able to put in a word. The Emperor had made lengthy recriminations and complaints concerning his brother, nor had he spared the persons in the King's immediate circle. He had shown especial anger at the style of his letters, which contained, he said, nothing but abuse, and he compared his position with that of several other kings in Europe, who in circumstances far more adverse, made fewer complaints. Such was the result of the embassy on which so many hopes had been built. But just as it was being made known to us, a letter from the Duke d'Almenara, bearing date the 11th of November, was received by the King, and for a moment raised our spirits. M. d'Almenara wrote that the Emperor had specially sent for him ; that he had in consequence proceeded to Fontainebleau, and had had a two hours' conversation with him ; that he had thereupon received orders to start immediately for Spain, and that he expected to reach Madrid very shortly, bearing messages which —at least so he hoped—would be agreeable to the King.

M. d'Almenara arrived on the 9th of December in the evening,* and on the following day the King held a council, to which he admitted some of his Ministers, and did me the honour of summoning me also. M. d'Almenara was the first to speak, in order to give an account of his mission, and particularly of his interview with the Emperor at Fontainebleau.

The whole period of his stay in Paris, until that interview, had been employed by him in making demands that were systematically rejected, and by the Emperor's Ministers in recriminations more or less well founded, which served as pretexts for declining any concession. No help in money, no alteration in the system of military government, no satisfaction as to our just cause of complaint concerning the conduct of the French generals, had been obtained. The only important communication received by M. d'Almenara had come from the Emperor himself, and was as follows. He left the King at liberty to make a proposition to the Cortes, recently assembled in the Isla de Leon, and prescribed in what spirit the proposition should be made. "The Cortes were to be invited to acknowledge Joseph as King, conformably with the Bayonne Constitution of 1808, which should be accepted by the Assembly, and Joseph, on his side, would recognise them as the true representatives of the nation. On this, Cadiz would open her gates, and the integrity of the Spanish territory would be maintained and guaranteed by France." In making this overture to M. d'Almenara, the Emperor had positively assured him it was official, and that he was sending orders to his ambassador at Madrid to act in concert with the Spanish Government on the subject. He added, however, that in the event of non-success, he should consider himself as freed from all engagements to the Spanish nation, and that he should thenceforth act in the interests of his own policy only; that the King could, of course, if he thought proper, convene other Cortes for himself in opposition to those of the Isla de Leon, and regulate with the new assembly the constitution of his states; but that, in such case, he must not summon deputies from the provinces beyond the Ebro to it, as the Emperor would not allow them to present themselves. He advised that the overture to the Cortes of the Isla de Leon should be made with due regard to events taking place in Portugal, so as not to choose a moment when it might be interpreted as a mark of weakness or alarm, should those events not turn out so favourably as he still hoped they might.

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* It was then nearly a month since he had left Paris ; but it must be remembered that at that time one could only travel in Spain with convoys, and that it took nearly twenty days to go from Bayonne to Madrid.

When M. d'Almenara had ceased speaking, the King told us that he wished for our opinion on the following points: the desirability of the enterprise he was authorised to attempt; the manner in which he should make it known to the Council of State; his mode of action generally; and whether it should be made public, or kept secret.

Of all the expedients that might have been suggested to the King to better his almost hopeless situation, I admit that I should never have thought of that one which the Emperor proposed to him, and I am still, at the present day, unable to conceive how such an idea can have entered his head. Did he for one moment imagine that the Cortes would entertain such a proposition, while they were masters of Cadiz, which he knew better than anyone we could never take? And was it not absurd to flatter the King with even an appearance of success? I could not conceal my surprise. I could only see in this a pretext to justify the union of the Spanish provinces of the Ebro with France, with an unspoken intention of afterwards abandoning Spain to conflicting parties, if the King should contrive to assemble a rival Cortes to that of the Isla de

Leon ; and consequently to add the horrors of civil war to all the evils that actual war had brought and was still bringing on that unhappy country.

I perceived, however, that, although the same reflections were occurring to everyone present, they were more or less inclined to try the Emperor's suggestion, so as to be free from any self-reproach, and to lessen the King's responsibility towards the nation, should he be eventually compelled to consent to dismemberment. But I pointed out that it was impossible to come to a decision or even to deliberate on the question, in the absence of positive knowledge as to the part France would take in the business, what authenticity she would give to her consent, and what guarantees she would offer for an arrangement, the execution of which, supposing it to be concluded, would be entirely in her own hands. On this, M. d'Urquijo, who had been informed by M. d'Almenara, beforehand of the subject of the debate, and who had already seen the French ambassador, informed us that in the course of a confidential conversation that morning with M. Laforet, the latter had stated "that it was true, he had received authorisation from Paris to concert by word of mouth with the Spanish ministry, but that at the same time he had formal orders to *write nothing*,"—in other words, he was authorised to advise a step on the part of the King which would completely ruin him with the Spaniards, while France reserved to herself the option of disavowing that step, whatever might be its issue. After listening to this explanation, it was an easy task to show that M. Laforet's statement so completely altered the state of things that it was impossible to deliberate any further. It was unanimously resolved therefore that nothing could be done for the moment, and that we must wait for an official explanation from the ambassador before reconsidering the question.

I hoped that the matter would end here, and that the sitting, which had been prolonged far into the night, would now be adjourned. But the King, whose countenance during M. d'Urquijo's speech had betrayed excessive anger, was now so painfully affected by this new proof of ill-will and want of faith, that he could no longer restrain his feelings. He burst out into violent reproach and bitter complaint, so vehemently expressed that, although accustomed to see him give way to violence in private, I was deeply grieved on his own account, for however just was his anger on this occasion, he was surrounded by persons not all of them equally discreet, and I trembled lest the dangers of his position should be increased. Even if those present did not reveal what they had witnessed, it might lower the King in their estimation to see him so little able to master himself at a crisis when he needed all his courage and strength of mind.

At last the council broke up, and I withdrew profoundly dejected.

On the following day the French ambassador, the dullest and most verbose of diplomates, met the King's ministers, and had, in particular, a long interview with M. O'Farill. He entrenched himself behind the commands he had received not to *write* anything relative to the proposed negotiations with the Cortes. The King sent me to him him also, but I could arrive at nothing further, through all his unintelligible loquacity. Thus the project was given up, to be resumed later, as will be seen, under circumstances still less favourable, if possible, than those then existing. As I had none of the illusions cherished by the others, I did not hesitate to repeat to the King the arguments I had so often used before to induce him to give up the struggle, or at any rate, to go at once to Paris and treat directly with his brother. But as we had already waited for the return of two negotiators, the King wished, before taking any decision, to hear the news that was to be brought by the third, M. Clary, who as yet had scarcely had time to reach his destination, and we continued to temporise.

The King determined, however, on taking the government of Madrid from General Belliard, to whom it had been entrusted by the Emperor after the conquest in 1808, and to replace him by a general of his own service. His choice fell on General Lafon de Blaniac, and he imagined that this political step would be gratifying to the people of Madrid, who disliked their governor to wear any cockade but the Spanish one ; the King himself had less cause of complaint from General Belliard than from any other French general. Moreover, this step, which gave him no real independence, did not meet with general approval, even among Spaniards, and exercised no influence over the tranquillity of the town or the progress of affairs.

I must devote a few words to the guerilleros, who played an important part in the Peninsular war of independence, and who, by making all regular government impossible, largely contributed to the deliverance of their country from a foreign yoke.

The reverses sustained by the Spaniards in 1809, had ended by convincing them that their endeavours to put regular armies in the field were injurious rather than advantageous to their cause. Each time that their troops had encountered the French they had displayed such ignorance of war and such weakness on the field of battle, that every engagement since Baylen had been a defeat. The lesson taught by experience was not lost, and the Spaniards of themselves, and as it were instinctively, adopted another system more in conformity with their habits and feelings. The warfare between the French and the Spaniards assumed more of a personal character, in which a great number of the inhabitants took part, either as individuals, or joining the standard of some chieftain.

I have already pointed out the origin of the system in speaking of the decree of the Junta, which in the first half of 1806 had ordered land raids against the French. The people, especially in the country parts, whose enmity was served by an institution which gave opportunities of gratifying it, obeyed the summons with eagerness. An invisible army spread itself over nearly the whole of Spain, like a net from whose meshes there was no escape for the French soldier who for a moment left his column or his garrison. Without uniform, and without weapons, apparently the guerilleros escaped easily from the columns that pursued them, and it frequently happened that the troops sent out to do battle with them, passed through their midst without perceiving them. Men at work in the fields would seize on the gun hidden in the earth, on catching sight of a solitary Frenchman, while to the detachment crossing the field in which they laboured they were but peaceful peasants. Hidden in ambuscade along the roads and passes by which the French couriers or convoys must travel, the guerillero band counted the escort, and seldom attacked unless secure of victory. This kind of warfare, easier than any other, attracted to the bands the scattered soldiers of the regular army, who, free from the yoke of military discipline, and within reach of their homes, of which they rarely lost sight, without risk, and almost without trouble, secured to themselves both a certain booty and the joy of revenge.

In the course of the year 1810, the system of guerillero warfare became extraordinarily developed, and thenceforth each province possessed its own special band. The most distinguished chiefs were ; Longa, in Galicia and the Asturias ; Don Francisco Espoz y Mina in old Castile and Biscaya, one of the boldest and the most harmful to us ; Santochilder, in the kingdom of Leon ; the Baron d'Eroles in Aragon and Catalonia ; Don Juan Martin in New Castile and the neighbourhood of Madrid ; surnamed El Empecinado. Other less numerous bands were also formed, and alternately appeared and vanished according to circumstances. Their chiefs who were taken from all classes of society, were known rather by the name of their former employment than by that of their family ; thus there was the band of the Párocco (the parish priest), that of the Médico (the doctor), the Capuchíno (the capuchin monk), of the Pastór (the shepherd), of the Cocinéro (the cook), and many others.

In proportion as the guerillero system prevailed the profession became a lucrative one for its members. Travellers and country folk carrying their commodities for sale in the parts occupied by the French, were forced to pay toll to the bands for permission to pass, and at last the guerillero chiefs had their own customs even on the French frontiers, and collected the duties as regulated by a tariff, to which all had to submit. Very frequently this mode seemed safest to French merchants, who preferred it to the slow process of numerously escorted convoys.

It must be remarked, however, that in the South of Spain, the guerilla bands never acquired the same importance as in the two Castiles and in the North. In Andalusia and in the kingdom of Valencia likewise after its subjugation, order and tranquillity, with few exceptions, prevailed, as long as the French occupied those provinces. This comparative security was due in part to the habits of the people, and to their less gloomy and fanatical character, and in part to the development of agricultural and industrial pursuits, but especially to the more intelligent system of administration adopted by the French Commanders, and to the discipline which they enforced on their troops.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Critical position of the French Army in Portugal—Successes of Suchet's army in Catalonia—The town of Valencia makes some advances towards treating with the King—Message from Queen Julia giving the King an account of an official interview with the Duke de Cadore—Documents in charge of a French courier are seized by the Spaniards and published in their newspapers—Sensation produced in Spain—The King seems disposed to follow the course of action advised by the Author, but soon falls back into a state of irresolution—Reduction of Badajoz—Utter failure of the expedition to Portugal, and retreat of Massena—Marshal Victor meets with a reverse—Misunderstanding between the chiefs of the French Army—Disturbances in Madrid on account of the high price of bread—Altercation at the Ministerial Council—The King, having resolved on leaving Spain, fixes his departure for the 1st of April, 1811—The news of the birth of the King of Rome, which reaches Madrid on the 29th of March, delays the execution of this plan—The King at last takes his departure for France on the 23d of April—Reflections on Joseph's political position—Interview between the two brothers—The Emperor promises the King certain concessions—Napoleon sets out for Cherbourg, and the King for Morfontaine—Impression produced on the Author by the appearance of Paris—The Emperor's reply to a deputation of French merchants—Napoleon's unsatisfactory reply to his brother's complaints—Baptism of the King of Rome—The Emperor's ungracious reception of the Author—After a final interview with his brother on the 12th of June, Joseph leaves for Spain on the 16th; the Author decides on accompanying him—The King reaches Spain on the 27th of June, and Madrid on the 15th of July.

Thus ended the year 1810, that had commenced so brilliantly with the conquest of Andalusia, of which there now remained to us little more than the recollection, all its advantages having either vanished away or passed into other hands; and the new year was beginning as inauspiciously. The position of our army in Portugal became day by day more critical. At the end of December General Kellerman had forwarded to the King a copy of a letter written from Ciudad Rodrigo, on the 6th of the same month, by General Drouet, Count d'Erlou. He stated that the corps under his command,* having left Almeida towards the middle of November, had advanced into Portugal by way of Belmonte and Castelfranco, and had thrown out skirmishers as far as Os Cardenos; that having learned there, that the bridge thrown across the Zezere at Punheta by Massena, had been destroyed, and, having been unable to obtain any information respecting the position of the French army, he had resolved on retracing his steps. He had therefore brought his troops back to Spain, tired and worn out by a twenty days' march across difficult country, without having fought or even seen the enemy. All hope of reinforcing the French army in Portugal was at an end. We received no direct news of it either, and the rumours circulated by our enemies became more and more alarming, in spite of the efforts of the *Moniteur*[*] which, while it published some extracts from the official reports in the English newspapers, endeavoured to deceive the public as to the true state of affairs, and to ignore the existing danger.

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* This corps formed part of the army of the south under Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia.

The fall of the town of Tortosa, which surrendered on the 2d of January, 1811, to General Suchet, was a pleasant contrast to the anxiety in which we were thrown by the depressing accounts of the expedition to Portugal. This victory, which was the immediate prelude to the fall of Tarragona, Murviedro, and eventually to that of the city of Valencia and the possession of one of the wealthiest provinces of Spain, decided the King on despatching his aide-de-camp, M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, to Paris. This gentleman, together with others of his colleagues, had just received his share of the State Bonds, recently created for the liquidation of the debts of the Public Treasury,[†] and the King might justly reckon on his fidelity. In a letter to the Emperor, of which M. de Clermont-Tonnerre was the bearer, the King requested instructions for his conduct towards the newly-conquered province. The Archbishop of Valencia and the principal inhabitants of the city, had already made some advances towards the King, and shown a desire to treat directly with him, so as to prevent a siege being laid to so flourishing a city. Was it possible for the King to respond to their advances? Might he proceed to Valencia, as was suggested, receive the submission of the city, and establish his Royal residence there for a time? To these questions M. de Clermont-Tonnerre was to endeavour to obtain replies. He eagerly accepted the commission; but either he met with difficulties he could not overcome, or he had merely seized this opportunity of leaving Spain, for he ceased all correspondence with us after a few meaningless letters. Very shortly afterwards he left the King's service, and solicited — unsuccessfully, I believe—a post in the Dutch Guard, which, since the union of Holland to France, formed part of the Imperial Guard. Thus our affairs were no more advanced by our fourth negotiator than by the other three. He alone, however, had the cleverness to perceive our decadence and to abandon the cause he had embraced sufficiently beforehand to obtain pardon, it was said, for the zeal with which he had served it during its prosperity.

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[*] *See* the *Moniteur* of the 4th of December, 1810.

[†] These bonds, known as *libramientos*, were received in payment for the national domains, consisting principally of the property of the clergy or of the *communes* that had been offered for sale. They were used also to pay arrears of salary, and to pay various creditors of the state. The King, having received a considerable number on account of his civil list, distributed the greater part among the persons in his service, ministers, councillors of state, officers of his household, and French generals, whom he had no other means of rewarding, nor even of paying. These *libramientos* were sold on the spot at a depreciation of 50 or 60 per cent. I received some of them, but as I considered myself bound to expend the sum in the purchase of national estates, which were confiscated on the return of King Ferdinand, this passing fortune soon disappeared. Those who sold the bonds, even at a loss, were more lucky; something at least remained in their hands.

Meanwhile, shortly after M. de Clermont-Tonnerre's departure, the King, who had long been without any news from Paris, received some of an important nature, which was to have a great influence on his destiny, and which, in my opinion, should have put an end to all his uncertainty, and definitely fixed his resolutions.

The Queen despatched a courier, whom she had detained eight months in Paris, waiting for a sufficiently important occasion for his services, with a letter, which he received on the 5th of February. It contained the following particulars: "The Queen had vainly attempted several times to speak to the Emperor concerning the King's position. She could obtain no reply, save a few impatient words. A suggestion made by her with regard to Naples, whither the King had expressed a wish to return, met with the same fate. The Emperor altogether objected to the idea. 'I am pleased with Murat,' he told the Queen, 'he is more popular at Naples than my brother was.' But at length, after all these useless endeavours, she had received a note from the Duke of Cadore, on the 15th of January, asking for an audience. In the course of a long conversation with him, the Minister stated that he was commissioned by the Emperor to tell the Queen 'that his Imperial Majesty had learned, with much regret, that the King had sent his nephew to France to negotiate the purchase of an estate to which the King seemed to wish to retire. He did not recollect apparently that members of the Imperial family could acquire no property in France without the formal consent of the Emperor, and moreover that it was not lawful for him, either as King of Spain or as commander of the army of the centre, to quit his post without having obtained permission to do so from his Imperial Majesty. Lastly he was sorry to have to say that, had the King taken so hazardous a step, he would have been arrested at Bayonne. The Emperor expected the King to throw himself completely into his political system; he required blind obedience, and was resolved on sacrificing every other consideration and every sentiment of affection to the interests of his policy. The constitution of Bayonne was no longer in question, and his Imperial Majesty could dispose of Spain at his pleasure and interests, with exclusive regard to the Empire. If these conditions seemed unendurable to the King, if he was really determined to give up the throne, the Emperor saw no objection to his taking up his residence at Morfontaine; only everything must be done in order and according to rule. In that case, the King must declare his purpose to the French Ambassador at Madrid, and arrange with him so as to avoid any interruption to the safety and tranquillity of the country, and above all to avoid exposure of any kind.' "

Such were the contents of the Queen's letter, which I look upon as an official document, and on that account I have not scrupled to insert it in this place without any fear that by so doing I am committing a breach of confidence. The letter is corroborated by an article in the *Moniteur* of the preceding 18th of January, which was brought us by the same courier, and which throws additional light on the Emperor's intentions. The following significant lines appear under date of Arragon:—" General Suchet announces that public opinion is altering daily, that English influence is dying out, that the ferment is over, and that the inhabitants of this province as well as of the districts of the centre and of the South and North, are loudly clamouring for union with the Empire." It is right to add that the *Moniteur* of the following day, the 19th of January, contradicted part of the above extraordinary paragraph, and explained that the demand for union with the Empire must only be understood of the people of Arragon. but the blow had been struck all the same. These hints had caused alarm in Madrid, and a Spanish newspaper printed at Badajoz under the name of *Memorial militar y politico del exercito de la esquierda*,* published, on the 25th and 28th of December, 1810, and on the 14th of January, 1811, copies of some papers that had been seized on a French courier and taken to the Marquis de la Romana, Commander of the Army of the Left. These pages consisted of a letter from M. de Asanza, Duke of Santa Fé, written from Paris, on the 10th of October, 1810, to M.

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* Political and Military Memorial of the Army of the Left.

d'Urquijo, in which he plainly unfolded the Emperor's intentions with regard to Spain just as they had been explained to him by M. de Talleyrand in a conference he had with that Minister by order of the Emperor. Several other documents accompanied this letter, which were also intercepted. Among them was a note from the Duke de Cadore to the Duke of Santa Fé, dated the 1st of October, 1810, positively demanding the King's abdication. To this was added a rough sketch of the communication the King should make to his Council of State in informing them of his intention to abdicate, and even the reply of the Council in acknowledgment of the supposed message from the King. The style of these documents and the curious way in which they were drawn up seemed to prove that if they were not pure inventions, at any rate the originals had been coarsely altered. The Duke of Santa Fé admitted at Madrid that the confidential letter attributed to him was authentic. But so many circumstances coincided with our official knowledge, that these papers, which had evidently been fabricated in Paris, and which the King's enemies took great pains to circulate in Spain, necessarily produced a great sensation, and as it was impossible to distinguish the false from the true, the public mind was greatly disturbed. The whole population in fact seemed in a state of expectancy, waiting for the impending changes, and preparing for them either with pleasure or with resignation, according to their various interests, hopes, and fears. Madrid was already spoken of as likely to be made the fourth or fifth city of the Great Empire, and the French Ambassador held out dazzling hopes to the Spaniards of the posts of senators, councillors of state and prefects, to which the Emperor would surely appoint the most distinguished men in Europe, as he had already appointed in Holland and Lower Germany, lately annexed to France.

What was the King to do in such a situation as this? Surely he ought without hesitation to take advantage of the opening afforded by the Queen's letter, hand over to the Emperor's ambassador a nobly expressed and perfectly explicit declaration, renouncing for ever a crown that he could no longer wear with dignity on such conditions, and laying aside the vain title of King, seek an honourable retirement in France.

The opportunity was too favourable for me not to seize it, and renewing my former entreaties, I pressed the King to act according to the advice I had already so frequently tendered him. I spoke with all the zeal of conviction and friendship, and from the vantage point afforded me by circumstances so strongly in favour of my views.

The King seemed at first inclined to yield. He sent for M. Laforet, and had a long conference with him, but without the decisive result that I ardently desired. The ambassador hinted that in reality the Emperor wished his brother to remain in Spain, and that he in his capacity of ambassador was of the same opinion, that he thought the King should place himself completely in the Emperor's hands, and should submit to him without reserve; that he would find his advantage in so doing, and that His Imperial Majesty, satisfied by such a course, would then relax the strict conditions he had imposed. After this first conference, which led to nothing, the King drew up the note that he proposed to hand to the ambassador, and showed it to me. It was well done on the whole, but I considered that it did not indicate with sufficient clearness that retirement was the course he preferred to all others. I should have wished him to have spoken more plainly, and I ventured to tell him so, but in vain. Evidently the name of King was a spell from which Joseph had not as yet escaped, and I could not wonder at the fascination exercised by the possession of supreme power, when even its shadow can turn the scale against such numberless vexations and grievances.

The ambassador was, however, dissatisfied with the wording of the note, and proposed various alterations. These all tended to obtain from the King a more explicit statement that he would conform in everything to the Emperor's requirements. The King on his side refused to agree to some of the alterations; but at length, after several days' hesitation and many conferences, the revised note was handed to the ambassador, and as it contained in substance the King's submission to the decision of the Emperor, it became necessary to await that decision, which never arrived, as might easily have been foreseen.

The early part of 1811 was thus passed in fruitless parley. Military operations meanwhile, in which the Army of the Centre took no part, although our fate was hanging in the balance, were being carried on about us with varying results, but they were in general unfavourable. A corps, detached from the Army of the South, and commanded by Marshal Soult in person, was besieging Badajoz; and after a brilliant skirmish outside the walls,* in which the Spaniards lost from 7000 to 8000 men, straitened the siege of the place, and, as it had given up all hope of succour, it capitulated. But this important conquest, which should have preceded our operations in Portugal, so as to have given the besieging corps the opportunity of advancing into Portuguese Estremadura, after the surrender of the town, and of assisting Marshal Massena, was of no use to the expedition. A letter to the King from Marshal Bessières,[*] informed us, towards the end of March, that Massena, unaware that Badajoz had fallen,[†] and without means of subsistence for his army, was retreating upon Coimbra.[‡] The expedition had altogether failed, and the English remained in possession of Portugal. But, while Marshal Soult was besieging Badajoz, a large corps of English and Spaniards marched out of Cadiz in the beginning of March, and attacked Marshal Victor at Chiclana. After a sanguinary conflict, lasting over four hours, the French gave way, and retired within their lines, with considerable loss of men and officers. Among the latter was General Ruffin. The enemy's strength was calculated at 20,000 men, against whom Marshal Victor could only bring about 8000. The Duke of Dalmatia was therefore obliged to leave Estremadura in all haste, to go to the help of Marshal Victor, leaving a strong garrison behind him at Badajoz, and a small corps under Marshal Mortier, to watch both the conquered town and the Portuguese frontier, which the English might be expected to cross at any moment. Such were the particulars brought to the King by Colonel Desprez on his return from Badajoz.

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* Battle of the Gebora, the 19th of February, 1811.

To our misfortunes in war were added the evils of disunion among our generals, caused by reverses to which we were, as yet, unaccustomed. Massena's intentions, and his plan of campaign, had been continually opposed by the dashing courage and impetuous temper of Ney. Their misunderstandings ended in a complete separation, and the Duke of Elchingen reached Spain before the army, and had already arrived at Salamanca while Marshal Massena was still in Portugal. General Junot also, whom the Emperor had insisted on sending back, had greatly diminished the chances of success. His name was hateful to the Portuguese by reason of his excesses during the first campaign, and had contributed in no small degree to alienate the inhabitants, and to increase the number of our enemies in the interior of the country.

On the other hand the high price of corn, a prelude to the famine which prevailed a few months later, had caused great disturbance in Madrid, and as the increase in the price of bread had been posted up on the King's fête day (the 19th of March), the coincidence gave rise to several insulting remarks, which the ill-disposed hastened to circulate. The state of the city seemed sufficiently alarming to call for an extraordinary sitting of the council, to which I was summoned. The meeting was stormy! A sharp altercation took place between the Minister of Police and the Minister of the Interior; each tried to cast the blame attributable to circumstances on each other, both, in fact, being equally guiltless: cleverer men than they must have failed to do better. The King also lost his temper, and at one moment was on the point of dismissing council and ministers in high displeasure. Happily, the tumult calmed down. The price of bread was placed on the old footing; the Madrid bakers were indemnified for the loss they must incur, and tranquillity was restored to the capital; but the scene I had witnessed at the council clearly showed the state of public feeling. Distrust, anger, and resentment were breaking out in all directions, even in the very heart of the administration, and these fatal symptoms announced the impending dissolution of a government whose ruin was being accelerated by a total want of pecuniary resources and by the stern inflexibility of the Emperor.

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[*] He had recently assumed the command of the army of the north of Spain.

[†] The town surrendered on the 10th of March, and the army of Portugal began its retreat on the night of the 5th.

[‡] He did not remain there, but continuing his march, in spite of immense difficulties, he brought his army back to Spain, reduced to 30,000 men, having lost nearly all his artillery and cavalry.

At the very time, in fact, when we were full of these anxieties, we received the *Moniteur* of the 26th of February, 1811, containing the notes inserted by the Emperor on the speech of the King of England to his Parliament. The spirit in which these extraordinary notes were drawn up, left no room for doubt as to Napoleon's intentions regarding Spain, nor of the fate he was about to assign to a country which he looked upon as his own conquest, and was determined to treat as such. It was a public and precise reply to the note M. de Laforet had received from the King, and none other could now be expected.

The King, straitened on all sides, surrounded by fast-increasing difficulties, threatened with risings in Madrid to which the scarcity might at any moment lead, beset, outside the walls, by the guerilla bands that at times approached to the very gates, and having exhausted all his resources, at last resolved to leave Spain, and fixed his departure for the 1st of April. But he kept his design secret, lest, if it became known, the Emperor might oppose its execution.* Preparations were being silently carried on, when a new incident arrested their progress.

A courier, despatched by the Prince de Neufchatel, reached Madrid on the evening of the 29th of March, bringing the news of the birth of the King of Rome. A few days later, on the 8th of April, General Defrance brought the formal intimation of this great event to the Court of Spain, and handed the King a letter from the Emperor. It was written in a kindly tone, and gave some particulars of the birth. For some minutes serious fears had been felt for the safety both of mother and child. The letter was rather that of one brother to another, than that of a Sovereign addressing another Sovereign, and it ended in these words :—" General Defrance, the bearer of this letter, will give you another, in which I beg you to be one of your nephew's godfathers." This return to brotherly affection gave the King great pleasure, and in some measure restored his confidence. Unfortunately, no material help accompanied these friendly missives, and our political situation remained unchanged.

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* The reader has already seen, in the Queen's letter, the statement of the Duke de Cadore, that the Emperor would have ordered his brother to be arrested at Bayonne, had he set out on his journey without Imperial permission.

I abstain from particulars of the fêtes given at Madrid, in honour of the birth of a child on whom the fate of so many persons depended, and whose existence seemed to crown the Emperor's good fortune. The people of Madrid took little interest in the fêtes ; yet they were not indifferent to the event which occasioned them. Naturally superstitious, they thought it betokened a signal favour from heaven, a Providential decree, and resigned themselves to the yoke of a man who seemed to be specially protected by the Almighty.

The momentary satisfaction caused by the event soon passed away, and stern reality resumed its sway. General Defrance had scarcely set out on his return to Paris, when the King resolved on following him so closely that the Emperor should not hear of his proposed departure until too late to prevent it. On the 20th April he assembled his ministers, and announced his intention of proceeding immediately to Paris, for the purpose of a conference with the Emperor. He said, at the same time, that his absence would be of short duration, and that he hoped to return in two months at latest. Every one felt the step to be a necessary one, and no objection was offered. The King named the persons who should accompany him,* and his departure was fixed for April the 23d.

In accompanying the King on this journey, I had no expectation of ever returning to Madrid. Yet I could not form any precise idea of what we were going to do in Paris, or of what would become of us. I could not deceive myself as the others did, and believe that the Conference had been arranged beforehand between the brothers. Nothing, to my mind, was more uncertain than the kind of reception that awaited us in France : I was not even sure that we should be allowed to enter that country. We were approaching a melancholy *dénouement*, in my opinion; but, as its causes were of old date, I will linger awhile to make a few reflections on them.

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* O'Faril, Minister of War ; Urquijo, Secretary of State ; and Campo-Alanje, Minister of Exterior Relations, were among the number.

No doubt there had existed difficulties in Spanish affairs which no human foresight, no political skill, could have overcome; but we must admit that a large proportion of the misfortunes encountered by the King, and those who had staked their fortunes on his, was due to a generally vicious system. The designs of the Emperor, and the invincible repugnance evinced towards them by the nation, rendered it impossible to be a Constitutional King in Spain, to preserve the territory of ancient monarchy in its integrity, and, in a word, to reign with at least administrative independence, since political independence was out of the question. Force only could maintain us in our position, and that force was in the hands of the Emperor; therefore, after the conquest of Madrid, in December, 1808, we should either have abstained from entering the capital or have been satisfied to be the mere instrument of a military power. Joseph had followed neither course. He still wanted to believe himself a King, and to exercise kingly functions in their full extent, to create a national government and a national ministry, and to set up a strong line of demarcation between the French and the Spaniards. But he had not calculated that since, by these means, he had not obtained the approval of the Spanish nation, he had nothing with which to oppose the Emperor, who could not tolerate such a course of conduct; that he would exhaust himself in vain efforts to acquire popularity, and that, instead of having a support in the Emperor against the enmity of the nation, he would, on the contrary, find him opposed to every one of the pretensions, for whose success not a single Spaniard, with the exception of a few interested persons, seriously cared. This in fact is exactly what took place. Civil authority and military authority, administration and finance, were successively encroached on by the Emperor's generals and agents. Standing alone in the midst of his States, bearing a title that was only an oppressive burden, the King had, in reality, ceased to exist as a monarch, and barely retained some semblance of authority over a small part of the French army as a general. Reduced by the exhausted state of his treasury to the last extremity, he had at length seriously thought of departure, and we were on the point of quitting Spain. But, although he must long have foreseen the necessity for taking this resolution, he was leaving the country without making any conditions, and without any guarantee for the future. He had declined to pledge himself so distinctly as the Emperor required, in hopes of contriving a possibility of remaining, and this middle course had served as a pretext for giving him no reply whatever.

We were going to Paris, therefore, trusting to chance for success, and altogether ignorant of what kind of reception would be given us. For my own part I set out on the journey wishing from my heart that our reception might be such as to dispel entirely all that love of grandeur which still cast a spell over the King, and such as to make him resolve to seek in retirement for happier days than those he had passed on two tottering thrones. I sincerely wished this for his glory and my own repose, but I was disappointed.

We left Madrid on the 23d of April, 1811. In the Spanish towns through which we passed, the King received the homage of the authorities, and announced everywhere that he was going to Paris to confer with his brother, but that he would return to his dominions almost immediately. He protested openly that he was entirely opposed to any dismemberment of the monarchy, and that in no case would he consent to treaties which might infringe in the slightest degree on Spanish territory. He made no stay, however, in any town, and hastened his journey as much as, being encumbered with a numerous escort only able to make short stages, he could do.

We crossed the French frontier on the 10th of May, and, merely passing through Bayonne, we passed the night at Dax. We had met a courier in the course of the day bringing a letter from the Prince of Neuchatel, in which, in the name of the Emperor, he advised the King not to leave Spain. But we had already crossed the frontier, and it was too late to turn back. The King continued his journey, and on the evening of the 15th of May we reached Paris and drove to the Luxembourg.

The brothers met at Rambouillet. It was arranged between them that the approaching baptism of the King of Rome should serve as a pretext for the King's journey, which was to be supposed to have been made with a view only to his being present at that ceremony. It was agreed, moreover, that Joseph should appear in the character of a French Prince and Grand Elector, wearing the white costume embroidered in gold reserved exclusively for those members of the Imperial family who were in the line of succession. Little was said on this occasion concerning the real motive of his journey. Vague promises were made to the King on the subject, and he fared no better in several subsequent interviews. At last the Emperor, who was preparing to set out for Cherbourg, promised to issue orders from Caen, that the command-in-chief of the armies in Spain should be restored to the King, and that he should receive a monthly subsidy for the purpose of carrying on his government, and for the partial support of his troops.* The Emperor also left the King free to return to Spain, if he were satisfied with these conditions, or to remain in France, if they did not suit him. On the day after this interview, which took place at Rambouillet, the Emperor set out, and we waited the fulfilment of his promises at Morfontaine.

I was again in Paris after six years' absence ; but I was far from feeling unmixed joy in returning to my country. I was oppressed with gloomy forebodings. The past, the present and the future weighed down my spirits. Owing to my individual position, I was a foreigner in the midst of my countrymen ; in the service of a King of Spain and yet not a Spaniard, nor willing ever to become one, and nevertheless deprived of my former rights as a citizen. My position, and that of other Frenchmen in like case, was the more painful that the Emperor seemed anxious to make us feel it, in all its severity, by withholding from us not only our former honours at his court, where as Frenchmen we had held various posts, but also the honours attached to the posts which we filled in his brother's service. I could easily have consoled myself for the loss of such vain prerogatives, had not the Emperor's conduct towards us been the outcome of a system that threatened my means of subsistence, and wrested from me the fruits of my past services, without offering me the least compensation for the great sacrifice I had made.

I wandered through the streets of Paris, a prey to these gloomy reflections, unable to dismiss my anxieties, although fresh objects of interest continually appealed to my curiosity. How wonderfully Paris had improved since my departure for Naples in January 1806 ! Magnificent quays, open sites ornamented with the trophies of our conquests, fine bridges named after our victories, columns and statues had been constructed in the city ; new fountains had sprung up in all directions, and although good taste had not always presided over the rapid construction of all these things, their usefulness fully justified their existence, while their splendour and their number astonished the spectator. The Louvre, that had been left unfinished by a long line of Kings, was now nearly completed, a second gallery was rising from the ground to connect this ancient palace with the Tuileries. Spacious museums contained the chefs-d'œuvre of ancient and of modern Rome, of Italy and of Flanders. In every direction marble and bronze proclaimed that the man who had created so much in so short a space of time, was one who knew how to glorify the nation by the arts of peace as well as by those of war.

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* The King had a numerous guard, consisting of Spanish regiments and of French officers and soldiers, who, with the Emperor's consent, had passed into his service.

That extraordinary man seemed now to have attained the utmost height of human greatness. Fortune had just put the finishing stroke to her favours by bestowing on him a son. A number of ambassadors, of princes, even of Sovereigns, mingled with his courtiers, crowded the Emperor's antechambers, and pressed around the cradle of his child. All that the language of admiration and flattery could invent had been exhausted in the speeches, discourses, poems, and episcopal pastorals that filled the long-suffering columns of the newspapers. Europe, in fact, with the exception of England and the Peninsula of Leon, was at the feet of Napoleon, and yet there were gathering clouds beginning even now to cast their shadow over all this splendour and imposing array. Serious differences were arising between Napoleon and Alexander and undermining the friendship formed between them at Tilsit and Erfurth. Commerce, which had been ruined by the Berlin and Milan decrees on the continental blockade, was languishing everywhere. Complaints were made, and as they passed unheeded, the popular discontent found vent in murmurs and insulting placards. The Emperor's inexflibility defied the popular disfavour, and rejected every appeal; nevertheless he felt impelled to justify his conduct. He was forced to explain himself, and he even now began to attribute some of the grievances of trade to the conduct of the Emperor of Russia. Nothing is more remarkable from this double point of view than the reply made by him, during my sojourn in Paris, to a deputation of merchants to whom he had granted an audience. It was as follows:

"The decrees of Berlin and Milan are fundamental laws of my Empire. As to neutral navigation, I look upon a flag as an extension of territory; any power that allows it to be violated cannot be considered as neutral.

"The fate of American trade will soon be decided. I shall favour it, if the United States conform to my decrees; if not, their vessels shall be forbidden the ports of my Empire.

"Commercial relations with England must cease, I tell you plainly, gentlemen; merchants who have business to wind up, or capital to withdraw, should do so as soon as possible. I gave the same advice, formerly to the citizens of Antwerp; they found it to their advantage. I desire peace, but not a patched-up peace; I want it to be real, and such as can afford me sufficient guarantees, for I forget neither Amiens nor St. Domingo, nor the losses inflicted on trade by the last declaration of war. I would not have made peace at Tilsit; I would have gone to Wilna and farther still, only for the promise of the Emperor of Russia to procure a peace between France and England. Before the union with Holland, I made further overtures of peace ; the English Government would not even listen to them.

"The continent shall remain closed to imports from England. I shall remain armed in order to carry out my decrees and resist the attempts of the English in the Baltic. Some fraud exists still, but it shall be completely crushed. I know the discounters of English trade. Those who think only of evading the law by extravagant operations end in bankruptcy. But, if they succeed in escaping from my officers of customs, my sword will reach them sooner or later, in three, four, five, or six months' time, and they will have no right to complain.

"I keep my ear open in mercantile circles ; I know that my measures are openly blamed, and that I am said to be ill-advised. I cannot be angry with such men for their opinions—they are not in a position to see and to calculate, as I am. Those however who have recently arrived from England, and who have seen the impression beginning to be produced there by the interruption to trade with the continent, cannot refrain from saying : 'He may possibly be right ; he may, after all, succeed in his designs.'*

"In my empire, internal trade amounts to more than four milliards. On this basis its resources and its prosperity must be combined. I know that Bordeaux and Hamburg and the other ports are suffering through the interruption to maritime trade. Some municipal regulations of the Emperor of Russia will be injurious to the Lyons manufactories. These are individual losses. I endeavour to alleviate them.

"But our exports to Russia, which did not exceed twenty-five millions, that is to say between one and two per cent. on the whole mass in circulation, cannot interfere with, or alter the general course of trade. Russia has paper-money, so has Austria. England is choked with it. France is the richest country in the world. Her territorial resources are immense. She has plenty of money : according to calculations that have been made, more than a milliard has been paid into France by war-contributions. I have 200 millions in my private treasury at the Tuileries ; I receive taxes amounting to 900 millions in cash, of which only a very small portion are the proceeds of foreign trade.

"I am informed that in consequence of some recent experiments France will be able to do without sugar and indigo from the Indies. I shall encourage both those industries. Chemistry has, in these days, made such progress, that it is possible it may effect a revolution in commercial relations as extraordinary as that caused by the discovery of the compass. I do not say that I do not wish for either maritime trade or colonies ; but they must be given up for the time being ; either until England changes her policy for one more reasonable and just, or until I can dictate terms of peace to her. If I were the heir of the throne of Louis XV. or Louis XVI., I should be forced to solicit peace from the English on my knees ; but I succeeded to the Emperors of France. I have added the mouths of the largest rivers of Europe and the Adriatic to my empire ; there is nothing to prevent me from building and arming a fleet of two hundred vessels. I know that the English will have better admirals, and that is a great advantage. But by dint of fighting we shall learn how to conquer. We shall lose the first, second and third battle, and we shall win the fourth, for the simple reason that the stronger must subdue the weaker. I had not thought that the glut of English goods, which is announced on the South American markets, would have happened so soon, but I had reckoned rightly on the absence of returns. When once the markets for colonial produce are closed, the English may throw the sugar, and the indigo, for which they exchange their industrial produce, into the Thames. Here, as in England, manufacturers have been imprudent and foolish ; they have not known how to combine demand and supply. The English Government has been obliged to give substantial help ; I have done the same in some cases, and I could have done much more, but I thought it neither expedient nor right to encourage such evil and dangerous principles. To manufacture is not enough ; it is necessary to know where and how to sell, and not to make ten yards of stuff when there is only sale for four. It was not difficult to foresee that after twenty years of war and trouble the consumption of the continent must greatly diminish, and that many persons who used to have four new coats in a year would have to restrict themselves to two, or one.

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* The effect of the Berlin and Milan decrees would have been still more disastrous for England, if the Emperor himself had not modified them by granting licenses ; a scandalous trade was carried on in these to the benefit of certain courtiers, and it was asserted in Paris at the time, that even the Emperor's private treasury was enriched by it.

"Trade is an honourable pursuit, if conducted with prudence and economy. You must be wise, gentlemen. A merchant must not gain his fortune as one gains a battle ; he must make small and continual profits."

A few days after the audience in which the Emperor delivered the above allocution, he left Paris for Cherbourg. Meanwhile the King remained at Morfontaine, where, with the exception of occasional visits to Paris, he resided permanently. I had accompanied him thither, and we were waiting for orders from the Emperor, which he had promised to send from Caen. Joseph hoped to receive them in time to leave Paris before the baptism of the King of Rome, which had been fixed for the 9th of June. He had so completely forgotten his origin and had so thoroughly identified himself with his rôle as a sovereign, that to appear publicly in attendance on his brother, and as his vassal, so to speak, seemed to him a humiliation. But the Emperor, who, on his part, was by no means superior to the promptings of the meanest vanity, and who attached importance to being surrounded on this occasion by a family of Kings, purposely delayed his decision, so that even if Joseph should decide on returning to Spain, he could not, without a breach of propriety, leave Paris before the 9th of June.

After ten days of suspense, the Prince de Neuchatel arrived at Morfontaine on the 2d of June, bringing the reply to Joseph's demands. It was expressed in ambiguous terms, and far from answering the King's expectations. It merely assigned to the King a subsidy of 500,000 francs (£20,000) per month,* and stated that orders would be given to the generals commanding the French troops in Spain to recognise the King as Commander-in-Chief. But no copy of these orders was forwarded with the letter, although it was a most important matter for us to know how they were expressed. They should have been so drawn up as to preclude all doubt of the Emperor's intentions, and to afford no pretext for misinterpreting or evading them. Nor was any change made in the system of administration that had prevailed for the last year in France, and the four great governments on the left bank of the Ebro, Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, and Biscaya, continued to exist as before, exempt from the King's authority and under the exclusive rule of the Emperor. I was therefore of opinion—and the Spanish ministers to whom the King communicated the answer brought by the Prince of Neuchatel, agreed with me—that Joseph could not return to Spain with no more secure guarantee than this, and that at any rate he must await the return of the Emperor in order to have a further explanation with him. We therefore resigned ourselves to a fresh delay. The Emperor returned to St. Cloud on the 1st of June, and saw his brother on the 5th, but no positive decision was arrived at. The day appointed for the baptism of the King of Rome was at hand, and all business was deferred until after the approaching fêtes.

The ceremony took place on the 9th of June. In the morning there was an extraordinary Diplomatic Audience, a reception and a review. I was at the Tuileries with the other persons attached to the King's service, both Spaniards and Frenchmen. The Emperor received the former very graciously, and the others rudely. I had, for my part, every reason to regret that I had overcome my repugnance to presenting myself at the Tuileries ; but I had been obliged to do as the others did, and they were no better treated than I. However, I consoled myself for our disgrace ; for the reception afforded me an opportunity of observing the splendour, new to me, of the Emperor's court. Never in the old Versailles days had more pomp and magnificence been displayed than now at the Tuileries. Never had a greater number of princes, ambassadors, foreigners of high rank, princes of the Church, ministers, magistrates and generals, glittering in gold, scarlet, and precious stones, bedizened with orders and decorations of every colour of the rainbow, offered more obsequious homage or solicited more eagerly the boon of a word or of a glance. In the midst of all these, the Emperor alone seemed at his ease, and unconstrained. He passed with a firm step through the crowd of courtiers who made way respectfully before him. By a single glance he filled those whom he approached with joy, or cast them into despair, and when he deigned to speak, the fortunate mortal whom he addressed, bent his head, strained his ear, and scarcely ventured to breathe or murmur a reply. Such was the aspect of the Tuileries in 1811. Two years later I stood again on the same spot. All was changed.

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* The subsidy was to consist of one million francs per month until January 1, 1812; but only 500,000 francs were at the King's disposal, the other 500,000 being intended for the pay of the French troops, belonging to the Army of the Centre.

On leaving the Emperor's audience chamber, we were shown into that of the Empress. In the salon, while waiting for her to appear, I saw her uncle, the Grand Duke Ferdinand, at whose Court in Florence I had been Minister, thirteen years before. He did not, or pretended that he did not, recognise me, and I made no attempt to refresh his memory. But I smiled at the strange vicissitude of fortune, by which the former Sovereign of Tuscany, and the former Ambassador at his Court, were brought together, each paying his court to a grand-daughter of Maria Theresa, now the wife of the former General of the French Republican army in Italy.

While I was reflecting on this curious coincidence, the Empress entered the room. It was the first time I had seen her. She was not beautiful, but she struck me as being pleasing. Her expression was noble but rather disdainful. Accompanied by the Duchess of Montebello she made the circuit of the assembly, speaking with grace and kindness to several persons, whom she desired to have named to her. Everybody present was delighted. After this we received our dismissal and withdrew.

The baptism took place in the afternoon. I was not present.

The King was not attended by any of the suite whom he had brought from Madrid. Count de Jaucourt acted as his First Chamberlain, and my friend Stanislas Girardin as First Equerry ; all I saw therefore was the procession passing along the Boulevards, and I soon perceived that neither the presence of the Emperor, nor the pomp with which he was surrounded, made the same impression on the people as of yore. There were but few acclamations, and these proceeded principally from a perambulating group, evidently in the pay of the police, which followed the progress of the carriages. Many of the spectators did not lift their hats, and among the general public there was no enthusiasm.

As I have said, all who took an interest in Joseph, even his Spanish Ministers, were of opinion that the insignificant concessions he had obtained, which made no account of his principal grievances, and which perhaps were not even sincere, could not justify him in returning to Spain. The King, however, had already made up his mind. A desire on the one hand, to escape from the restraints imposed on him in Paris, and on the other, the charm, which notwithstanding the most painful experience, still lingered, in the merest shadow of supreme power, and, more than all perhaps, a love affair at Madrid which attracted him to the capital,* had led him, in opposition to the counsels of his most devoted friends, to decide on returning to the Peninsula. He had a final interview with the Emperor on the 12th of June. I never knew exactly what took place on that occasion. I was two days without seeing the King ; I only heard that a month's pay of the subsidy was being paid in advance, and forwarded to Spain from the Imperial Treasury, and that Marshal Jourdan was to resume his post of Major-General to the King ; an arrangement on which Joseph had specially insisted. Moreover, I was informed on the 14th, as were all the members of the King's suite, that he had fixed on the 16th for beginning his return journey to Spain.

During the whole of that day (the 14th) I hesitated whether to accompany King Joseph or to remain permanently in France. It seemed to me, that having hitherto blamed his sojourn in Spain, he could not doubt that I should much more strongly disapprove of his resolution of returning thither, and I feared that this diversity of opinions might end by impairing our friendship; that he might come to look upon me rather as an importunate critic than as a devoted friend. On the other hand, my family was in Spain. I had left my wife, my children, my brother, and my son-in-law, nearly every one I loved, behind me. How could I recall them? What compensation could I offer them for the appointments, the places, and the ease that they enjoyed, owing to the kindness of the King? What could I do for them in Paris, alone, without fortune, and in disgrace with the Emperor? Lastly, and this consideration had most weight with me, how could I desert the prince to whom for six years, I had in a sense dedicated my life? And the stronger my conviction that he was laying himself open to further cares and sorrows, the more did I think myself bound by affection and by duty to share them. Doubt therefore yielded to Friendship, and I resolved to go.

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* The lady who so greatly attracted Joseph was the charming wife of one of his Majordomos, the Marquis de M . . ., who appeared to be much aggrieved by the *liaison.* The Marquise, who on the expulsion of the French from Spain, could not remain in the country, took refuge in France, as did a large number of her compatriots belonging to the *Afrancesados* party, where, on the death of her first husband, she married a French officer who had belonged to King Joseph's guard.

On the 16th of June, very early in the morning, just as I was about to enter my carriage, the Queen sent for me to her apartments. She thanked me cordially for having resolved not to forsake her husband. She repeated several times, that he would have been greatly grieved had I decided on remaining in Paris, but that out of delicacy he had left me free to choose, because he felt that he himself might never be in a position to reward this fresh mark of attachment. This conversation comforted me in no small degree, and I set out in tolerably good spirits.

We reached Bayonne on the 23d of June. The King remained there two days, and took up his abode at the Château de Marac, a short distance from the town. He seemed to hesitate about re-entering Spain. During our sojourn at Bayonne we saw the circular letter from the Prince de Neuchatel to the French Generals commanding in the Peninsula. It was far from fulfilling the promises made to us before we left Paris. The Emperor merely commanded that the King should receive the honour due to his rank during his progress, and there was no mention of the supreme command that had been promised him.

This beginning of disappointments should have shown the King how little he could rely on the strict execution of the remainder of the Emperor's promises. There was still time to draw back, and I ventured to advise him to do so. But the commotion this step would have caused, prevented him from taking it, and we crossed the Bidassoa on the 27th of June.

We advanced slowly towards Madrid. We stayed two days at Vittoria, and then three at Burgos, where General Thiébault, governor of the province, gave some fêtes in honour to the King. There was a ball, fireworks, and every outward demonstration of the satisfaction and delight caused by the return of a legitimate and beloved sovereign.*

We were well received also at Valencia, Valladolid, and Segovia. Finally, we reached Madrid on the 15th of July, 1811. The King made his entry at 5 P.M. A large concourse of people were waiting for him on the road. A kind of triumphal arch had been erected at a short distance from the town, and the magistrates of

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* Eighteen months before our visit to Burgos, the tomb of the Cid and Ximena had been removed hither. This tomb, which had been formerly in a chapel of St. Peter's Abbey, some few leagues from Burgos, was placed on the banks of the Arlançon, which runs through the town, below the Espolon quay, the public promenade of Burgos. The monument, when I saw it, in 1811, consisted of a base in the modern style, about five feet in height, supporting an ancient sarcophagus, on which recline the figures of the Cid and Ximena Dias, his wife. The four sides of the sarcophagus bear the arms of the Cid and those of his wife, trophies of arms, and other decorations which are well, though not delicately, carved. The frieze of the entablature bears an inscription of which one half is in Gothic lettering in relief, considerably broken, in which I picked out a date M.D.XXXVII. I am not certain, however, that I may not have been mistaken, for the style of sculpture appeared to me to belong to an earlier period. The rest of the frieze contains the following words painted in black: "Doña Ximena Diaz, Muger del Cid, nieta del rey D. Alonze el v de Leon." On the end of the sarcophagus, beneath the feet of the reclining figures, is the following inscription: "Estes cuerpos del Cid y su muger se trasla daron de la capella mayor a esta, con facultad de nuestro Catholico Monarca D. Felipe V, ano 1736." On the four sides of the base were four inscriptions, that have probably been destroyed since my visit to Burgos. Those on the longer sides were alike, one in French, the other in Spanish, and were as follows:

"Owing to the exertions of His Excellency, General of Division, Thiébault, governor of Old Castille, the remains of the Cid and those of Ximena, with the fragments of their tomb, were gathered together and brought to this place."

On the end corresponding with the heads of the two figures:

Anno MDCCCIX.
Regnante
Josepho Napoleone.

Lastly, on the opposite end, were these words:

Quibuscumque temporibus,
populis, locis,
sic inclitum virorum
memori: colenda est.

The demolition and restoration of the tomb had deprived it of much of its antique character. But no less gratitude was due to those who had preserved the fragments. The monument was placed in a public promenade, with good effect.

Whatever may be the date of its construction, it was certainly long after the death of the Cid, which took place in the twelfth century. It is well known also that at that period armorial bearings were not used; they are not met with much before the fifteenth century.

Madrid were assembled there to receive him. A great number of carriages containing the principal inhabitants of the capital were drawn up on each side of the road. The satisfaction which was visible on the faces of the people, and their frequent acclamations, made this day a pleasant one to the King.

He was not so well pleased with the view taken of his return by the Cortes of Cadiz, nor with the inferences drawn by their newspapers. "Joseph's journey to Paris," said the latter, "not having resulted in any modification of the system adopted by Napoleon towards Spain, it is clear, on the one hand, that the Emperor persists in those designs, though he delays carrying them out (which appears to confirm the rumour of an impending rupture with Russia) ; and, on the other hand, that Joseph is more than ever a puppet, without power and without authority, either because he has been shamefully deceived, or that he is in league with his brother. On either hypothesis, Joseph can only be an object of profound contempt to all Spaniards who love the independence and honour of their country."

It is easy to understand that arguments such as these in the organs of the National party, based as they were on notorious and indisputable facts, produced an impression on public opinion in Spain, highly unfavourable to the Government and person of the King.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The military situation—A Committee is formed to prepare the convocation of the Cortes—Union of Catalonia to the French empire—Imminent rupture between France and Russia—Unfortunate result of this with respect to the effective force in Spain—The English occupy the fortified bridges on the Tagus—Organisation of fresh bands of Guerillas—Famine in Madrid—Discouragement among the French troops—Valencia surrenders to Marshal Suchet, and Ciudad-Rodrigo to the Duke of Wellington—Before setting out on his Russian campaign, the Emperor gives instructions for regulating the military and political affairs of Spain—The English take Badajoz and threaten both North and South at once—Marshal Soult refuses to obey the King's orders—Marshals Suchet and Marmont follow his example—M. Deslandes, the King's private secretary, is killed while on a journey by the guerillas—Cruelties practised by the guerilla bands—Endeavours to convene the Cortes—The English act on the offensive against Marshal Marmont—The King, at the head of reinforcements drawn from the Army of the Centre, goes to the help of the Duke of Ragusa—Before he can reach the Marshal, the latter joins battle with the English and is defeated and wounded—Disastrous consequences of this defeat—The King crosses the Sierra de Guadarrama, and returns to Madrid.

Before proceeding farther I shall give a brief sketch of the situation of military affairs at the time of our return to Madrid.

The principal active troops in Spain, consisted at that time of five distinct corps. The Army of the South, the so-called Army of Portugal, which retained its name although it no longer held a single village in Portugal; the Army of Arragon comprising our troops in Catalonia. These three corps formed four fifths of the French troops in Spain. The two others, the Army of the North and the Army of the Centre, were only capable of acting as auxiliaries to the three large corps.

The Army of the South, the most powerful of all, numbering 70,000 to 80,000 men, was commanded by Marshal Soult;* that of Portugal numbering 50,000 to 60,000, by Marshal Marmont, and the third, of 40,000 or 50,000, was commanded by Marshal Suchet.† The Army of the Centre, with the Royal Guard, and the few Spanish troops in the King's service, amounting to 15,000 men, was under the immediate command of the King, whose headquarters were in Madrid. Lastly, the Army of the North, whose headquarters were at Vittoria, and which, formerly commanded by Marshal Bessières, was now under General Caffarelli, numbered barely 12,000 men. Thus the entire French force then in Spain did not amount altogether to more than 200,000 men fit for service.

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* These troops consisted of the remains of the corps of the expedition to Portugal, estimated at 30,000 men, and of the troops that had remained to garrison the fortresses on the Spanish frontier.

† He had just obtained his marshal's bâton.

The Army of the South occupied Andalusia, and still carried on the siege of Cadiz, but was making no progress. The strategy of the English, who, after Massena's retreat had shown themselves in the neighbourhood of Badajoz, had made it necessary to detach a corps of 20,000 from this force, and despatch them into Estremadura. Marshal Soult had placed himself at their head and had fought, on the preceding 15th of May, a sharp engagement with the enemy on the banks of the Albuera, the indecisive issue of which was counted by the English as a victory. After this unsuccessful encounter, Soult had returned to Seville.

The Army of Portugal, whose headquarters since its return to Spain had been fixed at Salamanca, stretched beyond the Tagus, and could unite with the Army of the South in Estremadura. Its commander, the Duke of Ragusa, was constructing forts to defend the passage across the river.

Marshal Suchet, commanding the Army of Arragon, and holding Tortosa, had, after a bloody siege, obtained possession of Tarragona. He was advancing on Murviedro (the ancient Sagona) and threatening Valencia.

The Armies of the Centre and North took no part in these various movements.

From what I have just said, it will be seen, that at the time of our return to Spain, the French armies, with the exception of that of Arragon, were standing, in some sort, on the defensive. In fact everything was, necessarily, in suspense, until the English in Portugal should make their next move. On the direction taken by them, would depend our own movements. Would they advance into Andalusia in order to raise the siege of Cadiz? or towards the centre of Spain, so as to drive us from the capital? Until they decided on one course or the other, we could only remain on the watch, and prepared to oppose the execution of either plan of campaign. It was evident, moreover, that the Army of the South only was fitted to oppose them with any chance of success; the Army of Portugal was not strong enough to baffle their plans, and should it be itself threatened by them it was needful that the Army of the South should be able to supply immediate reinforcements. It was with these views that all our military arrangements were made. The sequel will show how they were frustrated by a series of blunders and misunderstandings, and what reverses resulted from these fatal differences among our military chiefs.

While awaiting the renewal of hostilities, the King endeavoured to rouse the spirits of the people, and to inspire them with a confidence that seemed justified by his return. In the first Council of State, held on the 2d of August, he spoke of the hope of peace, and of plans favourable to Spain that had been formed by the Emperor, and which the pacification of Europe would enable him to carry out. Then, starting from these favourable auspices, he alluded to a period near at hand, when the nation itself would be called on to take part in establishing an order of things, by which the consolidation of the State would be promoted. "Therefore," he continued, "we must prepare at once for a convocation of the Cortes, not such as they existed formerly, nor even as they were organised by the constitution of Bayonne, but more numerous, and so composed that the most distinguished men of the nation, without respect to party, should be included among them; to summon, in short, a truly national representation, whose number should be unlimited, and which could lawfully decide the fate of Spain."

Nothing could be better calculated to impress the people than such a declaration as this. The acknowledgment of the nation's right to constitute itself, must necessarily be well received, and the King sealed it, as it were, by immediately appointing a committee of five Councillors of State, who were to draw up a project for the convocation of the Cortes on the basis he had indicated in his speech. But circumstances were not favourable to the benevolent intentions of the King. However sincere in their expression, he was destined never to have it in his power to carry them out, and this gleam of popularity shone for a moment and then vanished, never to return. The annexation of Catalonia to the French Empire, which the Emperor was declaring almost at the very moment when the King was pledging himself at Madrid to a totally opposite course, made the realisation of his wishes more impossible than ever.* And even supposing, which was very improbable, that the Emperor would depart from the principles on which he had hitherto governed Spain, the power of regulating the fate of that country was about to slip from his own as well as from his brother's grasp.

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* The union of Catalonia with the French empire had been announced to the King, without further formality, by a letter from the Prince de Neuchatel, in the beginning of September 1811. Subsequently, in March 1812, the French ambassador officially communicated the decrees relating to the annexation of the principality. For the purposes of administration, it was divided into four departments, of which the capital towns were Barcelona, Serida, Leria, and Tarragona. One of these departments bore the name of Bouches-de-l'Ebre; I do not recollect the names of the others. Prefects and sub-prefects, and the other necessary officials arrived from France. Among them was M. Dudon, whose ex-

During our sojourn in Paris, we had had opportunities of observing the first symptoms of a growing coolness between the Cabinets of the Tuileries and St. Petersburg. Since our departure these clouds had thickened, and a communication made to the King in the beginning of September by the French Ambassador, prepared us for a probably impending rupture. The Duke of Bassano, the then Minister of Exterior Relations, had written a letter on the 27th of August to M. de Laforet, which he authorised him to show, confidentially, to the King. I read this despatch, which gave particulars of a conversation at the Trianon on the 25th of August, the fête-day of the Empress, between the Emperor and Prince Kourakin, the Russian Ambassador. The conversation, which had taken place in the presence of the whole court, was to the following effect.

The Emperor had begun by attacking Prince Kourakin on the recent military encounters between Russia and the Porte. "I cannot," he said, "look on the last affair (on August 4th) as a victory. You preserved no communications beyond the Danube; you were obliged to retreat to the left bank of that river, and there was therefore no victory. In a somewhat similar position, after Essling, I considered myself victorious, because I remained master of the island of Lobau. But what astonishes me most is that, after such doubtful victories, and involved in a war of uncertain issue, your Government, instead of despatching all your troops to the theatre of war, should hold back a large proportion in order to station them on the western frontiers of Russia. I am like the Child of Nature; when I cannot explain a thing by real and obvious causes, I always suppose some extraordinary motive. What is the meaning of this massing of troops in the direction of Poland? Am I to be coerced into abandoning the system I have set up? I know Russia's claims on the Duchy of Oldenburg; I am ready to make all the compensation that may be desired; but I will not yield an inch of Poland; nothing that has been united to France shall be taken from her. On any other basis, I am ready to open negotiations. I will appoint some one to treat with you, if you have full powers from your Court."

M. Kourakin having replied that he had none, but that he would hasten to obtain them, the Emperor resumed. "I know

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treme opinions have since obtained for him an evil notoriety. I had known him in Paris as auditor of the Council of State.

of the manifesto," said he, "that Russia has despatched to every Court. I refused to receive it, so that I might have the right to forget it. Thus there is yet time, otherwise I shall be obliged to call in the conscription of 1812."

In the rest of his despatch the Duke of Bassano endeavoured to lessen the impression that must necessarily have been made by this hostile declaration, which had already received a kind of semi-publicity, but the blow had been struck. In vain did the Minister assert that all had passed in a friendly spirit, and that during the rest of the evening Prince Kourakin had been treated with more than usual courtesy ; the facts were apparent ; it was impossible not to discern a declaration of war in this curious communication, or to reflect without dismay, on the influence which even the possibility of such an event must exercise over Spain.

We soon experienced it. Far from sending us help in men and money, the Emperor began, on various pretexts, to withdraw from the Peninsula all the remaining detachments of his Guard, and a large proportion of cavalry. At the same time our infantry was weakened by the recall of some of the sub-officers, who were ordered to France to form the nucleus of new regiments consisting principally of conscripts. While our various corps were thus being more or less reduced, our enemies were, on the contrary, augmenting their forces, and their spirits were rising at the prospect of the powerful diversion in their favour now being prepared in the North of Europe.

The English could not allow so favourable an opportunity for entering on another campaign to escape them. In the beginning of October 1811, they threatened Ciudad-Rodrigo, and the Army of Portugal was soon obliged to retreat from Estremadura and to fall back on the Tagus. The detachment that had been stationed in Estremadura was subsequently replaced by a corps of about 15,000 men, despatched thither under General Drouet, by Marshal Soult. But this corps had orders not to cross the Tagus, and yet it was only by its junction with the Army of Portugal that the latter could be enabled to withstand the combined forces of the English and the Portuguese. This want of unanimity was fatal, and it greatly contributed to the failure of our operations.

The first moves of the English were strongly supported by the appearance of guerilla bands, organized by the new government at Cadiz, and which now showed themselves more frequently than ever in the environs, and even on the promenades of Madrid.*

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* On January 11th, 1812, a detachment of the band of the Medico, a famous guerilla chief, appeared at very little distance from the Atocha Gate, in the Promenade de Las Delicias, and attacked the persons there, killing some and wounding others.

A column of the Royal Guards marched from the capital and succeeded in scattering them. But no sense of security was re-established, and the same bands that were defeated and dispersed on one point, would suddenly form again at another, and keep both inhabitants and troops in a state of continual alarm.

On the other hand, the famine that had been foreboded in the beginning of 1811, from the high price of bread in Madrid, became general at the end of the year, throughout the capital and its environs. The Army of Portugal, in ascending the Tagus, had consumed all the breadstuffs on its route, and had exhausted the provinces of Toledo and Talavera, which partly supplied Madrid with provisions, while the guerilla bands scattered in La Mancha and in the province of Cuença intercepted all convoys on their way to us. The price of bread rose to such a height in Madrid that it became unattainable by the lower and middle classes,* and we witnessed the fearful spectacle of men actually dying of starvation in the streets.†

Scarcely five months had elapsed since our return, and we had already sunk, as the reader sees, into the same position that had forced us to leave Madrid. The same financial difficulties, the same scarcity of food, the same political situation, generals as independent as before of the King's authority, no plan on which to work, and, supposing one had been formed, the same difficulty of execution, so long as one powerful and uncontested authority did not direct every effort and every endeavour towards one common end. Moreover, we had lost all hope of improvement, and even the delusions that had formerly sustained us. However, as yet, no military event of any importance had taken place. At the end of 1811, the campaign was scarcely opened, but discouragement was already spreading among the troops ; to the accustomed ardour of the French soldier had succeeded lax discipline, dislike to the country, and weariness of a long war in detail, which offered a series of dangers without glory. Everything, in fact, foreboded the share that Spain was to have in the disasters that fell upon France during the year 1812, one of the most fatal years recorded in the annals of the country.

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* The price of bread, reduced to French money, and carefully calculated, rose at the end of 1811 and the beginning of 1812 to 20 and even to 25 sous the pound of 14 ounces. But on June 16th, 1812, the price in Madrid was 5 reals and a half, that is 1 franc 22 cents, at the exchange for 26 cents for 1 real ; a pound of 16 ounces thus costing 1 franc 484 m., or 30 sous less 2 centimes.

† The resignation and patience of the population of Madrid were very remarkable during the famine. There were no disturbances, and the small quantity of bread offered for sale on the market place, where, on account of its high price, there were no buyers, was quietly carried back by the sellers through starving crowds, who allowed it to pass them without opposition.

The year, however, began in Spain with a brilliant victory. At Murviedro, towards the end of October, Marshal Suchet, after defeating a Spanish army of 23,000 men that had been gathered together by General Blake for the defence of Valencia, had marched on that city, one of the most important in Spain, and noted for the fertility of the surrounding country and for its agricultural pursuits. During December, while the siege artillery was being brought from Arragon, the French seized the suburb on the left bank of the Guadalaviar, and, after an obstinate resistance, the Port of Valencia and Grao. On the 26th of December the city was completely invested. Trenches were opened on the night of the 1st of January, 1812, and the bombardment was begun on the 5th, and continued throughout the night. On the morning of the 6th, Marshal Suchet offered a capitulation. This was declined by General Blake, who after an unsuccessful attempt to come out of Valencia at the head of his army, had been driven back, and had resumed the command of the town. The bombardment was then renewed with increased vigour; in three days and nights 2700 shells were thrown into the town, setting it on fire several times. When, however, two batteries of ten twenty-four pounders, had been raised with incredible quickness, and were ready to make a breach in the last defences, when mines had been made under the nearest houses of the suburbs and connected with the two principal gates, while our troops were preparing for an assault, General Blake thought it his duty to spare a populous and flourishing town from the horrors of being taken by storm. He accepted the conditions he had refused a few days before, and signed the capitulation on the 9th of January. The whole Spanish army in Valencia, numbering even then 18,000 men, were our prisoners, including twenty-two generals, among whom was Blake, the Captain-General and member of the Regency. An immense spoil in guns and ammunition also fell into our hands. Never since the beginning of the war had the Spaniards suffered so terrible a reverse. By the capitulation of Valencia they lost almost all their remaining officers of any distinction, and almost all their regular troops.

An Imperial decree of the 24th of January, 1812, conferred on Marshal Suchet the title of Duke of Albufera, and the reward was certainly deserved, for the conquest of Valencia was due solely to the talents and activity of the Marshal, and he accomplished it with means that appeared insufficient for the great result he obtained. For, although Marshal Marmont had detached a corps of cavalry, under General Montbrun to support the operations of the Army of Arragon, all was over before it reached the field of battle. Thus the glory acquired in this campaign by Marshal Suchet has remained his own entirely. Moreover, military men blamed the movement thus made by the Duke of Ragusa, who, without consultation with Marshal Suchet, diminished the strength of his army at a time when he needed his whole force to oppose an enemy by whom he might expect to be specially attacked. And it happened in fact that the English, having, towards the middle of January, invested Ciudad-Rodrigo, Marshal Marmont found himself unable, through the diminished numbers of his army, to succour that fortress,* which surrendered to Wellington at the end of January after a formal siege of nine days. In informing the King of this, the Duke of Ragusa attributed the fall of the town to the inefficient defence of the Commandant of Ciudad-Rodrigo, who had shut himself up, he said, in a church. Such excuses are often made by generals in order to cast the blame due to circumstances, or to consequences of their own blunders, on their inferiors. But no one was deceived. The truth was—and in Madrid it was in everybody's mouth—that if the Duke of Ragusa had acted in accordance with his instructions from Paris, and had not sent a large detachment of his army to Valencia, even hesitating, it was said, whether he should not place himself at its head in order to wrest the glory of victory from Marshal Suchet, he could have given his mind more completely to the English, who should have been his chief concern, and would probably have been able to prevent the loss of so important a stronghold. This début was not calculated to inspire any great confidence in the military ability of the young Marshal, who until then had held no command in chief, who had not distinguished himself by any brilliant action, and who owed the high position in which he had succeeded one of the most illustrious captains of the time, solely to the Emperor's partiality for one of his own pupils.

After the reduction of Ciudad-Rodrigo, where they had left a strong garrison, the English recrossed the Agueda and withdrew to Portugal. Thence they soon returned to the left bank of the Tagus, and advanced by way of Alentejo on Badajoz, to which they purposed laying siege. On this Marshal Marmont again spread his forces towards the Tagus, thus completely exhausting the province of Toledo. The rest of his army remained on the Tormes. In this position he waited for the further proceedings of the English, with insufficient forces, as has been seen, on every point, and unable to offer effective opposition to the enemy, whether they attacked Badajoz or Salamanca.

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* The Army of Portugal, which even after the departure of Montbrun was insufficient to cope with the English, had been further reduced by supplying garrisons to the two fortresses constructed at great expense by Marshal Marmont. These were situated in advance of the Almaraz and Arzobispo bridges on the Tagus. They were intended to defend the passage of the river, but were of no use.

Meanwhile the differences that had arisen between Russia and France, far from diminishing, assumed a more serious character every day. All our accounts from Paris announced an impending rupture and the approaching departure of the Emperor. He could not however leave France without taking some decisive measures with regard to Spain, nor was it long before we knew his decision concerning us. We were informed of it by a letter from the Prince de Neuchatel, dated the 18th of February, 1812, and received by the King on the 8th of March. He communicated its contents to us. The Prince wrote, that in the event of the Emperor's being obliged by circumstances to proceed to Poland, he intended to confer the command of all the armies then in Spain on the King, and to give him Marshal Jourdan as his Major-General. The Emperor also promised a subsidy of one million (£40,000) per month during the year 1812, and sixteen millions (£640,000), out of the contribution of fifty millions (£2,000,000) that he had levied on the city of Valencia. The letter contained in addition some military directions. The Army of Portugal was ordered to evacuate Talavera and to fall back on the Tormes, and, as this movement would cut off its communication with Estremadura, it was to be succeeded in its various posts by detachments from the Army of the Centre. Shortly afterwards, on the 2d of April, an officer of the Prince de Neuchatel arrived at Madrid with a letter to the King, dated the 16th of March, in which the Prince confirmed his previous letter, and announced, in addition, that the Emperor would make known the policy to be followed in Spanish affairs to the King through his ambassador at Madrid, and as to military operations, the Prince purposed writing fully on the subject on the following day. Thus the Emperor, on the eve of departure for the campaign in Russia, was acting towards Spain much as he had acted in 1808, when he left Madrid, first in pursuit of the English, and then to proceed to Germany, whither he was called by the war in Austria. He hastened to the point of greatest danger, and seized on the quickest and simplest plan of regulating the affairs of Spain. But what a task he was committing to the King in his then position, in the midst of a devastated country and a famine-stricken capital! What were the chances of success, when all the elements of action were at variance the one with the other? With Marshals accustomed for three years to absolute independence, and a Major-General who, notwithstanding his military ability, was not in the Emperor's good graces, and consequently possessed no authority over the heads of the army,* I foresaw nothing but reverses succeeded by a retreat, which, if not disgraceful, would at least be inglorious. Far from rejoicing at this pretended mark of confidence, it inspired me with a sense of alarm. I did not conceal my disgust, but the King took a less gloomy view of the subject. He was still hopeful; besides, how could he refuse? By returning to Spain he had submitted beforehand to every demand, and it was too late to retreat.

A few days later the French ambassador, as the Prince of Neuchatel had previously informed us, handed to the King the Emperor's instructions concerning the policy to be followed in Spain. They were written in a rather diffuse style, and were unsigned.

"The Spaniards must be sick of war. Famine, poverty, and the ills inflicted on them either by the French and English, or even by their own defenders, the guerillas, more injurious to them than regular troops, must have made them feel the necessity for putting an end to all these calamities. You must take advantage of this state of feeling, in which we suppose them to be, and either by addresses presented by the principal State Bodies and the Municipalities, or by writings skilfully directed against the English, but always sparing (note this) the French, of whom no evil must be said, bring about the meeting of a national assembly under the name of Cortes-Extraordinary, to counterbalance the Cortes of Cadiz. The assembly might be composed of eight hundred persons, carefully chosen, among whom might even be admitted deputies from the Cadiz Cortes, if any could be induced to come. Deputies would be summoned from Castille, Andalusia, the Kingdom of Valencia and Galicia. The Emperor would not object even to Catalonia, Navarre, and Guipuscoa being represented, although he considers that no change must be attempted in the form of Government of those provinces (note this point also).

"The Cortes being thus composed and assembled, could in six weeks' time draw up a constitution such as that of the Cadiz Cortes,† which is, in fact, only a copy of that of Bayonne, with the exception of certain fanciful alterations which are now in fashion, and which must be conceded.

"Matters being thus arranged, the Emperor would not hesitate to declare that he and the King were perfectly agreed. The independence and integrity of the Spanish territory would be maintained, and the French troops would be withdrawn by degrees, as their presence ceased to be necessary to the country.''

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* In the preceding year the Emperor had struck off Marshal Jourdan's name from the list of the Marshals of the Empire published in the Imperial Almanac. This act of injustice was afterwards repaired, but it had nevertheless been injurious to the Marshal's reputation.

† The constitution of the Cortes was not published at Cadiz until the 18th of March, 1812; but the draft was known in Paris, and had undergone some unimportant alterations only in passing through the assembly.

The above suggestions, greatly diluted, were accompanied by some not very clear explanations. It was evident that a way of escape, in the matter of interpretation, was contrived. Moreover the Spanish Ministry were severely reproached ; they had done nothing right ; they had profited by nothing ; they had not convened the Cortes in time ; in short the accusations were characterised by that good faith which usually prevails in the dealings of the strong with the weak.

The reader can see, by this inexplicable document, which pointed out no practicable path, that the Emperor feigned approval of the views manifested by the King on his return to Madrid, and appeared to revert to the ideas he had himself communicated in Paris to the Marquis d'Almenara, of which I have already spoken. But if they were inadmissible a year previously, they were much more so at the time when they were again brought forward. The note was therefore nothing but a delusion, and the ambassador's caution in not signing it, proved that the Emperor had perceived its ridiculous side, and would never have owned it.

Such was the assistance offered to us in our difficulties. As for the policy to be followed in military affairs, on which it was much more essential that the Emperor should explain himself, the promised directions on that subject were long delayed, and the reader will shortly see to what they were reduced.

Yet they had never been more needed. Our enemies were growing stronger on every side. The English were besieging Badajoz, and an attempt by Marshal Soult to succour that city had failed. The town surrendered on the 7th of April, before the troops under the Duke of Dalmatia had reached the Guadiana. Marshal Marmont, who should have contributed to the success of Soult's movements by advancing to the Tagus and thence into Estremadura, kept strictly, on this occasion, to his instructions from Paris. He remained on the Tormes, but took it into his head to make a diversion in favour of the Army of the South, by entering Portugal. What an idea ! how could he hope to draw away the English from the siege of Badajoz, by showing himself on the frontier of a country into which he could not attempt to penetrate, after having allowed Ciudad-Rodrigo to fall into the enemy's hands ? His demonstration had not the slightest effect on the English, and the Duke of Ragusa, on hearing of the fall of Badajoz, hastened back across the Agueda and the Coa, in order to regain his positions on the line to Salamanca. Marshal Soult, on the other hand, withdrew hastily into Andalusia, where the appearance of a Spanish army under General Ballesteros, called urgently for his presence ;

and as it was natural to suppose that the English would pursue him, the King sent commands to the Duke of Ragusa to draw near the Tagus, and to be prepared at any moment to cross the river by the Almaraz bridge. Scarcely however had these orders been despatched, when letters were received from Marshal Marmont, announcing that the enemy had sent forward five divisions on the right bank of the Tagus, and was advancing on the Coa, occupying Pinhel and Lamago ; and that his headquarters were at Fuente-Grimaldo. The English seemed therefore to be threatening not the South but the North. The first orders were consequently countermanded, and it became necessary to put the Army of Portugal in a state to oppose them, and to accept a battle with advantage. The King, therefore, ordered the Duke of Dalmatia to raise Count d'Erlon's corps in Estremadura to 20,000 men, and to be prepared to despatch this reinforcement across the Tagus to the help of the Army of Portugal.

Such was the state of affairs in the month of May, 1812. The English, who were masters of Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajôz, were free to attack either Soult or Marmont. But although their recent movements seemed to point to the latter course, they had not yet shown their hand sufficiently to preclude all uncertainty. And before actually coming to a decision, they intended to occupy the passages of the Tagus that we had fortified, so as to cut off direct communication between the armies of the South, and of Portugal, and to force them to fight separately. They succeeded in their plan, and obtained possession, at the end of May, of the forts constructed by the Duke of Ragusa, and afterwards of the bridge at Almaraz.

This successful attack, of which we were informed on the 29th of May by a letter from General Foy, threw Madrid into a state of alarm, and our enemies in the city, that is to say the majority of the inhabitants, began to hope, as they had hoped three years before, for the coming of the English. But the moment had not yet arrived. Lord Wellington would not have made such a mistake as to enter Madrid, before he had defeated one of the two armies that might surprise and drive him from it. During part of the month of June, therefore, the English remained in the advantageous positions they were holding, and concentrated all their forces and means of war. As for us, we remained on the defensive, observing their movements, and the King made the following disposition of his resources.

It had long been admitted that the Army of Portugal would be unable, if attacked by the English, to cope with their superior forces. It was therefore necessary to provide reinforcements, and the corps under Count d'Erlon, still in Estremadura, was best able and could most quickly come to its assistance. The orders that had been already given, to augment that corps and keep it in readiness to cross the Tagus were therefore renewed, more positively than before. But neither Marshal Jourdan's letters, nor even the King's, could induce the Duke of Dalmatia to obey. He declared that if Count d'Erlon's corps were detached from his army, it would be impossible for him to answer for Andalusia. He even proposed that the King should come and join him there,* if he did not think himself able to hold Madrid. In short, all the King's authority, whether as Sovereign, or as Commander-in-chief of all the forces in Spain, failed to shake the obstinate determination of the Marshal, who offered to resign rather than yield the point, and Count d'Erlon's corps remained where it was.

The King had, at the same time, requested Marshal Suchet to send a detachment of his force to protect Madrid, so as to enable him to withdraw part of the Army of the Centre from the capital and its environs, and despatch it to the help of the Army of Portugal, if all other means of reinforcement should fail, but in this direction too, he was unsuccessful. Marshal Suchet replied that his troops barely sufficed to maintain his conquest, and that, far from being able to spare any, he himself needed reinforcements. He informed the King, moreover, that the Emperor had bestowed on him exclusively, the command of Catalonia, Aragon, and the kingdom of Valencia, and had directed him to employ the troops under his orders for the defence of those provinces only. Like Marshal Soult, he concluded by offering to resign. The Army of Aragon was therefore independent of the Commander-in-chief, and exempt from the King's authority.

This extraordinary arrangement, Marshal Soult's refusal to obey the orders of the Major-General, the independence exhibited by the Duke of Ragusa, who had gone so far as to shut the gates of Talavera on Amoroz,† a Councillor of State, who had been sent thither to concert measures for provisioning Madrid,‡ the excesses committed by some officers of the Army of Portugal, who were arbitrarily levying taxes even in the provinces occupied by the Army of the Centre under the immediate command of the King; all contributed to make the command-in-chief that had been bestowed upon him, a mere sham. There remained to him only the empty title, and the whole responsibility, from which there was no means of escape.

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* It is needless to say that this proposition was declined. Had the King accepted it, he would have been entirely separated from France, and it had been particularly enjoined on him to maintain his communications.

† The same Amoroz who subsequently became known in Paris by his establishment for a new system of gymnastics.

‡ The colonel of the 50th regiment of the line, belonging to the Army of Portugal, had taken possession of one of the districts of the province of Segovia, and had threatened to lead his troops against the French garrisons of some villages occupied by detachments from the Army of the Centre, if they attempted to oppose him.

In this critical position, the King wrote urgent letters to the Emperor and to the Prince of Neuchatel. But what replies could he hope for? The Emperor was far away from Paris,[*] the Prince of Neuchatel had accompanied him, and before his departure had written a very short letter, in which, without giving any detailed instructions for the conduct of the war, he confined himself to these three points, "Defend the north of Spain, maintain the conquests already made and especially the communication with France, and keep on the defensive, until further orders." He neither defined the means of carrying out these directions, nor dictated our line of action in the event of our being attacked and defeated. It would seem also that these instructions were of so little value that they had not even been transmitted to the Duke of Dalmatia, since he obstinately refused to lend any help to the Army of Portugal, although this would evidently have entered into the plan enjoined on us by the Emperor.

Amid these internal disorders, and misunderstandings that had already cost us more than one reverse, and which foreboded others of a still graver nature, private troubles were increasing. The guerilla-bands, now more audacious than ever, frequently surprised and plundered our convoys. A very important one, strongly escorted, and including M. Deslandes, the King's private secretary, who was on his way to Paris with his wife, was attacked on the 6th of April, 1812, between Salinas and Vittoria.[†] M. Deslandes was killed in defending his wife who fell into the hands of the famous guerilla chief, Don Francisco Espoz y Mina.[‡] The King was painfully affected by this event. He had a great and well-deserved esteem for M. Deslandes, who possessed his entire confidence, and was the bearer of letters from the King which were seized on him.[§] As for myself, his death caused me the deepest grief. No man ever had stronger claims to the regret of those who knew him than M. Deslandes. Placed in a very difficult position, he never used his influence except for the benefit of those who had recourse to him. His upright character and kind heart deserved a better fate.

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[*] He had left Paris for the Russian campaign on the 9th of June.

[†] The attack has been made the subject of a painting, by General Lycinne, which was exhibited at the Louvre.

[‡] Mina, one of whose sisters was at that time a prisoner at Pampeluna, wrote to the King, and offered to exchange Madame Deslandes for his sister.

[§] They were addressed to various members of the King's family, and although such letters should have been respected, were published in the Cadiz newspapers.

Shortly after this tragic event, the city of Burgos was surprised by another band, and the hospital burned. Cuença also was occupied* for a short time by a great number of guerillas under the orders of the Empecinado,† a chieftain no less famous than Mina. Baron Bourdon, whom the King had just sent there in the capacity of Royal Commissioner, perished in the massacres and disorders of all kinds that ensued.

The fury displayed by the guerilla-bands, their cruelty and their excesses of all kinds, proved the height to which hatred and exasperation against the French had attained, and these sentiments were felt and expressed on all sides by nearly the whole nation, whose hopes were encouraged by our reverses and by the war with Russia. It was therefore almost puerile to attempt to carry out the plan indicated by the Emperor in the note his ambassador had handed to the King; that of convening an assembly of Cortes-Extraordinary. Some attempts in that direction were nevertheless made, some pamphlets were disseminated, and some newspaper articles written to prepare the public mind. A solemn deputation from the district and municipality of Madrid came to the Palace on the 7th of May, and presented an address asking for the Convocation. But steps evidently suggested, articles written for hire, and intrigues which deceived nobody, could be productive of no result; they completely failed of their object, and were soon given up. Arms alone could decide the question of our domination in Spain, or our complete expulsion from the country, and I have now only to give from documents lying before me, and from events that I actually witnessed, the brief history of the successive defeats that led to the latter result.

Wellington, after leaving a considerable force under General Hill, to occupy the forts and bridges of the Tagus, crossed the Agueda at the head of the English army on the 12th of June, and advanced towards the Tormes. He entered Salamanca on the 17th. The French had evacuated the town, leaving however a garrison in the citadel. As we had received no intelligence of Marshal Marmont since the movements of the English had become known, great anxiety prevailed for some days in Madrid. A letter from the Marshal, dated the 22d of June, at last reached the King on the 1st of July, confirming all we had heard of the advance of the enemy. The Army of Portugal, retreating from the English, was concentrated on the right bank of the Douro, between Zamora and Toro, and the Marshal stated that he did not think himself sufficiently strong to attack the enemy, until he had received the expected reinforcements from the Army of the North. Yet it was impossible to believe that the English would delay their attack for any length of time, and a serious engagement appeared imminent. There was nothing to hope for from the Army of the South. The Duke of Dalmatia asserted that sooner or later the English would certainly march on Andalusia, although their movements contradicted this presumption. General Hill therefore had not been attacked on the Tagus, a diversion which might have set free the Army of Portugal, and even supposing he had crossed to the right bank of the river to join the main English army, Count Erlon had orders not to follow him. Thus, at any moment, the Army of Portugal might find itself assailed by the whole united forces of the enemy.

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* This invasion of Cuença took place on the 12th of May, 1812.

† Don Juan Martin, surnamed the *Empecinado*, or the *pitch-coloured*.

In this extremity, the King resolved on procuring from the Army of the Centre the help he had been unable to obtain from the Army of the South, and on marching himself at the head of that reinforcement to join the Army of Portugal. He acquainted the Duke of Ragusa with his intentions, and took every possible means, compatible with the difficulty of correspondence, to ensure that the information should reach him. Moreover, the Marshal having stated that he would not act on the offensive until he had received the expected reinforcements from the Army of the North, the King calculated that he could arrive with his troops on the Douro at about the same time with those from the far more distant Army of the North. He reckoned, therefore, on finding Marmont on the Douro, and merely directed him to cross to the left bank, in order to meet him and to effect a junction between Peña-Aranda and Arevalo.

The King left Madrid on the 20th of July, at the head of 14,000 men, excellent soldiers, and with good artillery. I accompanied him, and we passed the night of the 22d at the Escurial.* On

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* I had little leisure to examine this celebrated convent, accounts of which are met with, however, in every direction. A great part of the books and pictures it had formerly contained had been removed to Madrid. But the frescoes of Luca-Giordano remained. They are full of life, boldly conceived, and executed with ease, but wanting in correctness and grandeur.

I went down into the Pantheon—the subterranean chapel containing the remains of the kings and queens of Spain. I saw their tombs, from Charles V. to Charles III. At a short distance is a spot called the Pantheon of the Infantes. The coffin of Don Carlos, son of Philip II., was open. The head, which I held in my hands, is separated from the body, and it seems evident that it had been cut off. The upper part of the

the 23d we crossed the Guadarrama mountain, and encamped on the 24th near the village of Blasco-Sancho, four leagues from Peña-Aranda, one of the spots indicated to the Duke of Ragusa for effecting our junction with his troops. We were surprised, however, to meet with no messenger from him. But as we had heard on our way of an engagement that was said to have taken place near the Douro,[*] in which the French had had the advantage, we naturally concluded that the Marshal, in conformity with his instructions, had crossed to the left bank of the Douro, and counting on a speedy meeting we advanced, full of hope and confidence.

Orders were already issued for leaving Blasco-Sancho on the following day, when, towards evening, a peasant brought news that the Army of Portugal, after being beaten by the English near Salamanca, was now, the 24th of July, at Arevalo.[†] An express instantly despatched thither, and our departure, which had been ordered to take place at dawn, was delayed. But the return of our messenger at 8 A.M. on the 25th left us no room for doubt. He brought two letters, one from the Duke of Ragusa, the other from General Clausel, both dated Arevalo, the 24th of July. The former contained the following particulars:

On the 18th of July the Army of Portugal had crossed the Douro at Tordesillas. The English position at San Cristoval on the left bank of the river was turned, and they retreated with some haste. During the 18th, 19th, and 20th, the two armies had advanced almost on parallel lines; but the English having halted before Salamanca, Marshal Marmont decided on crossing the Tormes, and took up his position on the left bank, behind Salamanca. The English, whose communication with Portugal would thus be entirely cut off, having no other alternative, determined to cross the Tormes by the Salamanca bridge, and to risk a battle which had become unavoidable.

This took place near the village of Los Arapiles on the 22d of July.[‡] The beginning of the action had been in favour of the French; but our left wing having been spread too far in order to

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skull had been sawn. These circumstances, which have never been recorded, to my knowledge, may perhaps throw some light on the manner of the Prince's death.

[*] We subsequently learned that there had been an engagement between our vanguard at Castejou on the 18th of July, and a detachment of General Cotton's corps, in which we had had the advantage.

[†] A town of some importance, four leagues from Peña-Aranda on the road from Olmedo to Valladolid.

[‡] The Allied Army numbered about 70,000 men. English, 35,000; Portuguese, 20,000; Spaniards, 15,000. The Army of Portugal consisted of barely 55,000.

turn the enemy's position, was driven back by the English, and the battle was lost. Marshal Marmont was severely wounded by the bursting of a shell. Generals Thomire and Desgraviers were killed ; Generals Bonnet and Clausel wounded. Our losses were reckoned at over 7000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners.* After the battle, Marshal Clausel took command of the troops, and the French army hastily crossed the Tormes and marched on Arevalo and Olmedo so as to reach the road to Valladolid.

General Clausel's letter was still more distressing than that of the Duke of Ragusa. He stated that it was out of his power to act on the offensive, even if reinforced by the King's troops, and he should continue his retreat without a halt, so as not to lose a march he had gained on the enemy, and to reach Valladolid before them. Neither the Marshal nor the General seemed to have been aware, before the battle, of the King's movements, and probably neither of them would have thought of informing us of what had occurred, had we not sent an express to Arevalo.

The reader may judge by this of the risk we had run. If we had not chanced to hear how matters were turning, we should have set out on the morning of the 25th for Peña-Aranda, where we should have found the enemy instead of the Army of Portugal. There was not a moment to lose in getting away from a position so full of danger. At noon we therefore left Blasco-Sancho for Lebajoz, so as to prepare as quickly as possible for our return over the Puerto de Guadarrama.

During the march we were lost in conjectures as to the Duke of Ragusa's motives for the unexpected movement he had made. After waiting five-and-twenty days on the right bank of the Douro for the help he had asked for from the Army of the North ; after having repeatedly written and protested that he was not strong enough to cope with the English army ; after having learned that the King was marching to his succour at the head of 14,000 men ; how was it that he suddenly decided on crossing the Douro ? how was it that, without having effected a junction, either with the troops coming from the North, or with those from Madrid, he had taken the offensive against the enemy who were in position on the left bank of the river, and who had made no sign of attacking him ? Even admitting that none of the King's numerous letters or messages had reached him, he could not, at any rate, be ignorant that a detachment from the Army of the North was drawing near,* and that if he prolonged only for four or five days the state of inactivity which he had maintained for nearly a month, he would receive such an increase of strength as would give him a decided numerical superiority over the enemy. Could it have been fear of losing the chief command which would have fallen to the King? Could it have been the desire to keep and not share the glory of a victory, that had led him thus to sacrifice everything to personal vanity? On this we would come to no decision, and it is a mystery to this day. But whatever may have been the Duke's secret motives, and it would be rash to pronounce on them, his strategy cannot under the circumstances be justified in a military point of view. It has always been looked upon by military authorities as a great blunder; and, in conclusion, whether it were a blunder or whether merely ill-fortune, few lost battles have had so fatal an influence on the destiny of a campaign as that of Los Arapiles.†

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* According to official despatches of Lord Wellington, the English losses were : killed, 694 ; wounded, 4270. The Portuguese lost 338 killed, and 1648 wounded. The Spanish lost but 2 men killed and 4 wounded. But the allies captured eleven guns from the French and a considerable amount of ammunition and baggage.

After taking a few hours' rest at Lebajoz, we again set out with the intention of crossing the Sierra de Guadarrama on the morning of the 27th of July. But at some distance from the Venta de San-Rafael, at the foot of the mountain, we were joined by Colonel Fabvier, Marshal Marmont's aide-de-camp. He brought letters from the Duke of Ragusa and General Clausel, dated Olmedo, July 25th. Both writers urged the King to make a movement in favour of the Army of Portugal, by delaying the passage of the Guadarrama, so as to hold the enemy in check, and to lessen the speed of the pursuit, by dividing his attention. They intimated that if the King consented to their request the Army of Portugal could perhaps remain on the left bank of the Douro, and join the Army of the Centre. The King yielded, and, changing our route, we advanced towards Segovia. By this movement, generous rather than prudent, the capital was evidently endangered. The Puerto de Guadarrama, by which the enemy might reach Madrid if they chose to give up the pursuit of their defeated foes, was left unprotected, and they might enter the city, before we could take any steps either for its defence or its evacuation.

We marched nevertheless to Segovia, where we remained three days. But having learned that the Army of Portugal was still in retreat, and had crossed the Douro, and being in ignorance as to whether the English were still in pursuit beyond the river, we began to fear that they might fall on us with all their strength. We therefore deferred no longer our return to Madrid, and leaving

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* On the 20th of July the detachment in question was at Pallos, within three days' march of the Army of Portugal.

† See Translators' note at the end of this chapter.

Segovia on the 31st of July,* we crossed the Sierra de Guadarrama on the 1st of August and reached the capital on the 2d.

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* During the march from Segovia to the Guadarrama, the King received letters from Paris that had been found on a courier arrested by Lord Wellington's advanced guard, and which he had caused to be forwarded. They referred to family affairs. This act of soldierly courtesy on the part of the English general deserves to be recorded. Some newspapers found with the letters informed us that the French army had crossed the Niemen.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATORS.

The action of which Count Miot de Melito gives an account in this chapter, and to which he gives the title of 'The Battle of the Arapiles,' formed a portion of the general operations of the siege of Salamanca, and is described by the Duke of Wellington in his despatch of the 24th of July, 1812, addressed to Earl Bathurst, from Flores de Avila. (See 'Selections from the Despatches and General Orders of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington. By Lieut-Col. Gurwood.' Murray.) The whole despatch, which is deeply interesting, will be found in the Appendix. Its perusal may render Count Miot's narrative more clear to English readers, unaccustomed to a mention of a Battle of the Arapiles, among the events of the Peninsular War.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The English army crosses the Sierra of Guadarrama, and occupies the plain which surrounds Madrid—The French evacuate the capital—The King at the head of the Army of the Centre, preceded by an immense convoy, withdraws towards Valencia—Sufferings of the troops and of the convoy during the march across La Mancha from heat and want of water—They reach the fertile plains of the kingdom of Valencia—The King enters the city of Valencia—Accusations against the King contained in a despatch from Marshal Soult to the Duke of Feltre, which falls accidentally into Joseph's hands—Colonel Desprez is sent on a mission to the Emperor—Marshal Soult evacuates Andalusia—Conference between Soult and the King at Fuente de Higuera, in which it is decided that the Armies of the South and of the Centre shall unite with that of Portugal—The two first effect their junction at Ocaña—The English, after failing in their siege of the fortress of Burgos, fall back hastily on the Douro and evacuate Madrid—Excesses committed by them while retreating—The three Armies of the South, the Centre, and Portugal effect their junction at Peña-Aranda—Changes made by the King in the command of the army—Lord Wellington avoids an encounter and retreats to Portugal—The three French armies enter the cantonments assigned them by the King.

Our return to the capital did not produce the impression that might have been caused had its reasons been known. The news of the lost battle of Arapiles had not as yet been made public, and the silence of the Madrid journals on the recent events, contributed to keep up a delusion, which for a few days it was undesirable to dispel. On leaving Segovia the King had sent formal commands to Marshal Soult to evacuate Andalusia, and if that order were punctually executed, the Army of the South would be enabled to join that of the Centre for the defence of the Capital, and even to act on the offensive if the English were still in pursuit of the Army of Portugal beyond the Douro.

But all uncertainty was soon at an end, and the movements of the enemy became decisive. On the 8th of August, the troops we had left at the foot of the Sierra de Guadarrama, descried the advanced guard of the Allied Army, and had only just time to fall back, before the numerous battalions of the enemy were poured out on the vast and barren plain extending from the mountains to Madrid. The evacuation of the capital was ordered. Only the posts were left at the gates, and a small detachment at the Retiro, quite unable to defend it.

The 9th of August was occupied with preparations for our departure in the midst of confusion and agitation difficult to describe. All the French, and those among the Spaniards who were compromised and who had more to fear from the vengeance of their own countrymen than from the severity of the victors, hastened to quit the city with their families. Many, without means of transport, or money to procure it, resolved to travel on foot. At daybreak on the 10th of August, a convoy of three hundred conveyances of all sorts, followed by large crowds on foot, assembled at the Toledo Bridge, and escorted by two battalions of infantry took the road to Aranjuez.* The King left Madrid on the same day at the head of a corps of about 18,000 men,† and fixed his headquarters at Legañez, two leagues from the capital, thus keeping to the right of the convoy, so as to cover it and to observe the movements of the enemy. On the following day, the 11th, he removed to Alcorcon, and sent out a strong reconnoitring party to discover the real strength of the enemy. A cavalry engagement, in which we had the advantage, took place between these troops and the enemy. We were opposed by Portuguese cavalry, and English mounted artillery. The latter lost many men, and a few more were taken prisoners.‡ I spoke to one of them, an English captain of artillery. He told me that Wellington was at the head of the army, and on that day was at Torres-Lodrones.§

From what had been seen of the enemy, and from the prisoners' reports, there could be no doubt that the whole Allied Army was present. Retreat therefore became a necessity, and it was decided we should fall back on Valencia. On the morning of the 12th the evacuation of Madrid was accomplished. As our last soldiers marched out, a few shots were fired at the gates of the town. We passed the night at Valdemoro. The enemy did not pursue us. On the 13th of August we crossed the Tagus, and after destroying the bridges in our rear, we came up with the convoy that had left Madrid on the 10th.

On the 12th the English entered the capital and were received as deliverers. The shops that had been closed for several days were again opened ; the inhabitants proclaimed their delight in every way they could think of ; the windows were hung with tapestry and adorned with flowers ; whenever the English officers appeared they were received with acclamations and applause. In the midst of these transports of popular joy, the Constitution given to Spain by the Cortes was solemnly proclaimed, and immediately put into execution. The civil administration of Madrid was confided to officials appointed by the Regency. A new Municipality was installed in office according to constitutional forms, and before entering on its functions proceeded in state to visit the English General who had taken up his residence in the palace of the Kings of Spain, and lavished praise and thanksgiving on the victor of the Arapiles.

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* Among those who accompanied King Joseph in his retreat from Madrid was M. de Mohrenheim, the Russian Chargé d'Affaires. Although war had broken out between Russia and France, he thought himself bound to act on the instructions he had received on setting out for Madrid. He was directed by these to follow the example of the French Ambassador in all cases.

† This corps consisted of the entire Army of the Centre, and of the Royal Guard, both infantry and cavalry.

‡ The engagement took place at Maya-la-Honda, a village three leagues from Madrid, between the high road to the Escurial and that to Talavera. General Treilhard commanded the French.

§ A village two leagues from Madrid, on the road to San Ildefonso.

The deputation reminded him of all his recently acquired claims to glory, and, placing the capital under his powerful protection, implored him to complete his task by restoring to Spain the monarch who was destined to rule constitutionally over a nation rendered worthy, by the sacrifices it had made, of its newly recovered liberty.

Lord Wellington, in reply, promised to maintain order and tranquillity in Madrid ; he congratulated himself on seeing before him a body of magistrates elected according to the Constitution, and who, honoured as they were with the confidence of the public, would be enabled to carry out the laws with impartiality. He protested that he took a personal interest in the cause of Spain, and declared that England would shrink from no sacrifice to ensure the independence and prosperity of the nation.

The Cortes and the Regency were enjoying an unexpected triumph. Their commands were obeyed in Madrid, and their authority recognised in the capital, so long occupied by the enemy, whom they had courageously withstood. But they made an unwise use of the power conferred on them by English troops, and one which diminished the number of their adherents. Unnecessary acts of violence were resorted to against the wives and children of those Spaniards who, having accompanied the Government to which they had attached themselves, had left their families behind them in Madrid, either from a conviction they would be in safety, or from inability to provide for their removal. Individuals of no importance whatever were subjected to inquiries of an odious and often ridiculous nature. By a decree, dated the 21st of September, all Spaniards who had served or were serving King Joseph, were declared ineligible to public functions, and by a law of the 29th of the same month, magistrates were directed to keep a watch over those individuals who, on account of their conduct or their political opinions, were unpopular in the towns or villages in which they dwelt. Lastly, innocent children were ruined, by the confiscation of the property of the absent, while unscrupulous informers and officials were enriched.

While the agents of the Regency were indulging in this violent reaction, Wellington was reposing on his laurels at Madrid. Buen Retiro, where a garrison of 1500 men had been most imprudently left, had been invested on the 13th of August, and had fallen on the following day. The town of Guadalaxara, in which some troops had been forgotten, had surrendered on the 16th. There was not a single Frenchman remaining in the two Castilles, and, apparently, there was nothing to detain the allies. Since Lord Wellington, instead of continuing the pursuit of the Army of Portugal, had decided on marching on Madrid, so as to drive King Joseph from that city, he should, at least, have endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Army Corps which had left the capital, either with the Army of Arragon, which occupied Valencia, or with the Army of the South in Andalusia. This would have been the more easily accomplished, inasmuch as the Madrid Corps was encumbered with a numerous convoy, and marched very slowly. But to our great surprise and delight, Lord Wellington remained nearly three weeks inactive at Madrid, and allowed Joseph to retreat unmolested to Valencia. This mistake, most advantageous for us, entailed very serious consequences on the English, only two months later. The strange inaction of their general lost them all the fruit of their victory at Los Arapiles.

At Ocaña the small Army Corps of Madrid had joined the convoy, which then followed the fine high road leading to Valencia. The King and his troops bore to the right, and marched by cross roads in a parallel line with the convoy, thus protecting its flank and rear. But, after some days, as there was no enemy in sight, this precaution became unnecessary, and our only difficulties were excessive heat during the day, severe cold at night, and a scarcity of food and water. The aspect of the plains of La Mancha, which we had to cross under a burning sun at the hottest season of the year, was desolate in the extreme. The fields, shorn of their golden harvest, were now but a dry desert which seemed to extend illimitably. There were no trees nor any shade for the weary traveller, and it was after a toilsome march of seven days * that the

* The following is the route followed by the troops with the King at their head, and by the convoy under his protection :

August 15. The King at Ocaña, the convoy at Villa-Tobos.
" 16. The King at Lillo, the convoy at Coral d'Almagro.
" 17. The King at El Toboso, the convoy at La Mota de Cuervo.
" 18 and 19. Both at Villa-Robledo.
" 20 and 21. At Roda.
" 22. At Albacete.

convoy and the army arrived at Albacete.* There we met with fresh difficulties. The high road was commanded by the Fortress of Chinchilla, manned by a Spanish garrison. We had neither time nor appliances for besieging it, and the convoy had to make a long round, by almost impassable roads, to escape the range of the enemy's guns. A few volleys were fired at our troops without effect, and they were able to keep pretty continuously to the high road, but the convoy could only regain it at night, and we bivouacked in a little wood, the first we had seen, about a league from Chinchilla. On the following day we reached El Bonete, a little village four leagues from Almanza.

While on our way thither we received news of the Army of Arragon. Marshal Suchet had advanced on the right bank of the Xucar, and had sent forward a detachment to meet us. The hope of speedily effecting a junction with the Army of Arragon sustained us during the most fatiguing day of the whole journey. The village of El Bonete was deserted ; all the wells had been filled up, and the scarcity of water was such, that in the convoy as much as a piastre was given for a bottle of muddy water. We left this horrible place at midnight, and reached Almanza† at 6 A.M. on the 28th of August. The town, which is pretty and well-built, had not been deserted. We found provisions, and a detachment of two hundred horse from the Army of Arragon, so that, from this point, we might consider ourselves in communication with the army, and, consequently, out of danger.

The convoy, with a powerful escort, passed the night at Almanza, but the bulk of the army, and the King and his suite went on at midnight. At a league from the town we began the descent of the Puerto d'Almanza,‡ and descried the fertile valleys of the kingdom of Valencia. The road is a good one, cut through the mountain at great cost. The defile through which it passes is about half a league in length. It would have been easy for a corps of 12,000 or 13,000 men, which had disembarked at Alicante, during our retreat, to have advanced on our right, and barred the passage ; but it would seem that notwithstanding their advantages in attacking us, embarrassed as we were with the enormous convoy in our rear, they did not deem themselves sufficiently strong to venture on placing themselves between us and Marshal Suchet.

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* This is the highest point of the great table-land of La Mancha, whose waters run westward to the Tagus and the Guadiana, and eastward to the Xucar. No point of separation is perceptible, however, and the maps which indicate a chain of mountains between the two watersheds are incorrect. The wells in the town are over sixty feet in depth.

† Almanza, situated at the eastern extremity of the table-land of La Mancha, is famous for Marshal Berwick's victory there on the 15th of April, 1707. The field of battle is to the north of the town. A pyramid has been raised on the spot to commemorate the event.

‡ All the table-land of La Mancha may be considered as the summit of a chain of mountains from 300 to 400 toises above the level of the sea. Thus one must necessarily descend in order to reach the valley in which the kingdom of Valencia is situated. This unusual configuration of the soil sufficiently explains the general aridity of La Mancha, and the scarcity of water, especially in summer.

At the mouth of the pass the country opens, and we advanced along a road shaded by carob-trees. On either side there were vines laden with their ripe grapes, orange-trees covered with fruit and blossom, and groves of lofty palm-trees or vast rice-fields, canal-watered gardens, and numerous inhabited villages. Such was the magnificent landscape before us, from the time of entering this happy valley until our arrival at Valencia. To us it seemed additionally beautiful because of its contrast with the melancholy deserts of La Mancha. Through scenes of continual enchantment we passed successively through Moxente, San Felipe (anciently Xativa*), Alcira and Carcagente, famous for its fine orange-groves, until we reached Valencia on the 31st of August. The King made his entry on the same day amid the shouts of the people. The archbishop and the clergy received him at the gates of the town ; and the magistrates, preceded by the famous Giants,† presented themselves in a body, offering him the keys. Then the whole procession conducted him to the dais prepared for him in the cathedral, where of course a *Te Deum* was chanted. Thus Joseph, conquered, and a fugitive from his capital, so to speak, was again a King at Valencia. But notwithstanding the honours

* Xativa (the *Setabis* of the Romans) was famous by its resistance to the troops of Philip V. The inhabitants buried themselves beneath the ruins of their houses. When the town was rebuilt it was deprived of its ancient name, and was obliged to take that of the conqueror. Xativa was partly built on the hill, San Felipe is entirely on the plain. It is remarkable for the number of its fountains and their abundant supply of water. One of these, at a short distance from the Concentayna Gate, has twenty-five spouts, each spout is two inches in diameter. The style of the fountain is not elegant, but its situation, at the foot of a rock on which only a few cypress-trees grow, is admirable. The lower part is planted with lovely weeping-willows and magnificent palm-trees. To our unaccustomed eyes the scene was equally novel and delightful.

Above the fountain is the following inscription :

La Sed apago al Labrador sediente :
Con mis cristales Setabis florece,
Crece el comercio, la labranza crece ;
Poblacion y cosechas acreciense.

† These figures which are known at Valencia as Los Gigantes are puppets of gigantic size. They are kept at the Hotel de Ville, and are only taken from it on the occasions of the entry of kings, the procession of the patron saint of the town, and on others of a similar kind.

showered upon him, and which might console him for a moment, he was far from recovering his sovereign authority there. Marshal Suchet yielded no part of the administration, and the Emperor was still the real sovereign of the country. The King and all those Spaniards who had accompanied him from Madrid, as well as the French in his service, were looked upon merely as refugees, and little pains were taken to conceal how unwelcome they were. After a few days' repose, the families of the French who had taken service in Spain, whether in the army or the civil service, were, without exception, sent back to France by the Saragossa and Jaca route.* The Spaniards who had accompanied the King, and who did not belong to his household, were dispersed among the neighbouring villages, and were even forbidden to set foot in Valencia. The troops brought by the King were placed in cantonments, and rested from their fatigue, while preparing for the new campaign that was to be opened so soon as the Army of the South should have effected a junction with them.

I have already said that the King, on leaving Segovia, had given positive orders to the Duke of Dalmatia to evacuate Andalusia, and to join the Army of the Centre at the head of all his troops. Toledo had, at first, been named as the spot on which the junction should be effected, as we were still hoping to be able to maintain ourselves in Madrid, until the arrival of the Army of the South. But, the English having forced us to evacuate the capital, further messengers had been despatched to Marshal Soult to inform him of the retreat of the Army of the Centre on Valencia, and to appoint the frontier of that kingdom as the point of junction. The King had no reason to doubt that his commands had reached Seville, and was anxiously waiting to hear they had been executed, when on the 8th of September we learned, in a singular and unexpected way, the effect that had been produced by the King's orders, and the fashion in which they had been interpreted.

A letter written by Marshal Soult, at the end of August 1811, to the Duke of Feltre, the then Minister of War, had been entrusted to the captain of a vessel sailing from Malaga, who had been obliged to put into harbour at Grao.† The captain, unable to proceed farther, had delivered the packet entrusted to him to Marshal Suchet, who handed it to the King. The latter opened it without hesitation, hoping to find some intelligence concerning the advance of the Duke of Dalmatia, from whom he had received no reply. The letter was in cipher, but as it was a cipher known to all the generals of the armies in Spain, it was easily read, and communicated to Marshal Jourdan and the Duke of Albufera.

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* This convoy, which included my wife and daughter, set out on the 10th of September.

† The harbour of Valencia is so called. It is half a league from the city.

The following is an abridgment of the contents.

Marshal Soult began by complaining of the difficulties of correspondence, and the dangers of his position. Then he entered on the subject in hand. "All the accounts," he wrote, "that had reached him of the battle of the Arapiles (Salamanca) appeared to him to be exaggerated; he ventured to think that the disaster was not so grave as it had been represented. He complained that the King had not informed him of his march at the head of 15,000 men to assist the Duke of Ragusa, and that he had only heard of that march on receiving the King's commands to evacuate Andalusia, and advance on Toledo *as the sole remaining means of safety.* He blamed the King's course, and thought he would have done better to wait until the Emperor had ordered the advance of the Spanish Army of the North. He had made propositions to the King,* which had not been accepted; but fearing to incur too great a responsibility if he evaded His Majesty's commands, he intended to obey them, although he looked on the evacuation of Andalusia as a fatal step." Moreover, he accused the King of intending to evacuate Spain at least as far as the Ebro, thereby sacrificing his fairest conquests.

Then the Marshal added that he could not refrain from alluding to other events taking place at the same time.

He had seen in the Cadiz newspapers:

"That the King's ambassador in Russia,† had thrown out some hints of treating with the insurgent Government at Cadiz.

"That Sweden had entered into a treaty with England.

"That two hundred and fifty Spaniards had been sent to form part of the guard of the Hereditary Prince of Sweden (Bernadotte, the King's brother-in-law).

"That an aide-de-camp of Moreau's had arrived at Cadiz."

Lastly, the Duke of Dalmatia informed the Minister, that he had confided his misgivings, with which these various circumstances inspired him, to six generals of his army, under oath to reveal them only on command of the Emperor,‡ for he believed that the aim of all the unwise measures that were being taken was to force all the French troops to re-cross the Ebro.

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* He alludes to his proposal that the King should come to Andalusia and join the Army of the South. The King had declined to do this.

† I never heard that King Joseph had had an ambassador in Russia. There was, I believe, a former chargé d'affaires who remained there. But Russia had an ambassador at Madrid, Baron de Mohrenheim, who accompanied us in our retreat, notwithstanding the war between France and Russia, and I can positively affirm that he was never the medium of any secret transactions that, by command of the Emperor, may have been attempted with the Cortes or the Cadiz regency.

‡ The meeting in question had, in fact, taken place at Seville, at the

He concluded his letter by saying "that he preferred rather to exaggerate his fears than to pass them over, since they referred to subjects so important to the well-being of the Emperor's service."

This letter was a formal accusation of the King. It lent a false colouring to his orders for the evacuation of Andalusia, by connecting them with various extraneous circumstances which might give them a suspicious appearance in the Emperor's mind. It greatly incensed the King, who resolved on forwarding a copy to his brother, together with an explanatory statement of his conduct and motives. The memorandum contained an accurate account of the recent events in Spain, and described the insubordination of the generals and its fatal effects. Colonel Desprez, the King's aide-de-camp, was commissioned to carry the letter and the memoran-

moment of the departure of the army. A person who was present gave me the following particulars. The Marshal, after receiving the oaths of the assembled officers that they would not divulge what he was about to communicate to them, stated that having resolved on obeying the orders he had received to evacuate Andalusia, he thought it right to inform them of the alarm with which those orders had inspired him. He could not conceal that he regarded this proceeding as a kind of treason towards the Emperor, for, by the withdrawal of the Army of the South, perhaps even to the Ebro, which he suspected was intended, the whole of Spain would be placed in the power of the Cortes and the Regency. That no doubt the King had foreseen the consequences of the step, but that he had persisted in it, because it was in fact, in the interests of a prince who was bent, at all costs, on conciliating the Spaniards, and who intended even to place himself in their hands, hoping that they would preserve his crown to him as a reward for delivering them from the French. "For my part," added the Marshal, "being convinced, as a general, that the whole forces of the English could not drive out the Army of the South, and equally convinced, as the faithful subject of the Emperor, that it was to his advantage to retain that wealthy province, I made every possible effort to withstand a decision so contrary to his interests. With this view I even proposed to the King to come into Andalusia, and unite his forces to mine. My efforts were made in vain, and my proposals were declined. It now only remains for me to obey, and I should have done so in silence, if the fears I have just laid before you were the outcome of my own observation only. But they are confirmed by the reports I receive from Cadiz, which speak of negotiations between the King and the Cortes. As these reports may be known to you, I have thought it my duty to inform the Duke of Feltre of the state of affairs, and also to communicate them to the chiefs of the army. I trust this statement will prove to you that in carrying out the reiterated and absolute orders of the commander-in-chief of all the French troops in Spain, I am, at least, neither the instrument of designs which he may have formed as King, nor willing to serve those designs."

This speech is too similar to the letter intercepted at Valencia for any doubt to remain as to the truthfulness of the narrative of my informant, such as I have just given it.

dum to the Emperor, and to make all necessary explanations verbally. No one could be better adapted, by natural ability, by knowledge of the facts, and by sound judgment, to fulfil this delicate task, but he only reached the Emperor at Moscow, where he was already involved in difficulties of all kinds. The interests of Spain were necessarily merged in the crisis, then engrossing all the Emperor's thoughts. Therefore, even if Colonel Desprez obtained a hearing, the impression he produced was soon effaced, and the marks of favour that the Emperor continued to bestow on the Duke of Dalmatia and the Duke of Ragusa, the confidence he never ceased to repose in them, have since proved that the King's complaints were soon forgotten. The importance to the Emperor of the military ability and great experience of the former of the two Marshals may justify his partiality towards him ; and, moreover, an excess of zeal was not displeasing. But that partiality is more difficult to understand in the case of the latter, by whom it was so ill deserved, and so ungratefully requited.

Three days before Colonel Desprez' departure—he set out on the 15th of September—letters arrived from Marshal Soult announcing his determination to carry out the King's commands, and the steps he was taking for the evacuation of Andalusia. Other letters followed, informing us of the march of the Army of the South. On this the King left Valencia on the 22d of September and established himself at Moxcute,* and San-Felipe, in order to be within easier reach of the Duke of Dalmatia. At last, on the 2d of October, we learned that he had arrived with his army at Fuente de Higuera, whither the King proceeded on the 3d, for the purpose of conferring with him. In accordance with resolutions made at the conference, at which Marshal Jourdan was present, the King, as soon as he had returned to San-Felipe, despatched General Lucotte to the Army of Portugal, with orders that it should advance to the Douro ; and cross the river, so as to effect a junction with the Armies of the South and of the Centre. These latter were about to advance towards the Tagus, so as to force the English to evacuate Madrid, and to retreat over the Sierra de Guadarrama, beyond which it was intended to pursue them. According to this plan of campaign, the Army of the South was to take the high road from Valencia to Madrid through Albacete, and the Army of the Centre would take the road from Valencia to Cuença through Requeña ; the two armies were to unite at Ocaña.

These plans being settled, we returned to Valencia, where we remained for some days, preparing for our departure, and waiting for news of Marshal Soult, whose march we were to follow. So soon as we heard that he had begun to move, the headquarters of the Army of the South left Valencia,* on the 16th of October, and proceeded by way of Bunol, Requeña, Villagordo, the Bridge of Pagaso, by which we crossed the Cabriel,† Pesquera, Almodovar de la Peña and Solara. During our progress, and before reaching Cuença, where we arrived on the 23d of October, we were joined by General Begarré returning from Paris, whither he had been sent by the King. He brought us bulletins from the Grand Army, containing details of the battle of the Moskowa, of the Emperor's entry into Moscow, and, lastly, of the terrible destruction of the ancient capital of Russia by fire. These accounts were received by our army as good news of victories, which, although dearly bought, would add to the lustre of our arms. We were far indeed from foreseeing their fatal consequences.

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* Situated at the extremity of the kingdom of Valencia.

The army, after two days' rest at Cuença,‡ marched on the 26th of October for Tarançon, where we arrived on the 27th. On the 28th we reached Ocaña, where we found the Duke of Dalmatia, and the Army of the South. His advanced guard had already crossed the Tagus at Aranjuez.

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* During a six weeks' stay in the kingdom of Valencia, I made several very pleasant excursions. I visited the environs of the town, and went to Murviedro, anciently Sagonte, where I saw the remains of an ancient Roman theatre. I saw the magnificent gardens of the Archbishop of Valencia's country house at Puzol, where the rarest plants are grown in the open air. I also examined the fine reservoirs constructed by the Moors, the water from which irrigates the valley, where they maintain a perpetual verdure and great fertility. But it would take too long to relate all my excursions. Besides, every kind of information concerning the kingdom of Valencia may be found in Cavanilles' work entitled 'Observaciones sobre la historia naturale, geografia, agricultura, poblacion y frusos del reyno de Valencia,' printed at the Royal Printing House at Madrid in 1795, in two vols. in folio. As for the town of Valencia itself—its monuments and its Alameda, formerly so famous for the splendid palm-trees that were destroyed during the siege, have been described by every traveller.

† This river rises in the mountain of San-Felipe, not far from Cuença, and empties itself on the borders of the kingdom of Valencia into the Xucar, whose source is in the same mountain.

‡ Cuença, the chief town of the province of the same name, is built on the site of a very steep hill, and backed by two high mountains. The general appearance of the site has some resemblance to a shell, whence the town is called Cuença (*concha*). The Guecar, which falls into the Xucar, runs below the town through a deep ravine, spanned by a boldly-designed bridge, which is said to have been built from the design of a canon of Cuença. The cathedral, which is very ancient, is of Gothic architecture. Near the high altar is an inscription in Gothic letters, giving the date at which Cuença passed under the rule of the kings of Castille.

El Rey don Alonzo IX.
Ganò a Cuenço, et Miercoles,
Dia de San Mateo, XXI de Septiembre,
Año de Nuestro Señor MCLXXVII.

Before narrating the military movements which ensued, I must give some account of what was going on in the meantime, among the English and their allies.

Wellington having remained inactive at Madrid, during the retreat of the French, prolonged his stay in the capital until the 1st of September. He then put himself at the head of the Allied Army in the neighbourhood of Arevalo, having General Hill's Corps in his rear. This corps had withdrawn from Estremadura, after Marshal Soult's evacuation of Andalusia, and was occupying the passage of the Tagus between Toledo and Aranjuez.

Wellington left Arevalo on the 4th of September, crossed the Douro on the 6th, and entered Valladolid, pursuing the retreating Army of Portugal beyond the Pisuerga. On the 17th, the Allied Army, which had been joined on the preceding day by three divisions of infantry and a corps of Galician cavalry under General Castanos, appeared before Burgos, and obliged the French army to evacuate the town and withdraw to Monasterio de Rodilla et Brivierca, leaving a garrison of 1500 men in the citadel of Burgos.*

This long-abandoned fortress had been hastily repaired, and surrounded by earth-works, which formed a kind of entrenched camp around the walls. The works, which were very insufficient, were not even finished when the enemy appeared. But an intrepid soldiery, and their courageous, skilful and honourable commandant, General Dubreton, converted these slight defences into an impregnable fort, and all the endeavours of the allies failed before their splendid and unexpected defence. In a word, this fortress—if we may so call the Citadel of Burgos—which seemed unable to hold out more than a few days, arrested the march and foiled the plans of a victorious army. Lord Wellington, who understood all the importance of the place, neglected no means of securing it, and was prodigal of the blood of the soldiers—of which English generals are generally so sparing—in numberless attacks and assaults. But they were driven back on all sides, and lost, by their own reckoning, more than 4000 men in the breaches and at the palisades.

While the English army was making these fruitless efforts, and while its chief was perhaps beginning to appreciate the value of the time he had lost in Madrid, the French were preparing to advance. Marshal Massena, who, in the absence of the Emperor, had been appointed by the Duke of Feltre to supersede Marshal Marmont in the command of the Army of Portugal, was on his way to Bayonne, and was hastening the arrival of the reinforcements intended for him. He did not, however, take command of the army, but, after a short stay at Bayonne, returned to Paris on the plea of ill-health. His departure caused no delay in our operations, and the army had scarcely passed under the provisional command of General Souham, the oldest of the Generals of Division, than he heard of the advance of the King and Marshal Soult, and immediately resumed the offensive.

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* It was about this time that Wellington was appointed by the Cortes Generalissimo of the Spanish armies.

In consequence of the movements of the French, Lord Wellington found himself between two armies, advancing upon him from opposite directions. He was much stronger than either of them taken separately, and might, therefore, defeat each singly. The Army of Portugal having left the banks of the Ebro, appeared in the neighbourhood of Burgos on the 10th of October.

At this time the King was still at a distance of more than ten days' march from the Tagus. The English had therefore ample time to defeat him, and drive the Army of Portugal back to the Ebro. The Citadel of Burgos, notwithstanding its brave defence, could not make a permanent resistance, and nothing would then prevent the allies from marching on the Tagus, and there defeating the troops from Valencia and Andalusia. But this, the most dashing and decisive step, was also the most hazardous, and could not be combined with Lord Wellington's methodical and cautious strategy. The siege of Burgos was therefore raised at nightfall on the 21st of October, after an investment of thirty-five days, and the Allied Army fell back successively on the Carrion, the Pisuerga, and, finally, on the 29th of October, behind the Douro as far as Salamanca, where a junction was effected with General Hill, who on our approach had evacuated Madrid and retired over the Sierra de Guadarrama.*

On the 31st of October, the advanced guards of the united armies of the South and the Centre crossed the Tagus at Aranjuez, and on the 2d of November the King re-entered Madrid. A new and hastily-formed municipal body received him, and, in a greatly embarrassed speech, endeavoured to excuse the inhabitants, by pleading the disasters of the times, and entreated the royal clemency. Nor was that clemency asked in vain ; no severity was exercised, and no informers were listened to. The King, however, only remained one day at Madrid, and set out again on the 4th of November. We crossed the Guadarrama on the same night, and on the 6th we reached Arevalo, where we received the first direct intelligence from the Army of Portugal, whose advance had been delayed by the necessity of reconstructing the bridges destroyed by the English in their retreat.

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* As they retreated, the English soldiery devastated the country through which they passed, and whose defence they relinquished. Their excesses were so great that Lord Wellington, in a proclamation addressed to his army (see 'Annual Register,' 1812, p. 158), "reproached it with a want of discipline exceeding anything he had ever seen in the armies in which he had served, and even anything he had ever heard of." I do not quote these words of the English general in order to justify similar conduct on the part of the French in the same country, but only to prove that the English had no right to reproach them with it.

From Arevalo, where we remained a day, waiting for the advance of the Army of Portugal, the King proceeded to Peña-Aranda, where the junction of the three Armies of the South, of Portugal, and of the Centre was effected. The latter, which, according to first arrangements, was to remain and defend the capital, had been ordered to leave Madrid, so as to collect all our available forces in one spot, and increase our chances of success if, as was hoped, we could draw the English into a general engagement.*

Thus, on the 10th of November, the King found himself at the head of nearly 100,000 men on the right bank of the Tormes. But these 100,000 men were unequally divided among the three armies. That of the South numbered 60,000 men. The Army of Portugal 25,000, and the Army of the Centre only 12,000. The latter had been long under the personal command of the King, but as the command-in-chief had devolved upon him, he considered that he should retain no other, and handed over the command of the Army of the Centre to Marshal Soult, who was thus at the head of two armies. That of Portugal had, since it left Burgos, been under General Souham ; he gave the command of it to Count d'Erlon, who had hitherto served in the Army of the South. The King hoped that there would be a better understanding, and greater unanimity, between d'Erlon and the Duke of Dalmatia, than there had been between the Duke and General Souham, but the latter felt the slight keenly on the eve of an expected battle. On the other hand, Marshal Soult, in open opposition to the King for the last six months, and perfectly well aware that he owed the mark of confidence, just bestowed on him, only to the necessity for his talents and his influence with the troops, was not greatly disposed to act as the instrument of another's glory.

These arrangements, whether well or ill-conceived, were carried out, and preparations were made to attack the English. We learned that they had taken up a position on the left bank of the Tormes on the plain of the Arapiles, where Marshal Marmont had been defeated five months previously. On the right bank they had left a corps occupying Alba de Tormes. We had at first debated whether we should cross the river at Alba itself, forcing our passage in the face of the English, but this plan, proposed by Marshal Jourdan, was rejected as being too hazardous, and we resolved on turning the enemy's position by crossing the Tormes four or five leagues above Salamanca, so as to fall on the rear of the English. The King left Peña-Aranda on the 13th of November and passed the night at Val de Carros. On the same day the Duke of Dalmatia, advancing along the banks of the Tormes, came opposite La Maya, and on the 14th, at the head of the Armies of the South and of the Centre, effected the passage of the river. Meanwhile Count d'Erlon was moving upon the latter town, which the English abandoned on his approach, so as to cross to the left bank of the Tormes. The Royal Guard and the Reserve, with which I had placed myself, followed the movements of the King, and we crossed the river at noon opposite Galisancho. We bivouacked for the night behind Mozarbès in a wood of green oaks of that kind whose acorns are edible (*Quercus edulis*). They served partly for our soldiers' rations. The King's headquarters were at the Montehano Farm, a league from Mozarbès. During the evening active fire was kept up by the enemy on our reconnoitring parties, but no serious engagement ensued.

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* Madrid having been completely evacuated, the Army of the Centre was followed by a crowd of persons of both sexes, who dared not remain in the city after the departure of the French.

On the 15th of November, in the morning, the armies were face to face. Never, since the opening of the war in Spain, had more numerous forces appeared on the same battle-field. The Allied Army numbered 90,000 men,[*] and the French, as we have already seen, 97,000. We were therefore superior to our enemy in strength, especially in cavalry. Early in the morning, the King left the Montehano Farm, and advanced towards the Hermitage of Nuestra-Señora de Utera. Great events were expected, but that day, on which a general and decisive engagement seemed imminent, was passed by the French in manœuvres and partial movements that led to nothing. It was thought best to delay our attack until the troops of the Army of Portugal, who had not been able to cross the river at Alba until very late on the preceding day, should have arrived on the field, and they only came up at noon.

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[*] The following, according to an official statement made to me at Salamanca, is a list of the troops under Lord Wellington's command :

English	22 to 23,000 men.
Portuguese	18 ,, 20,000 ,,
Galicians, brought by Castaños	9 ,, 10,000 ,,
General Hill's corps	20 ,, 21,000 ,,
Spanish	17 ,, 18,000 ,,
Total	86 to 92,000 men.

The Duke of Dalmatia then made a flank movement on his left with all his forces, with the intention of cutting off the road from Salamanca to Ciudad-Rodrigo ; but this movement was begun too late to be successful. The morning had been passed in fortifying the heights occupied by the French, which the English made a feint of attacking, to mask their retreat. Precious time was wasted, the opportunity was allowed to pass by, and Lord Wellington, who had only intended to avoid a battle, drew off his numerous army in the direction of Tamanés,* in the face of the French, who offered no obstacle. Heavy rain, falling all day, was in favour of his retreat. The allies took advantage of the night to quicken their march. They were followed for some days by Marshal Soult, but he soon gave up the useless pursuit. Finally, the enemy fell back altogether on the frontiers of Portugal. They had, however, lost a considerable number of prisoners taken by the French on the rear of the Allied Army, and had sustained great losses in baggage and transport trains owing to the bad state of the roads.

Count d'Erlon entered Salamanca at the head of the Army of Portugal, on the evening of the 15th of November, and on the next day the King fixed his headquarters in that city. Thus ended the campaign so long prepared, so well conducted, until the critical moment, and from which so different a result had been expected. "Was this," we asked each other, "all that the collecting together of such forces was to produce? How did the Allied Armies, whom we had almost surprised in an unfavourable position, contrive to escape us? How was it that the French, after crossing the Tormes, did not instantly occupy the road from Salamanca to Tamanés so as to cut off the retreat of the English? How was it that we did not attack on the morning of the 15th, without waiting for the arrival of the Army of Portugal? Why did not Marshal Soult and his troops commence and sustain the battle, until Count d'Erlon had come up with his columns, which were only a league and a half from the field? Was it timidity, uncertainty, or want of good will that delayed the attack?" Such were the questions that occurred to every one after the events of the 15th of November. What had become of the activity and the boldness of our troops? What spell had been laid upon them? It was melancholy to think that personal resentment, and fatal misunderstandings, had probably robbed the French of the glory of avenging a recent defeat on the very spot on which they had incurred it, and yet we were almost forced to this conclusion. Our army was numerous, the enemy inferior in strength ; our chiefs were able and experienced, our soldiers willing. How could victory have been doubtful, if the will to conquer had equalled the means?

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* Situated half way between Salamanca and Ciudad-Rodrigo.

We remained but a few days at Salamanca. So soon as we knew for certain that the Allied Army had crossed the Agueda, re-entered Portugal, and once more left Spain to her fate, the King began to think of returning to Madrid, and cantonments were assigned to the three armies.

The Army of the South was ordered to occupy the provinces of Avila, Plascencia, and part of Toledo and La Mancha. Headquarters at Toledo.

The Army of Portugal was to occupy the provinces of Salamanca, Zamora, Valladolid and Burgos, as far as the boundaries of the Army of the North. Headquarters at Valladolid.

The Army of the Centre was to occupy the provinces of Segovia, Guadalaxara, Madrid, Cuença and those parts of the provinces of Toledo and La Mancha not occupied by the Army of the South. Headquarters at Madrid.

These arrangements once made, there was nothing to detain the King at Salamanca.* He left that city on the 23d of November, in extremely cold weather, quite unprecedented in Spain at that season of the year.† We passed through Peña-Aranda, Madrigal,‡ Arevalo, where we stayed three days, and Villa-Castin, and after crossing the Puerto de Guadarrama on the 2d [*] of December we arrived the same evening at Madrid. After the departure of the Army of the Centre, the guerilla chief l'Empecinado had occupied the town ; but he left it on the approach of the troops that preceded us.

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* The city of Salamanca, which I had sufficient leisure to explore thoroughly, contains many fine buildings. The cathedral, the Jesuits' College, and the University are the most remarkable. Above the entrance gate of the University is the following inscription, dating from the days of Ferdinand and Isabella:

ΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ ΤΗ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΟΠΕΔΕΙΑ.
ΑΥΤΗ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣΙ.

The Plaza Mayor is very handsome. It is surrounded with porticos, above which are three-storied houses of fair architecture. Over the spring of the arches is a series of stone medallions containing portraits of the kings of Spain and of the great men of the nation. Among the latter are those of the Cid, Gonzalez de Cordova, Cristoval Colon (Columbus), Francisco Pizarro, Fernando de Toledo, Antonio de Leyva, and others. A great number of ancient buildings had been greatly injured by the construction of the Duke of Ragusa's fort on the Tormes, at the end of the bridge leading to the town. This part of the town was a heap of ruins.

† Before leaving Salamanca, the King sent General Bigarré to Paris, with a memorandum to the Emperor dated the 21st of November, recounting recent events. In this memorandum he pointed out the mistakes into which Marshal Soult had fallen, at the time of the proposed attack on the English at the Arapiles on the 14th, mistakes which saved them from utter defeat. He added that Marshal Jourdan had advised the crossing of the Tormes at Alba, *in the face of the enemy.*

‡ The little town of Madrigal was formerly the abode of the kings of Castille, but it retains no traces of its ancient splendour. It is the birth-

For the third time,[†] after being alternately obliged to leave Madrid, and then enabled through the chances of war to return thither, we were entering the capital, but it was for no long stay ; we were destined soon to leave Madrid for ever.

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place of the famous impostor Pasteleca, who pretended to be Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, who was killed in Africa in battle with the Moors.

[*] We suffered greatly from cold on the mountain, without meeting, however, with any serious accident. But a few days after our passage, some troops from Segovia, under Count d'Erlon, were surprised on the Puerto de Guadarrama by a sudden storm and lost nearly a hundred men.

[†] Once in 1808, and twice in 1812.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Painful impression made on the French in Madrid by the accounts received of the Grand Army in Russia—Results of those disasters on Spanish affairs—The Army of the South is concentrated on the Douro—The King, accompanied by his guard, removes to Valladolid—The forces under the King's command are reduced by more than one third, owing to the recall of a great number of subalterns and veteran soldiers to France, and to the detachment of a corps commanded by General Clausel, to act against Mina—Lord Wellington appointed generalissimo of all the Spanish armies by the Cortes—Evacuation of Madrid—The English general commences his operations at the head of 100,000 men, and arrives on the Tormes on the 26th of May—The French fall back on Burgos, and are pursued by the enemy—The King orders the citadel of Burgos to be blown up, a considerable number of French soldiers losing their lives by the explosion—The King's army reaches the passes of Pancorvo on the 15th of June—Dissension in the King's council of war as to whether we shall or shall not defend the defiles—The French fall back on the Ebro—The English having crossed the river, the French take to flight, and take up a position on the Zadora, before Vittoria, on the 19th of June—The opportunity of retreating to the Salinos Pass behind Vittoria having been missed, the King is obliged to meet the enemy—Position of the army on the morning of the 21st—The battle commences, and the French, after an obstinate resistance, are forced from their first, and shortly afterwards from their second position—The high road to France being held by the enemy, we retreat towards Salvatierra—The English hussars turn our retreat into a rout, and we reach Salvatierra in the evening—We continue to retreat, the Army of Portugal forming our rear-guard—The King, with the Armies of the South and Centre, reaches Pampeluna on the 23d—Having rejoined the Army of Portugal, he crosses the Bidassoa on the 28th of June, and fixes his headquarters at St. Jean de Luz—The Author is ordered on a mission to the Emperor in Germany, and sets out for Vichy, where he intends to see Queen Julia on his way through—The Queen persuades him not to persist in his journey to Dresden, and retracing his steps he joins the King near Bayonne—Joseph establishes himself with his suite at the Chateau de Poyanne, but at the expiration of a week receives permission to reside at Morfontaine, where he arrives with the Author on the 30th of July, 1813.

Scarcely had we returned to Madrid after the fruitless campaign of Salamanca, when news from Paris filled us with alarm and anxiety. The bulletins from the Grand Army in Russia announced that it was in full retreat, and although we could not as yet divine the disasters of that fatal retreat, the style of the bulletins was so far from reassuring, that those among us who felt the greatest confidence in the ability and genius of the Emperor began to feel alarmed. On the other hand, the events that had taken place during the Emperor's absence: General Mallet's conspiracy, which had brought the political existence of the Government within an ace of ruin, the absurd conduct of the persons in authority during the momentary crisis, and the unusual procedure by which the General and his accomplices had been condemned, seemed to announce a state of weakness and internal convulsion, which our reverses abroad made still more dangerous and formidable. Finally, the comments of the French gazettes on the military operations that had taken place in Spain within the last three months, were all written in a spirit adverse to the King. In their accounts of the movements of our armies they preserved a studied silence in his regard, while the highest praise was lavished on the Duke of Dalmatia, thereby proving that the King's complaints of his conduct had received no attention.

In this state of disquiet, in this painful expectation of a gloomy future, the last days of 1812 passed slowly away. Madrid was dull, the palace was deserted; discouragement and discontent were evident everywhere. Marshal Jourdan was invalided, and had handed over his command to General d'Aultannes; discipline was becoming more and more lax. The King's temper, embittered by so many causes, was greatly altered; the difficulties into which his private affairs were thrown by the exhaustion of his finances, forced him to steps, which as they interfered with the interests of numerous persons, daily diminished the number of his adherents. In order to set him free to adopt more economical arrangements, I gave up, of my own accord, the post of superintendent-general of the household, which I had hitherto filled. I was therefore without any administrative duties; and I remained with him from motives of friendship and affection only.

The year 1813 opened under these melancholy auspices, and in a very short time the particulars conveyed by the celebrated Bulletin No. 29, and which were circulated in Spain even before we had received them,* dispelled all doubt as to the disasters of our army in Russia. They were moreover confirmed, and if possible aggravated, by a letter from Colonel Desprez, who, on returning from Moscow, wrote to the King that "imagination could not reach to the reality of our reverses," that, in one word, "*the army was dead.*"

When the first shock produced by this terrible ending to a gigantic enterprise had partially worn off, we asked ourselves what would be its effect on our situation in Spain. It was evident, to begin with, that we could no longer look for help from France, and next, that the enemy, daily strengthened by fresh reinforcements, would hasten to profit by so favourable an opportunity of attacking us. It was useless to think of defending the Tagus or of retaining possession of the capital, and it was urgent to hasten the concentration of our forces on the Douro, to prevent the enemy from crossing, if possible. But notwithstanding the urgent necessity of coming to a decision, we remained in suspense, awaiting the Emperor's commands. He was already beginning to recall all the flower of the Army from Spain, to recruit the Imperial Guard. Whole cadres of regiments were being sent off, to be filled up by the extraordinary conscription then being raised in France. At the same time also, he was summoning the generals on whom he believed most reliance could be placed, or whose ability was known to and needed by him. The Duke of Dalmatia was among the number. He passed through Madrid on the 2d of March, taking with him a large number of wagons, laden with valuables which he had brought from Andalusia. After seeing the King for a moment, he continued his journey to Paris. Nothing could be less like disgrace than his manner of progress, and in fact, it was not in disgrace that he was recalled from Spain.

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* The bulletin only reached us at Madrid on the 16th of January, although on the 31st of December it had been received at Vittoria and Burgos, whence it had spread into Portugal and to Cadiz.

The Emperor's orders having at length reached us, the troops belonging to the Army of the South, which since the departure of Marshal Soult had been commanded by General Gazan, began to be massed, early in March, on both banks of the Douro, one division remaining as an advanced guard at Salamanca. The King resolved on removing to Valladolid, the headquarters of the Army of Portugal under General Reille. He left Madrid on the 17th of March attended by his Guard; but the Army of the Centre remained in the capital and its environs, under Count d'Erlon, who had assumed the command when he gave up that of the Army of Portugal. We had thus, as the reader sees, pretty well abandoned the whole country lying between the Tagus and the Douro. On the former we retained only the post of Aranjuez, garrisoned by the Army of the Centre, and even this was to be evacuated so soon as the army, which was only provisionally occupying Madrid should have withdrawn, to join those of the South and of Portugal, if the enemy's movements rendered the junction of all our forces necessary.

The French were therefore remaining on the defensive; but their strength was ever being lessened by the numerous detachments the Emperor continued to draw from Spain, to reinforce his northern armies and especially to form a nucleus for the new regiments he was raising in France. Those, therefore, which remained in Spain were not only numerically weakened, but injured by the removal of non-commissioned officers and veteran soldiers. The forces at our disposal to oppose the enemy, were yet further reduced by direct orders from the Emperor in view of a special object. He gave General Clausel the command of an independent corps of 10,000 men, drawn from the Armies of the North and Portugal, with orders to place himself at their head, in pursuit of Mina, who at that time was ravaging Navarre and Biscay, levying taxes, and almost absolute master of those two provinces.* From all the above causes, the three armies of the South, the Centre, and Portugal, which, as I have already said, formed a total of nearly 100,000 soldiers, were reduced in the month of May to 55,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry under the immediate command of the King, Marshal Jourdan being his Major-General.

During the early part of 1813, the English, who had returned to Portugal after their retreat from Salamanca, made no movement, and as we were not able to act on the offensive, our stay at Valladolid, where the King arrived on the 23d of March, lasted over two months. During that time Joseph again entertained some delusive hopes, to which the inaction of the enemy contributed. They arose thus: From intelligence we received from Cadiz, we learned that Lord Wellington had arrived in that town; that the Cortes and the Regency had conferred upon him the command-in-chief of all the Spanish armies and the title of Generalissimo; that this had offended the Spanish generals; that among others, Ballesteros, who possessed great influence over the troops, had refused to recognize the authority of the English Generalissimo, and that the Government had been under the necessity of dismissing and even exiling Ballesteros. While these internal dissensions were breaking out at Cadiz, several guerilla corps stationed in La Mancha, dissatisfied by the treatment shown to Ballesteros, had hinted that they would be disposed to come to terms with the King's Government, if certain advantages were promised them. On hearing this, General Virnès, the King's aide-de-camp, had been sent to treat with them. But the hopes that had been too easily entertained were soon dispelled.† Lord Wellington had returned to the army after a temporary absence, and in the middle of May he commenced operations. At the first report of his movements, the evacuation of Madrid was resolved on, and the Army of the Centre received orders to quit the capital and its environs, and join the headquarters of the King at Valladolid. A convoy was also despatched to France, consisting of the sick, of convalescents, and of many persons attached to the government or to the army, whose presence would have added to our difficulties in the approaching campaign. Among them was Count de Laforet. We saw him depart without regret ; he had contributed in no small degree to augment the difficulties of our position, by the ignorance in which he had left the Emperor respecting the real condition of Spain.

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* General Clausel left Vittoria at the head of the corps on the 11th of April, 1813, and was victorious wherever he met with the enemy, but he had not time to complete his task.

† General Virnès got no farther than Madrid: the movements of the enemy hindered him from advancing farther.

The Allied Army under Lord Wellington reached the Tormes on the 26th of May, and entered Salamanca on the same day. General Villate's Corps left the city after sustaining some loss. Lord Wellington's forces consisted of the English troops, of a Portuguese corps, and of the Fourth Corps of the Spanish army. They were estimated at 100,000 men.

On the 28th of May, the news of the advance of this immense army between the Tormes and the Douro reached Valladolid, and we made all preparations for departure. But the Army of the Centre had not yet joined us, and we could not begin our march without it, nor without the numerous convoy of French and Spaniards who were leaving Madrid, and who would have certainly perished, had we forsaken them. They joined us at last on the 1st of June, and our march was fixed for the following day.

At three o'clock in the morning, the convoy from Madrid, and another that had assembled at Valladolid, crossed the Pisuerga, and the army followed in the course of the day. The King and his immediate suite set out at 4 P.M. and the bridge was destroyed after the rear-guard had passed. The entire army advanced towards Burgos and reached the Arlanza on the 9th of June. The enemy, who had crossed the Douro and the Pisuerga in pursuit, began to press on us. We, nevertheless, halted three days at Burgos, partly in order that the convoy which impeded our march should get clear of us and advance on the road to Vittoria, and partly to reconnoitre certain positions in which we had at first thought of awaiting the enemy, and trying our chance in a battle. But the manœuvres of the English, who, by bearing on our right flank seemed to seek rather to turn our positions than to attack us, and still more the indecision caused by diversity of opinion among our generals as to the course we ought to pursue, made the King resolve on crossing the Arlanza, and on evacuating Burgos without resistance.* He therefore left the city on the morning of the 13th of June, after giving orders to blow up the fort, whose memorable defence had stayed the advance of the English in the preceding year, but which had neither been repaired nor even kept up since then. The explosion was terrible, and fatal to the troops which were in the act of passing through the town. From 150 to 200 French soldiers were killed or wounded by the bursting of shells that had been buried inside the fort, to make up for the insufficiency of the mining, which there had not been time to carry out completely. The device succeeded, but cost its promoters dear. Some houses in the town were injured, but none of the inhabitants were hurt, the streets being empty when the explosion took place, at six A.M.

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* A slight engagement only took place on the evening of the 12th of June, at Buniel Bridge, two leagues south of Burgos, after a reconnaissance of the spot by the enemy.

We continued to retreat for three days, through Villa-del-Peon, Briviesca and Pancorvo, where we arrived on the 15th of June, without being disturbed by the enemy who were taking another road through Santivanes.

From the time of our leaving Valladolid until our arrival at Pancorvo, there had been great division in the King's Council. Some few, such as Count Gazan and Count d'Erlon, were openly in favour of waiting for the enemy as the more honourable course. The King was easily won over to their opinion, for he dreaded to be accused of avoiding a battle, and would willingly have adopted the more hazardous alternative, so that he might avoid any appearance of weakness. We halted at Burgos, but the idea of holding the place was soon given up. When we reached the defiles of Pancorvo, similar irresolution was manifested. Those who had advised fighting at Burgos, advised it now in these passes, where they considered the advantage of the ground would more than compensate for our numerical inferiority.* They urged that Wellington would never entangle himself in mountain passes beyond the Ebro; that at most he would send forward a few corps of Spanish troops; and would himself remain stationary with his best troops. They went so far as to say that perhaps he would cross the Ebro with his army for money, but for nothing less. Those Generals who were of an opposite opinion, with Marshal Jourdan at their head, persisted that the enemy would, on the contrary, never dream of attacking us in such a formidable position; that he would indubitably cross the Ebro above Miranda, and that if we loitered at Pancorvo, we should give him time to take possession of the high road to Vittoria, and consequently of our line of communication with France. "In short," said Marshal Jourdan, "if we are to fight, it should only be in such a position as to maintain our communications with France and the possibility of our retreat thither."

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* The Pancorvo Pass is situated on the borders of Old Castille, about two leagues to the south of Miranda da Ebro. It lies between two steep mountains for the space of half a league; a stream runs at the bottom. The summit of the mountain to the left of the stream is occupied by the impregnable fortress of Santa-Maria-en-Gracia. We left a small garrison, which, wanting provisions and unable to obtain help, surrendered shortly after the battle of Vittoria.

We left Pancorvo and its passes, inefficient barriers, for they could be easily turned, and we fell back on the Ebro. The Army of the South, forming our rear-guard, remained on the road from Pancorvo to Vittoria; the Army of the Centre occupied Haro, and the Army of Portugal, Puente-Laza and Espejo, to observe the enemy and the forces he might throw across the Ebro. We took up these various positions on the 15th and 16th of June, and thus the whole French army was occupying the Ebro, from Espejo on its right extremity, to Haro on its extreme left, a distance of about eight leagues along the banks of the Ebro. The King fixed his headquarters at Miranda da Ebro. Fresh reverses had recalled him to the same town where I had joined him five years before, after the lost battle of Baylen, and the consequent evacuation of Madrid. But the danger was more pressing now than in 1808, and our resources were not so great.

During our march towards the Ebro, the hostile forces, continuing their movement on our right, crossed the river on the 14th and 15th of June by the bridges at St. Martin and Rocamunda. Then, coming down by the left bank, they advanced on Espejo, whence the Army of Portugal, too weak for resistance, was obliged to withdraw with loss. This attack, made by three English divisions, and which showed that the whole of the hostile army had crossed the Ebro, made us hastily abandon both banks of the river, fearing that we should be cut off from the high road from Miranda to Vittoria. Orders were issued for the whole army to assemble at Puebla de Arlanzon.* After crossing the Zadora,† our troops took up their position on the evening of the 19th of June, on the heights commanding the river, about a league in advance of Vittoria, on either side of the high road, the greater proportion being however on the right.‡ The King passed the night at Vittoria.

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* A village half way between Miranda and Vittoria, having a bridge over the Zadora.

† This small river runs in the environs of Vittoria, afterwards watering a very narrow valley near Puebla de Arlanzon, and falls into the Ebro below Arce-Mira-Perez. It is fordable in very many places, especially in summer.

‡ This difficult manœuvre had been ably effected by Marshal Jourdan. In one day, the whole army, which extended, as has been seen, over eight leagues of country, had to be collected together, in the face of an

When taking up these positions, we had not yet made up our mind to await and encounter the enemy. Many of the King's advisers recommended the evacuation of Vittoria and an advance in the rear of the town to the pass of Salinas, an excellent position that could not be turned, and in which we could either decline the combat or engage with the enemy as we chose. These persons represented to the King that the army now under his command had become, after our reverses in the North, the hope of France; that a lost battle would open our most defenceless frontier, and expose a rich country, which having for more than a century believed itself safe from any foreign invasion, was incapable of repelling that with which it would be threatened; lastly, that the consequences of a defeat, which would point out to our enemies a new road to the heart of our country, were incalculable.

To this it was replied, by arguments based on one consideration only, that the army would be dishonoured by leaving Spain without having encountered the enemy, and that the Emperor would never forgive us for abandoning his conquest without having defended it to the last extremity. It was added that to leave Vittoria was to betray General Clausel, who had been ordered to fall back on Vittoria, and whose corps, no longer finding the army under the walls of the town, would be endangered and perhaps destroyed.* But those who made use of this argument, the only one of any weight, did not reflect that the enemy would certainly not delay their attack while we waited for General Clausel's return, and that in the event of our defeat, his corps would incur greater danger than by our retreat.

Nevertheless, a great number of our generals were in favour of not abandoning Spain without fighting for it. All our young officers were of the same opinion, and sarcasms and jests were showered on the prudence of the opposing party; prudence which was called by another name.

In order to silence opposition of this kind, a great and recog-

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enemy whose superior forces might reach the road from Peubla de Arlanzon to Vittoria before us. The movement was perfectly successful; a corps belonging to the Army of Portugal was detached on our left, and followed a parallel route through the mountains to that taken by the bulk of the army, and during the whole day, the 19th of June, prevented the enemy from approaching the high road.

* It has already been seen that the corps in question, consisting of 10,000 men, had been despatched against Mina by direct command of the Emperor. It was then in Navarre at two days' march from Vittoria, and only appeared in the neighbourhood of the town on the 22d of June, the day after the battle. So soon as General Clausel heard of the defeat, he fell back hastily on the Guardia and on Tudela da Ebro, and contrived to join the army of Aragon, with which he subsequently returned to France.

nized authority was needed at headquarters. I have already explained how and why Marshal Jourdan lacked such authority, although his ability, experience, and personal courage were uncontested. The King lacked it still more. Thus, strange to say, nothing was decided, and we prepared neither for battle nor for retreat.

The 20th of June was passed in irresolution and inaction. Marshal Jourdan, ill and angry, kept his room ; and the King was equally invisible. The convoy which had left Burgos before we did, and had reached Vittoria on the 18th, was still there, having been detained on various pretexts ;* the town was crowded with carriages and vehicles of all sorts. A train of heavy artillery, useless in a skirmish, encumbered the outskirts, and blocked up the road to France, which, in the event of a reverse, would have been needed for our retreat. No measures had been taken to provide for our retreat by Salvatierra and Pampeluna, in case the former road were cut off by the enemy. No new dispositions were made, no orders issued which could lead us to foresee the events of the following day ; and this silence and inaction led for a moment to the supposition that the enemy's march had been postponed, and that we were in a state of security.

During the afternoon, however, the general confidence began to be shaken. Towards five o'clock, the troops posted in advance on the road from Vittoria to Bilboa were attacked ; the enemy therefore seemed already to have thrown himself on the rear of our principal position. But the firing, which had been pretty sharp, ceased at nightfall, and a report was spread that we had been engaged only with a party of guerillas commanded by Longa. Nobody, however, believed this, and the unexpected attack made us fear a more serious one for the ensuing day. The proposed retreat was again debated, but it was now too late. Neither the convoy nor the train of artillery had, as yet, set out, and there would have been extreme danger in undertaking a night-march in the face of the enemy along a road encumbered with wagons and vehicles of all kinds. The opportunity had been missed. We tried to persuade ourselves that General Clausel would effect his junction before the Allied Army had taken up its position : there was nothing more to be done. The convoy at last set out at 2 A.M., but the artillery train had to remain where it was for want of horses.

The King left Vittoria at 4 A.M. on the 21st of June, with Marshal Jourdan and his staff. I started an hour later and overtook him at about two miles from the town, to the right of the Miranda road, on a mamelon in the rear of our positions. He remained there an hour, and then advanced about half a mile farther, still to the right of the road, to another mamelon. The Zadora, on our right, divided us from the enemy. The village of Tres Puentes, beyond the river, was now only occupied by a few of our sharpshooters.

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* It was alleged that a desire on the part of Joseph to procure an interview with the Spanish lady I have already mentioned, and who was travelling with the convoy, had led to the delay.

The following was the position of our whole force at 6 A.M.: The Army of the South, on which we placed our principal reliance, formed the left wing, and was drawn up against the mountains commanding the valley of the Zadora and the basin of Vittoria. The Army of the Centre was in the centre, to the right of the road from the Puebla d'Arlanzon to Vittoria. The Army of Portugal formed our right wing, its extremity reaching to the road from Bilbao to Vittoria, in advance of the villages of Avechueco, and of Gamarra Major and Minor, and covering a bridge over the Zadora. The cavalry, placed in the rear, nearer Vittoria, was drawn up on ground intersected with streams and ditches, where it was difficult for it to act efficiently. Several mamelons protecting the line were armed with formidable batteries, others, farther in the rear, provided a second position on which the troops occupying the first could re-form, should they be driven back.

Until past seven in the morning we were doubtful as to the enemy's intentions, and still supposed that he would not attack us that day. This notion was so widespread, that the various regiments had sent detachments into the town to procure provisions, and they had to be recalled in haste when the movements of the allies dispelled all uncertainty as to their intentions.

Towards 8 o'clock, from the height of the mamelon on which we stood, we perceived the enemy defiling into the plain lying between us and the Puebla Pass. They deployed slowly, and a column* of great strength first advanced on our left, reaching the steep mountain against which our left wing was drawn up, and whose other side we had not been able to occupy. Marshal Jourdan, foreseeing all the consequences of this movement, despatched troops from the centre to the assistance of the left. Another equally strong column advanced at the same time on our right with the object of turning the batteries on our mamelons.

The enemy opened fire at about 9 A.M. The attack on our left was very sharp. At the first thunder of the cannon, the King and Marshal Jourdan left the centre and crossing the high road, joined the threatened wing. I accompanied them. They halted

* Commanded by General Hill.

at a battery which protected the defence of the village of Subijano de Alava, in advance of the extreme front of our line, and a struggle commenced on that spot which lasted nearly two hours ; but in spite of the most obstinate resistance, the village was taken by the enemy, and after several fruitless attempts to regain it, the position was abandoned. Our troops however retreated in good order.

After this hard-won triumph, which cost the English many lives, the remainder of the Allied Army passed through the pass of Puebla, crossed the Zadora at Tres Puentes and attacked our centre, while another column,* consisting partly of Spanish and Portuguese troops, and advancing from Murquija, marched upon our right by the road from Bilbao to Vittoria.

The King and the Marshal had returned from the left to a battery of 30 guns in the centre, raised on one of the heights of which I have spoken. But the movement which at the beginning of the action had weakened the centre, had rendered it incapable of lasting resistance ; the terrible fire from our battery could not arrest the advance of the English, and we observed the intrepidity of that advance with irresistible admiration. At length, after a protracted resistance, our centre gave way, and fell back towards Vittoria, at the same moment that our left, which had been unable to defend Subijano, was also falling back.

Our first position was thus completely abandoned, and the advance of the English on the heights commanding our left forbade an attempt to retain the second ; we therefore only held it for the time necessary to cover our retreat. The enemy was at the same time making rapid progress on our extreme right, which the Army of Portugal could not arrest, notwithstanding the gallant conduct of the troops. They sustained the conflict with the greatest obstinacy, and were still fighting when the rest of the army was in retreat.

Nothing but our cavalry could save us now ; but we found it still in the same spot in which we had seen it in the morning. I do not know why no cavalry charge was made.

The battle was lost. It was then 4 o'clock in the afternoon.†

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* Under General Graham.

† The forces of the Allied Army were on this occasion greatly superior to our own. Judging from the movements of the enemy, I should estimate them at 100,000 men. Our effective forces had been much diminished by the loss of the Mancune Division, which had marched with the convoy on the morning of the 21st, and by that of the detachment under General Clausel.

Nearly 2,000 men had remained at Vittoria in charge of the military stores. The cavalry made no charge. There were therefore at most, 40,000 men actively engaged. Our artillery alone was superior to that of the enemy, and did its duty well.

The King and Marshal Jourdan left the battle-field, and bearing to the right towards Vittoria, without entering the town, reached the high road to France. Both the road and the plain that it crosses to the North of Vittoria, were obstructed by the great park of artillery—men were busy spiking the guns—by a train of wagons and treasure-chests, containing several millions in specie, which had been left open for all,* by the King's carriages ready for starting, by those belonging to the generals and heads of the military administration, and by quantities of baggage of all kinds.

In the midst of all this we discussed the direction in which we should retreat with our immense convoy. The advance made by the enemy on our right led us to fear that the road to France was already cut off, and we determined to take the road to Salvatierra. But where was it? Which was it? How were we to find it? Nobody among those about the King could point it out.

One of the great blunders of the day, as I have already said, was not to have foreseen that in the event of defeat it might be necessary to retreat on Salvaterra. No preparation had been made for this. Not only had the road not been repaired, but it had not even been reconnoitred. We only knew that Salvatierra was to the east of Vittoria, and no better guide was to be found than an inhabitant of the latter town, who had been employed in the King's household, and who offered to conduct us.

Just as we were setting out across the fields under his guidance, the enemy appeared on the left of the town, which had been left quite uncovered by the retreat of the Army of the South, and a strong party of hussars charged forward on the plain to the North of Vittoria. This unexpected attack terrified the crowd round the block of carriages; and they fled in all directions, seeking the road to France or that to Salvatirerra. In a few moments dreadful confusion prevailed. The artillery men cut the traces of the gun carriages; part of the troops left the ranks and sought for safety in panic-stricken flight; one hundred and fourteen cannons, twenty-seven howitzers and their ammunition wagons, the treasure-chest of the army containing over twenty-five millions, that of the King, the fortunes amassed by generals, officers and civilians during five years of warfare, plunder and extortion, were all abandoned, and became the prize of the conqueror.†

I was close to the King, whom I had not left during the whole of that fatal day, when the rout began. He fled, like the rest, and was in danger of being taken by the English hussars. I saw a man struck by a bullet, fall at his horse's feet.* Fortunately for the King his regiment of Light Horse Guards, which had remained near him all the day, and had effected his retreat slowly and in good order, now came up. General Jamin, its commander, drew up his men in battle order, charged the Hussars, and drove them back. A considerable number of our disbanded soldiers, who were blocked up among the baggage, owed their lives to the gallant conduct of this corps, which acted as rear-guard to the Army of Portugal during the retreat. In the confusion Marshal Jourdan and several officers of the staff had been separated from our group.

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* Few of our soldiers made use of their opportunity. The sudden arrival of the enemy on the plain behind Vittoria gave them no time in which to do so, and a large number did not care to delay their march.

† M. Thibault, the King's Treasurer, who had 100,000 crowns belonging to him in the Court carriages, was killed on the one in which it was contained, from which he would not be separated.

The fall of night, and still more the ardour of the enemy to seize on the splendid booty within their reach, saved the French army from total destruction. We were not hotly pursued, and our losses in killed and wounded were not in proportion to the disastrous issue of the battle; they hardly exceeded 4000 killed and wounded, and a small number of prisoners. The loss of the allies was about the same. But Spain was irrevocably lost to the French.†

From the above details, the reader may perceive how great was the blame to be attached to the King and the French generals. The first and greatest error, was their having placed themselves under the necessity of fighting a battle which was, so to speak, lost beforehand. The utmost bravery of our troops could not avail against the immense disproportion in numbers and disadvantage of our position. Moreover the French were engaged with an enemy, who, even with equal numbers, might dispute the victory. The English and the Portuguese displayed the utmost valour, and even the Spaniards distinguished themselves in the attack on our right. There was not therefore any chance of success for us, and the fatal issue was delayed only by the superiority of our artillery, which was worthy on this day of its ancient renown. But still more unpardonable was the carelessness of the King's staff, who had made no effort to render defeat less fatal, and whose culpa-

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* A Spaniard attached to the cause of Joseph. He exclaimed in falling, "Muero por mi rey!"

† The following are the official lists:

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
English	501	2807
Portuguese	150	899
Spanish	19	464
	670	4170

ble want of foresight was the cause of immense quantities of war material and booty of incalculable value falling into the hands of the enemy.

Meanwhile, having taken by hap-hazard the right road to Salvatierra, we presently found ourselves among impassable marshes and deep ditches, where some persons were lost. I was very nearly being of the number. Having to cross one of these ditches, I dismounted, behind the King, who had also got off his horse; but on reaching the bottom my foot slipped as I was about to climb the opposite side. My horse who was following me was checked by the involuntary jerk which I gave his bridle in my fall, and rolled over with me with all his weight. I remained for a few moments unconscious, and when I had regained my senses and was able to remount, the King and his suite were out of sight. I wandered on, hap-hazard, for four leagues, following the crowd of fugitives before me, and led, or rather carried along, by them, I at last reached the walls of Salvatierra at 11 P.M. By a fortunate chance, I met the King at the gates. He had seen me a few hours previously lying in the ditch, which he had crossed without accident, and had never expected to see me again. We entered the town, where we found a small French garrison together.

I was at supper with the King, M. O'Faril and Count d'Erlon when Marshal Jourdan arrived. As he came in, he said, "Well! you *would* have a battle, and now it is lost!" Then he sat down to table, shared our meagre repast, and nothing more was said on the subject. I withdrew at midnight to the quarters which the commandant of the garrison had been so good as to assign to me, and in spite of the emotions of the day, or perhaps because of them, I slept soundly for three hours. I no longer possessed anything but the clothes I wore, and two horses, the one I rode, and one ridden by a servant who had joined me. My other horses and mules and my baggage were lost, as were also some of my papers and a few valuables which I had left in the King's carriages. There was nothing therefore to impede my journey, and I was up at daybreak.

We continued our retreat on that and the following day by very bad roads and in wretched weather. We contrived however to rally a few corps, and to restore some semblance of order. The Army of Portugal, under General Reille, and which continued to act as our rear-guard, covered our march and kept off the enemy, who were, besides, eagerly reaping the fruits of victory and displayed no great activity in pursuit. Through Countess Gazan, who had remained at Vittoria, and whom Lord Wellington sent, with every mark of courtesy, to rejoin her husband, we learned that all those belonging to the French army who had been unable to follow us in our precipitate retreat, were treated with great humanity by the enemy. This was a consolation.

On the 23d of June, in the afternoon, we came to the high road from Tolosa to Pampeluna, at the village of Irunson. There we divided our forces ; the Army of Portugal bearing towards San-Esteban, and the Armies of the South and Centre, with the King, towards Pampeluna. We reached that town on the same day at 8 P.M.

We remained there all the 24th. The enemy appeared between Irunson and the town, and some guns were fired on a detachment we had left outside, but no serious engagement ensued. Our troops came into the town which the English were not then prepared to besiege. From Pampeluna the Army of the South advanced towards Roncesvalles, so as to enter France by St. Jean Pied de Port, and it was decided that the King and Marshal Jourdan with the Army of the Centre should effect their retreat by Ostiz, Lauz and the Col de Bate, so as to reach the valley of Bastan.

In accordance with these arrangements we left Pampeluna at midnight on the 24th of June, leaving behind us a garrison of 4000 men, and we passed the night of the 25th at Lauz. We resumed our march on the following morning at 5 A.M., and at seven we crossed the Col de Bate. We then entered the valley of Bastan and passed the night at Elizondo, the principal village in the valley.* We found it well populated and able to afford us food and shelter. The Army of the Centre remained at Elizondo, with orders to retreat by the Col de Maya, if driven from that position. The King resolved on rejoining, with his Guard, the Army of Portugal, which after separating from us at Irunson, was now advancing on the Bidassoa through San Esteban. We therefore left Elizondo in the morning, and took the Col de Maya road so far as Ariscon. Then, turning to the left, we crossed the high mountains of Achetcyola, in order to reach the Col d'Echalar, whence we descended to the village of the same name, one of the principal villages of the valley of Cincovillas, situated on the right bank of the Bidassoa. Then we followed the course of the river as far as Vera, the last Spanish town in that part of the Pyrenean frontier. We arrived there on the 27th at eight in the evening, after a march of twelve hours on bad roads and in frightful weather. The next day, the 28th of June, we were in France. The King fixed his headquarters at St. Jean de Luz. The headquarters of the Army of Portugal were at Irun, on the left bank of the Bidassoa.

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* This lovely valley, one of the pleasantest and best cultivated in the Pyrenees, forms a kind of republic ruled by special laws and customs. One of these forbids the inhabitants to acquire or to hold more than a certain amount of land. Nearly every family bears a chess-board in its coat of arms, as a symbol of this equality in the distribution of land. I remarked the same design painted on the houses.

It would be difficult to describe the various sensations I experienced when, on descending the last mountain-slopes on the morning of the 28th, I discerned the smiling plains and fertile fields round about St. Jean de Luz; when I once more saw the soil of France, that beloved country whence I had so long been exiled, and to which I was returning after enduring, far from her, so much grief and suffering. But these meditations were soon dispelled, when I reflected on the evils we were bringing in our train. We were arriving with a defeated army, pursued by powerful foes. The cultivated and quiet fields on which I gazed were about to become the theatre of war, if we found ourselves once more able to resist, or the prey of the victor if we could not do so. Our return was a calamity for the industrious inhabitants of those parts, who for more than a century had seen no enemy in their country. Fear and terror were our heralds, and far from being welcomed with shouts of joy, silence was the best reception we could hope for, and the only one we had a right to expect.

When we had reached the high road from Irun to St. Jean de Luz my reflections assumed a still gloomier character. The convoy that had left Vittoria on the morning of the 21st of June had successfully crossed the frontier, and was advancing towards the interior of France; but it had spread the tidings on its way that a great battle was about to take place on the very day of its departure. Accounts of our defeat had soon followed, and had been received with dismay in all the country lying between the Bidassoa and Bayonne. We saw on the high road an immense number of vehicles drawn by oxen and loaded with household goods that the owners were trying to save from pillage, by removing them to the towns, where they believed they would be safer than in the country. The spectres of war and desolation rose from beneath our feet, and the delusive delight which the first glimpse of France had produced for a moment faded away, to make room for a terrible reality.

I did not remain long at St. Jean de Luz. On the day following that of our arrival in the town, I was informed by the King that he had selected me to undertake a mission to the Emperor, who was then at Dresden. I was to bear to him the news of our reverses, and answer any questions he might put to me concerning the various events that had preceded and followed the battle of Vittoria. The King thought me better qualified than others to reply to such questioning. I had never left him since our departure from Valladolid; I had seen everything with my own eyes, and notwithstanding all the disorder and confusion about us, I had, according to custom, made notes, daily, of the occurrences I had witnessed. This was a hard task. I should, no doubt, be badly received, and still worse treated after my news had been heard. Yet I felt bound to undertake the mission, as a proof of my fidelity in the presence of great misfortune.

The King passed the 30th of June in preparing the despatches of which I was to be the bearer. They consisted of an official letter to the Emperor, recounting in detail the recent events in Spain. He attributed our reverses to the want of harmony between the generals and himself, and their insubordination; to the great superiority of the enemy's forces, and to the state of public feeling which was constantly misguided. The King sent an almost similar despatch to the Duke of Feltre, and forwarded a copy of the latter to the Prince of Neuchatel.* To these official documents, the King added two private and confidential autograph letters. The first, addressed to the Emperor, and intended as an introduction for me, was as follows:

"Sire,

"M. Miot, Councillor of State, is the bearer of this letter to your Imperial Majesty. I beg you to send him back to me with your decision.

"Eight years ago, your Imperial and Royal Majesty, of your own accord, sent M. Miot, Councillor of State, to me, that I might appoint him to a ministry. I conferred on him the Ministry of the Interior, and as a proof of my appreciation of his excellent services, I gave him, before leaving the kingdom of Naples, the title of Count of Melito. He has borne it for a considerable time in Spain. I now entreat your Imperial and Royal Majesty to do me the favour of allowing him to continue to bear this title. He is the only man of any consideration appointed to my court by your Majesty, when I went to Naples, who has not forsaken me in the long and painful trials I have endured since I have been in Spain. M. Miot can tell your Majesty everything; he knows my heart, and can give every detail, whether political, military, or domestic.

"I am, etc.

"St. Jean de Luz, July 1, 1813."

The second autograph letter was to the Prince of Neuchatel, and contained these words only:

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* The reader will find the King's letter to the Minister of War, appended to this chapter.

"M. Miot, who is about to proceed to the Imperial headquarters, will tell you of our misfortunes. Under present circumstances I greatly rely on the friendship of which your Highness has given me so many proofs, both as regards the matters on which M. Miot will confer with you, and with respect to himself. I specially recommend him to the kindness of your Highness.

"I am, etc.

"St. Jean de Luz, July 1, 1813."

On handing me the above letters and the accompanying despatches, the King directed me to pass through Vichy, where the Queen was then staying for her health, to communicate my mission to her, to explain his reasons for confiding it to me, and not to resume my journey without receiving her commands. He wrote to her also, begging her to supply me with the necessary funds for travelling, as both the King and I had lost everything in our flight from Vittoria, and neither of us could provide for the expenses of the journey.

I left St. Jean de Luz on the evening of the 1st of July, and reached Bayonne on the following morning. I then travelled post both day and night, and arrived at Vichy on the 7th at 3 P.M. My unexpected arrival greatly alarmed the Queen; she thought I had come to announce the death of her husband. Having recovered herself, she listened sorrowfully to the melancholy intelligence which I had to impart. But when she understood that I was to carry this news to the Emperor, she utterly disapproved of the King's selection of a messenger. She said the Emperor would be greatly displeased that the mission was not confided to a military man, that I should be badly received, if received at all, and that he would not listen to me. "The Emperor," she said, "is no longer the same as when you knew him; he retains no recollection of former friendships. Everything must bend to his will. He will not recognise you. People approach him in fear and trembling. Moreover he is, at the present moment, in a fearfully difficult position. Last year's reverses have changed his character! In his present state of mind, it would be useless to appeal, on behalf of your mission, to a former friendship which it would give him more pain than pleasure to remember."

These words were not very encouraging; but as similar ideas had already occurred to me, and as I had anticipated almost all that was predicted, I persisted in my resolve. The Queen and her sister, the Princess of Sweden, who was with her at Vichy, vainly endeavoured to dissuade me. I made up my mind to resume my journey on the following day. The Count de Jaucourt, the King's First Chamberlain, and a former colleague of mine at the Tribunate, who was in attendance on the Queen at Vichy, gave me a letter to the Prefect of the Allier, requesting him in the name of the Queen, to grant me a passport, which I was to obtain in passing through Moulins.*

Just as I was taking leave of the Queen, on the evening of the 8th of July, an officer arrived, who had been despatched to her by the Duke of Feltre. He brought her a letter from the Minister, announcing that the Emperor, who was already aware of recent events in Spain, had directed the King to leave the army, recalled Marshal Jourdan, ordering him to retire to his country seat without passing through Paris, and despatched the Duke of Dalmatia from Dresden, giving him the command-in-chief over all the troops still in Spain or on the frontiers. The Minister begged the Queen to use all her influence with her husband to persuade him to comply with these arrangements with a good grace. He informed her at the same time that Count Roederer, in whom the King had great confidence, was now on his way to him, entrusted by the Emperor with various explanations calculated to lessen the mortification which these proceedings, necessitated by events, might cause him. The bearer of the letter added further details. He said that the Emperor had issued orders forbidding travellers coming from the Army of Spain to cross the Garonne, and specially commanding that none should be allowed to reach his headquarters. His wish was to keep the particulars of recent events secret as far as possible, fearing that if they came to be known they might have an adverse influence on the negotiations in which he was then engaged.

How was my mission to be carried out under these circumstances? What were my means for fulfilling it? Of what use would it be to the King, since all the evil it was intended to prevent was already accomplished? Had not the Emperor already formed his own opinion on Spanish affairs? And supposing I could succeed in seeing him, which was now more than ever unlikely, how could I hope to change it? Was it not more reasonable to return to the King, to share the exile to which he would be condemned, and to make use of my influence to avert any extreme and fatal resolution on his part? Such were the arguments brought forward by the Queen and the Princess of Sweden, to induce me to give up my journey to Dresden, and they were not without effect. I resisted for some time, but at last I was persuaded, and I agreed to retrace my steps. Although I was convinced at the time, as I am now, that by taking a contrary resolution, I should not have served the King better than by returning to him, I cannot forgive myself for this act of weakness. I have frequently reproached myself for having yielded to the representations and entreaties of the Queen.

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* I had come to Vichy with a passport granted me by Marshal Jourdan at St. Jean de Luz, but I had frequently met with difficulties on presenting it, because it was not drawn up in the ordinary form.

I was on my way to Bayonne, when at Biandes, the last post-town before arriving thither, I met the King who had set out on the morning of the 15th of July. He was in no way surprised at my return; after what had taken place since our parting, he seemed to expect it. He had refused to see Marshal Soult, who had just arrived at headquarters; but had held several long conversations with Count Roederer, who had afterwards taken leave of him and returned to Paris. But these conversations had not restored him to calmness; his discontent was deep, and when with me it was unrestrained. He was looking out for a retired spot in the neighbourhood, where he might remain until he could remove to Morfontaine. We stayed for a couple of days at Puyhoo, seven or eight leagues from Bayonne, in order to make the requisite inquiries. The Chateau de Poyanne, two leagues from Tartas on the left bank of the Adour, in a very retired part of the country, was recommended to us. Joseph agreed to take it, and we established ourselves there. The King's suite consisted of M. Paroisse his physician, M. Presle, private secretary, M. O'Faril, General Desprez, who had returned to him after his mission to Moscow, General Espert, my brother Colonel Miot, a few other Spanish and French officers, and myself. We remained a week in this solitary place. At the expiration of that time the King received a letter from the Minister of War, intimating that the Emperor approved of the King's withdrawing from the Spanish frontiers, and that until further orders he might reside at Morfontaine. But he was directed to travel under the strictest incognito, without any suite, and not to pass through Paris.

The day after these orders reached us, Count d'Angosse, Prefect of the Department of the Landes, arrived at Poyannes, having received instructions to provide us with passports. The King's was made out in the name of Count de Survilliers,* and the members of his suite then with him also received passports empowering them to retire to various parts of France. We made our preparations for departure and for a separation that was painful to all of us. Adversity had formed us into a kind of family, and the tie was not broken without pain.

The King, who did not wish for any leave-taking, quitted the place on horseback with me at 5 A.M. on the 24th of July. After crossing the Adour, we took post at Campagne on the Mont de Marsan road. We had but one carriage, in which the King travelled with his physician and myself. We proceeded thus, stopping at none of the principal towns, passing through Bordeaux, Perigueux, Limoges and Orleans, where we were not recognised, or at least we thought we were not. On reaching Croix de Berny, the last post before Paris, the King resolved, notwithstanding the Emperor's commands that he should not enter Paris, to bargain with the postmaster, who undertook to convey us directly to St. Denis without changing horses. We drove across the capital at 2 o'clock A.M. and reached Morfontaine, at last, at 5 A.M. on the 30th of July. Two days afterwards, the Queen joined her husband, and so soon as I had seen him reunited to his family, I went to Versailles to pass a few days with mine, whom I had not seen since I parted with them at Valencia, in September of the preceding year. After a short absence I returned to take up my abode at Morfontaine.

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* The name of an estate near Morfontaine which also belonged to him. He retained this title in the United States.

We were in exile ; we were forbidden to appear in Paris, and although this command was not very strictly observed by the King, who went several times to the capital to witness theatrical performances, I, for my own part, conformed to it without regret. I was dwelling in a lovely spot, at a beautiful season of the year ; after many trials, I enjoyed perfect repose, and my days passed tranquilly away. Dividing my time between study and exercise in the open air, I resumed my literary occupations. We were, moreover, in complete ignorance of what was taking place around us. The Emperor did not write to his brother ; none of the Ministers had permission to visit the King, and we obtained all our information from the *Moniteur*, at that time less veracious than ever. We only knew that after the conclusion of an armistice, on the preceding 4th of June, negotiations had been commenced, and a congress opened at Prague ; and we hoped, because we greatly wished, that those negotiations might bring about a peace, the need of which was felt by everyone in France, except, perhaps, the one man on whom it depended.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXIV.

LETTER FROM KING JOSEPH TO THE DUKE OF FELTRE, MINISTER OF WAR AT PARIS.

St. Jean de Luz, June 29, 1813.

MONSIEUR LE DUC: I have received your letters of the 18th and 20th inst. Events have unhappily belied the hopes you gave that General Clausel would join me, dissipated the fear that I should persist in withdrawing from the country without a battle, and refuted your apparent conviction that the enemy was not greatly stronger than myself.

It is, perhaps, useless to ask you at the present time to consider how little comparison can be made between the retreat of the army of Portugal, from which the enemy was obliged to retire, because of the presence of the Army of the Centre in the province of Segovia, and also because he wanted to occupy Madrid, and a retreat at the end of the campaign, by the junction of that army with the Army of the South, and their arrival on the communications of the enemy, who could no longer remain before Burgos.

As to the reparation, the armament and the victualling of Burgos, I could only write orders for these things and acquaint you that I had done so. But as I could as little obtain obedience from an army which never owned my authority as from that of Aragon and Catalonia, I am as little accountable for Tortosa as for Pampeluna. I learned the situation of the latter only by going thither myself.

It seems also useless to repeat what I have so often said, that I deny any real success having been gained over Mina, and that the war could only be stopped by driving out the English, and healing the wounds of the nation. I have several times compared this war to that of La Vendée.

In order to beat the English, it was necessary that the three armies before whom they had retreated in the preceding campaign, should remain united, or ready to be united at the first signal. They ought to have been fresh, and their ranks complete. Instead of this, they were exhausted in the pursuit of Mina and his bands; their divisions were reduced to 3000 and even 2000 fighting men. The Armies of the Centre and South had hard work in keeping the country and the enemy in check, and in raising taxes to enable them to exist. Magazines were not established on the line, nor were the fortresses victualled. Neither the central administration nor my authority was recognised. The general headquarters that I set up at Salamanca in November were not approved, and M. Mathieu Faviers was only acknowledged as head of the administration when it was already too late, and the campaign was beginning: he received his powers at the beginning of June.

Direct correspondence between Paris and the Generals-in-chief of three armies on the same ground continued to prevent the unity and *ensemble* necessary to success. The surplus of one army never helped another. Having no staff, it was impossible for me to give the necessary directions to secure that all our efforts should tend simultaneously to one end. You oblige me, Monsieur le Duc, to recur to these facts, because your despatches incessantly remind me of them, at a time, when, harassed with anxieties of all kinds, I employed every faculty of my mind in devising means for arresting the advance of the enemy, and for the defence of the French frontiers which are threatened in all directions. I repeat it, the exertions of the English, of the Spaniards, and of the Portuguese are great, and at the present day they all know how to fight. On the part of France great efforts should be made to provide men and ammunition in order to stop the enemy on the frontiers.

The armies of Spain need re-organisation. Four armies cannot act harmoniously. The soldier, accustomed to live on what he can pick up, is not with his colours when wanted. The spirit of disorder and pillage makes greater progress every day ; the chiefs feel that the soldiers must live ; everybody becomes accustomed to a spectacle of disorder, and, marching through a country without magazines, before enemies well supplied not only from their own stores, but by the inhabitants, who draw comparisons between those who rob them and those who pay, we cannot hope for success.

So long as a different state of things does not prevail it seems to me unreasonable to think of acting on the offensive.

Your demand, Monsieur le Duc, for part of the cavalry from the Armies of the Centre, of Portugal, and of the South, removes all doubt on this head. Therefore, however great my reluctance to weaken the army at a moment when the enemy may make an attack on the frontier, I yield an absolute obedience, and I am issuing orders for the departure of the Cavalry Corps for which you ask in your letter of the 24th.

Several generals are also being withdrawn from the army.

I think that the arrival of some generals possessing the Emperor's confidence, who have been with him during his successful campaigns in the North, would come as the bearers of his commands, and would exercise a salutary moral influence over the army.

I am still without news of Marshal Suchet. I only know what you tell me concerning him. Nor have I any news of General Clausel, etc. . . .

CHAPTER XXXV.

Objections made by the Police to Joseph's occasional visits to Paris—Bernadotte joins the allies against France—Curious assemblage of persons at Morfontaine—Senatus-Consultum authorising the levy of 280,000 men—Adverse state of public opinion—Leipsic on 18th and 19th of October—Progress of disaffection towards the Emperor—Arrival of Napoleon at St. Cloud—The King's interview with the Emperor—Napoleon insists that his brother shall abdicate the throne of Spain—Hesitation of the King—The situation becomes more difficult—Opening of the Corps Législatif—The Emperor tries in vain to lead public opinion in a favourable direction—The King in a letter to the Emperor, dated 29th of December, at last consents to abdicate on certain conditions—His letter remains unanswered—On hearing of the summary dissolution of the Corps Législatif Joseph writes a second time to his brother—The Emperor delaying to reply, the King sends the Author to Paris to investigate matters—Narrative of the events which brought about the dissolution of the Corps Législatif—Sensation produced in Paris and the departments by that measure—Interviews of the Author with the Duke de Vicenza and King Louis—Joseph removes to Paris and establishes himself at the Luxembourg—Third letter from the King to the Emperor, who considers it too emphatic—An interview with the Prince of Neuchatel again angers the King, who wishes to retire—the Author persuades him to confer with the Spanish Ministers—After this conference Joseph writes a fourth letter to the Emperor which is at length approved—It is agreed that the King shall bear henceforth the title of *King Joseph*—The Author returns to the Council of State—Treaty of Valensçay, restoring the throne of Spain to Ferdinand VII.—Progress of the Allied Armies—The Emperor before placing himself at the head of his army, regulates the form of government during his absence—Grand audience, to which the officers of the newly organised National Guard of Paris are admitted—Napoleon sets out on the 25th of January, 1814.

My peaceful life at Morfontaine was soon disturbed by the great events which marked the close of 1813, and also by some private circumstances. I will relate the latter first. On the 23d of August I received a note from the Duke of Rovigo, the Minister of Police, begging me to call upon him. Although it was courteously worded, this note inspired me with dread. What could the Police want with me? What had I to do with that formidable authority? I communicated the ill-omened despatch to the King, who was as unable as I to explain or guess at its meaning, but he advised me to comply with the Duke's request; and my own intention was certainly not to evade it. The next day I went to Paris, and presented myself at the Duke of Rovigo's house. I was summoned to his presence almost immediately. An usher showed me into the Minister's cabinet. His manner was by no means inimical. He received me very kindly, and said that, knowing my attachment to the King, and the trust reposed in me by His Majesty, he had thought it well to send for me that he might acquaint me with certain circumstances which concerned him. "The Emperor," he continued, "has been informed that his brother frequently visits Paris in strict incognito, and that you sometimes accompany him. These visits, of which I also, as Minister of Police, am aware, are very objectionable; they might lead to some unfortunate encounter, and, under present circumstances, anything which might reveal the coolness unfortunately existing between the brothers would be detrimental to the interests of both. If the King has personal reasons for coming to Paris, it would be better to notify his intentions to the Police, who would take precautions to remove the dangers to which he exposes himself by these mysterious journeys." The Duke of Rovigo added that, "feeling confident of my influence over the King—which, he was happy to assure me, was in no way displeasing to the Emperor—he hoped I would use it in the present instance to persuade the King to a course of conduct which he would certainly never regret."

This, as the reader will perceive, was an intimation to me that the King must not come to Paris without leave, asked and obtained beforehand, from the Police, who would set their agents to dog his footsteps.

I answered that, "although the King honoured me with some confidence, and frequently gave me proofs of it, I had no right to ask him to confide to me his private actions, that I had no desire to be informed of proceedings which he chose to conceal from me; that I had been unaware of several of his visits to Paris, and that with respect to those occasions on which I had accompanied him, I should have thought I insulted him by supposing for a moment that he was not free to go and come as he chose, or by inquiring his motives, if he thought proper to withhold them; but that I would faithfully repeat to him what I had been told, and that it would be for him to decide what steps it would be proper for him to take."

The Duke of Rovigo seemed satisfied with my reply; we parted on good terms, and I returned to Morfontaine that evening. The King was glad to hear that the subject of the interview had been of no greater importance, and, as may easily be supposed, he gave up his visits to Paris rather than submit to the conditions imposed. Nothing more was said on the subject, and graver cares, more serious fears, soon occupied our minds.

The armistice had come to an end on the 10th of August, the Congress of Prague was dissolved, and hostilities had recommenced on the 15th. Austria declared war against us, and the fragile family ties formed by the marriage of the Emperor were broken. Sweden also declared against us, and Bernadotte, the French general on whom the succession to the throne he had conferred, who had acquired his military renown among French soldiers whom he had often led to victory, had put himself at the head of one of the armies about to wage war against his country, to overthrow the Emperor and destroy his dynasty. A proclamation published by him on the 15th of August, appealed to foreign arms against his countrymen! Whatever blame might at that time have been incurred by Napoleon, however great were the calamities heaped on France and Europe by his insatiable ambition, it was not for a French general to head a hostile army against him; it was not for a man who had profited by Napoleon's ambition and lust of conquest, to assume the task of punishing so illustrious a criminal.

In the circle in which I was then living, nothing could make a greater impression than the news of the march of the Prince Royal of Sweden. When it reached us, the Princess, his wife, was at Morfontaine, and, although the tender love felt for her by her sister the Queen of Spain, and the consideration due to that natural affection, hindered us from showing our feelings in the presence of those ladies, they weighed all the more heavily on our hearts, and we often found it difficult to conceal them.

At the period of which I speak, towards the middle of September, the Queen of Westphalia came to Morfontaine accompanied by a brilliant court. Her arrival announced another defeat; the success of the allies had forced her to leave Cassel, whither she never returned. For her sake and our own it was to be wished that she had visited beautiful Morfontaine in happier days; she would have enjoyed it more, and could have made herself better known. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the melancholy circumstances, her presence lent a certain charm to the scene. She was beautiful and amiable; she endeavoured to please, and succeeded in pleasing.

There was a curious assemblage at that time at Morfontaine. There was a King of Spain, who did not possess one inch of Spanish territory; the wife of a French general, who had been raised to the rank of Prince, and had become our deadly enemy; a Princess, daughter of the King of Würtemberg, who had given her in marriage to a brother of Napoleon, who in a short time would join the coalition against the Emperor; Spanish, German, and French courtiers without a court; and, to crown all, the Patriarch of the

Indies and Grand Inquisitor of Spain * occasionally said mass for us. Shooting, fishing, picnics, the pleasures of the table, and cards, drew all these people together, somewhat surprised at finding themselves in each other's company. We were trying to forget our cares until the storm that was gathering in the distance should burst overhead and scatter us.

It was approaching swiftly. Every day the most alarming rumours reached us. All that we heard of the state of feeling in Germany foreboded that most terrible of wars—a people's war. The ferment of patriotism and national fanaticism had reached the highest pitch, and a horror of the French name had become general. The struggle was no longer with cabinets or with sovereigns, but with peoples, animated alike by their enmity to us, and by their hopes of obtaining, if we were beaten, the freedom and the institutions promised them in return for their sacrifices. These promises were ill kept in the sequel.

While each bulletin arriving from our armies, in spite of the official veil thrown over military operations, brought us news of further reverses, the aspect of things at home became more threatening every moment. Alarm and distrust were universal ; trade was at a standstill ; and the public funds, fallen below 60, menaced us with still more complete ruin. Further sacrifices of men and money were demanded of France. The Empress went herself to the Senate on the 8th of October, to ask for a Senatus-Consultum, authorizing the levy of 280,000 men. The Senate, servile as usual, granted it, as it had granted all the others, but the weight of this fresh conscription fell entirely on France proper. In the assessment of the contingent of each department, we no longer read the names of those composed of Dutch territory, nor of those beyond the Rhine, nor of those among which a part of Italy had been divided. The gigantic Empire, built up at so great a cost, was disappearing ; two unsuccessful campaigns had brought it down.

At last we heard of the fatal days of Leipsic, the 18th and 19th of October. The news reached us, exaggerated by all that fear, credulity, and especially malignity could add in the shape of shameful details. The King, who received no official communications as to the nature and reality of our disasters, and who was alarmed by vague information, sent me to the Minister of Police to obtain more positive accounts, and, if possible, to elicit the truth from him. I accordingly went to Paris on the 1st of November, and I saw the Minister. He did not disguise the disasters of Leipsic,

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* He had been grand Almoner to King Joseph, and had followed him to France.

but tried to reassure me as to the consequences. He did not believe the evil to be so great as had been represented. The Emperor was at Gotha, and was falling back on Fulda, where it was supposed he would arrive before the enemy. The strength of the French was still estimated at 100,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 400 guns. Frankfort was covered by a corps of 25,000 men under Marshal Kellerman, but Cassel had been abandoned by the King of Westphalia, and the enemy had appeared at Hanau, a few leagues from Frankfort. This was all the Minister of Police could tell me, and it was not very encouraging. It was still doubtful whether our troops could retreat upon the Rhine, and, even supposing that some fortunate chance enabled them to do so, would they reach the river in time to fortify or defend our frontiers, and prevent the enemy from crossing the last barrier in his way, and penetrating into ancient France? Paris presented a profoundly gloomy aspect, and I observed one most unfavourable symptom of public feeling; this was that, notwithstanding the mortification caused by our military misfortunes, a sort of satisfaction at the Emperor's reverses, because they were a punishment of his ambition, was apparent. France and her chief were looked upon as separate, and the humiliation of the Emperor seemed a consolation for the evils that were coming upon the country. The funds had fallen to 50.

I had barely got back to Morfontaine with the scanty particulars I had obtained, when we heard that the army which was in retreat, after defeating the Bavarians near Hanau, had reached the Rhine; that the Emperor himself had been at Mayence on the 2d of November, and that he was momentarily expected at St. Cloud, where, in fact, he arrived on the 8th. As he seemed at first not to be aware that his brother was at Morfontaine, and as he made no communication relating to affairs to him, I had not any opportunity of learning facts which might throw light on the events then taking place. We, like the rest of the world, learned from the newspapers, or from accounts more or less accurate, the progress of the enemy; the entry of the Prince Royal of Sweden into Holland, forcing the Duke of Placentia to leave Amsterdam, where he had resided with extraordinary powers since the abdication of King Louis; the reverses of the army of Spain, under the Duke of Dalmatia, who lost both Pampeluna and St. Sebastian, the only two strongholds we had retained in the country; finally, the financial measures taken by the Council of State, and by which it was hoped we might dispense with the concurrence of the Corps Législatif. There was some hesitation about convening that body. All these things are to be found in the newspapers and writings of the day, and I shall confine myself to those particulars which the recall of the King to public affairs, and my own return to the Council of State, enabled me to ascertain.

We were still at Morfontaine; the Queen of Westphalia had left us to join her husband at the Palace of Compiègne, which the Emperor had assigned to him as a residence. We went there to see him, but found he knew no more than ourselves. The Emperor had banished him also from his presence, and had not yet received him. Nearly all November thus passed away without effecting any change in our situation. Some visits that Queen Julia had made to Paris to induce the Emperor to decide the fate of her husband, whose position and title became daily more embarrassing, had resulted in nothing, notwithstanding the Emperor's habitual consideration for his sister-in-law. The King was beginning to despair of ever obtaining an explanation, when, on the 27th of November, he received a note, inviting him to go to Paris for the purpose of an interview with the Emperor on the following evening. Both the journey and its object were enveloped in profound secrecy. The King started with me at four in the afternoon, and we reached Count Roederer's house at eight. Shortly after our arrival, M. de Flahaut, aide-de-camp to the Emperor, came to convey the King to the Tuileries, where he was introduced into the Emperor's cabinet by a secret staircase. The interview was lengthy; it was midnight when the King returned to Count Roederer's house, and we immediately set out for Morfontaine, where we arrived at 4 A.M. on the 29th of November. There had been scarcely time for the absence of the King to be observed.

During the drive from Paris to Morfontaine, the King gave me the following particulars of the interview with his brother.

The Emperor had not in any way reproached the King with his reverses in Spain; indeed, he could not have done so without injustice, for they were, in great part, his own doing. He made no reference to the past, but dealt entirely with the present and the future.

"My present position," he said to the King, "no longer allows me to think of foreign domination, and I shall deem myself fortunate if, on making peace, I can retain the ancient territory of France. Everything at this moment is threatening me with destruction. My armies are annihilated, and the losses they have sustained cannot be repaired without extreme difficulty. Holland is slipping from us irrevocably, Italy is wavering, the conduct of the King of Naples is causing me well-founded alarm; he is making terms with the English. He is led by the Duke de Campo Chiaro and the Marquis de Gallo.* The first is in the pay of

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* They had both belonged to the Neapolitan Ministry during the reign

England, and the second is in the pay of Austria. If their defection has not actually taken place, at least there is nothing to hope for from Naples. The succour that should have been afforded to the Viceroy does not arrive, although he needs it urgently ; the Austrians are pressing on him, the Italians under his rule hesitate. Devoted to me in prosperity, profuse in their professions of zeal and attachment so long as I was fortunate and powerful, they turn with the wind of fortune, and are ready to fail me utterly. Belgium and the Rhine provinces are also showing signs of discontent, and do not enter heartily into the views of the Government. The Spanish frontier is invaded by the enemy.

"At such a crisis as this, how is it possible to think of foreign thrones ? How can we ask France, barely able to defend herself, for sacrifices in any other cause than that of her own preservation, since at most we can only hope she will make those that are indispensable to save her own territory ? Spain must therefore be given up ; you must return to the rank of a French Prince, or if you feel you cannot thus descend, you must withdraw entirely from public affairs and resort to absolute retirement. I shall restore Spain to Ferdinand ; I shall give it to the Spaniards on the sole condition of respecting the French frontier, and putting themselves between the English and us. I hope, after making so great a concession, to be able to withdraw my army from the Pyrenees without danger, so as to send it to Italy against the Austrians. All means are good to obtain such a result."

Such was the picture of the state of affairs, traced by the hand of him best able to judge of it, and whose interest it was to make the least of the evil. I own that I had been far from thinking the situation so serious, or that the Emperor could be reduced to so desperate a resource, for, to my mind, it was perfect self-deception to imagine that by replacing Ferdinand on the throne, he could make peace with Spain, and paralyse the movements of the English, as if by the stroke of a magic wand. It was an inefficacious remedy ; but as the Emperor believed it to be infallible, all the King's remonstrances were vain. Moreover, he had made up his mind beforehand, as was unfortunately his custom. The King had therefore no alternative but to abdicate his fatal title, or to bury himself in some obscure retreat far from Paris, for the Emperor would not have suffered him to remain at Morfontaine. The King did not at that time tell me which course he would take. I could perceive that his mind was not as yet made up.

This state of hesitation lasted a fortnight, and during that period

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of Joseph ; the first as Minister of the King's Household and the second as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

the Queen made several visits to the Emperor, took her children to see him, and in the course of conversation assured him of the good dispositions of her husband, and handed to him a letter which the King had entrusted to her. But as this letter was not sufficiently clearly expressed, the Queen's efforts neither effected a complete reconciliation on the one side, nor on the other obtained a full assent to the will of the Emperor.

Meanwhile events became more serious every day. On the 21st of December an Austrian Corps had crossed the Rhine near Huningen; the neutrality of Switzerland had not been respected. France, ancient France, was invaded! The Corps Législatif had been opened on the 19th of the same month, and the authorities were alarmed by the spirit displayed in that Assembly hitherto both docile and silent. The Emperor's speech had produced an unfavourable impression. Not a word of peace, but men and money, money and men, were the only conclusions to be drawn from a series of vague and deceptive phrases. Internal enemies were lifting their heads and attacking on every side the great colossus at whose feet they had so long lain prostrate. The Emperor made vain efforts to impress public opinion favourably with regard to his projects. He despatched his Senators, Councillors of State, and auditors, to the various departments. Their business was to rouse the people, and to levy recruits and arms. An army of reserve was formed at the same time, and stores were established for arms and clothing. The National Guard was re-organised; the national airs were revived,* in fact, every effort was made to revert to the revolutionary measures and the expedients of the first years of the war of the Revolution. But where was that force of popular feeling which in those great days was so active and so energetic in its development? Where the resources which it brought forth as if by magic? Where the terror that caused men to take refuge in the army as the safest and most honourable career? Where was the exuberant population, the youthful enthusiasm that ardently sought glory and promotion amid a thousand dangers? None of these great motive powers was in existence at the end of 1813. The magical ideas of liberty and equality which had stirred the masses of the nation were dead. Attachment to the throne, and to the sovereign, which had formerly supplied a motive power, had not yet sprung up in favour of a recent dynasty. The Government alone lifted up its voice, and no one replied. Indifference was in the hearts of the people; the conscription had exhausted their bodies; what could be hoped for from elements such a these? Those who made use of them were aware of their powerlessness, and the officials sent into the departments could not inspire a confidence in which they themselves were wanting. The army alone was faithful; it remained true to its chief, and our reverses had not diminished its attachment, but the Generals were beginning to put forward their claims and to show signs of discontent. Moreover, our troops daily decreased in number, in face of a daily increasing enemy, and there was no replacing our losses.

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* The street organs played the Marseillaise, the words of which had been parodied in honour of Napoleon.

Amid all the activity which the Emperor was trying to arouse about himself and in the provinces, he could not endure that his brother should remain idle in his retirement at Morfontaine, and that, instead of putting himself at the head of the movement, as next in rank, he should hold aloof, and far from helping should appear to disapprove. Madame Mère arrived at Morfontaine on the 27th of December with the Queen, who had gone to Paris on the preceding day. These ladies were instructed to inform the King that the Emperor desired him to remove at once to Paris, and take up his residence at the Luxembourg, without conditions, and as a French Prince; and that Napoleon required he should also write a letter, announcing his resolution on the subject, and should assume the attitude, not of King of Spain, but of the Emperor's first subject. The letter was to be so expressed as to be suitable for insertion in the *Moniteur*.

Yielding to the entreaties of his mother and his wife, the King wrote such a letter on the 29th of December. He expressed his desire of doing in all things that which might be helpful to the Emperor, and promised that he would abdicate if necessary, in the interests of peace, but he at the same time requested that a French plenipotentiary might treat with one of his ministers, in order to legislate in the interests of those Spaniards who had embraced his cause. Madame Mère undertook to convey his letter to the Emperor, and at the same time to excuse the King for not coming at once to Paris, under pretext that he was ill, and unable for the journey.

The letter received no answer,* although from information I subsequently obtained, it would seem to have been approved of by the Emperor, and even to have been forwarded to the *Moniteur* for insertion on the 1st of January. But it was withdrawn during the night. I have never known for what reason.

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* In the *Mémoires et Correspondance du roi Joseph*, this letter of the 29th of December, 1813, is given verbatim (Vol. X. p. 2), and is followed by the Emperor's reply, undated. Count Miot was evidently unaware of the existence of that reply, and mistaken in asserting that Joseph's letter of the 29th of December did not receive any. However, Napoleon's answer, as reported in the *Moniteur*, only reproduces in a rougher form the Emperor's words to the King, in the interview of the preceding 28th of November. (*Note by the French Publishers.*)

The King was still in a state of uncertainty, when, on the evening of the 31st of December, he heard that the Legislative Assembly had been adjourned and then violently dissolved. This news, accompanied by numerous alarming particulars, made him fear that the Government was in imminent peril, and induced him to write again, very briefly, to the Emperor. In this letter he said, that having learned from the *Moniteur* what had taken place in Paris, he offered to join his Imperial Majesty immediately and to remove to the Luxembourg that same day. His letter was despatched by a courier, and handed to the Emperor, who sent word that he would answer it. But either because he did not think the danger of such a kind as to call for the King's services, or because he would not relinquish the conditions he had imposed on his brother, the promised answer was not forthcoming, and having waited for it in vain on the 1st and 2d of January, the King sent me to Paris, to obtain precise information as to what was going on. He gave me copies of his correspondence with the Emperor, and authorised me to call on the Duke of Vicenza, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, on Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, and, in fact, on every one from whom I could obtain any information respecting affairs in general, and those that concerned him personally.

I proceeded to Paris on the 3d of January, 1814, and during a stay of two days, I saw several persons, and learned from Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely and my friend Gallois, details of the origin of the disturbance in the Corps Législatif which had led to its dissolution. I will give these details at this place, for they throw a new light on the situation of affairs, and will enable the reader to appreciate what I shall afterwards have to say concerning facts of personal interest to the King.

Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely had been appointed to take up to the Corps Législatif the decree for the formation of an Extraordinary Commission, intended to receive communication of the official documents appertaining to the negotiations for peace. At the same time he was commanded to prepare the speech which was to accompany the proposal of the decree. It was desired that the speech should be pacific, and of a nature to obtain the approval of the Corps Législatif for the Government and to produce a favourable impression on the popular mind, which was at that time ardently desirous of anything that might promise peace. The speech was accordingly drawn up in that sense; it declared on the part of the Government an explicit intention to treat for peace, even on conditions that might entail great sacrifices. But though it had been written to some extent from the Emperor's dictation, Regnault thought it ought to be submitted to him before being delivered. He attempted however in vain to obtain an audience; the Emperor, tired by a council which had lasted until late into the night, was sleeping, and no one would venture to wake him. Time pressed, and the speech was delivered as it had been written.* It produced a great sensation; it contained all that was desired. Each deputy hastened to proclaim the hopes with which it had inspired him, and a marked impression was made on the public. But all this aroused the attention of the Emperor. He asked for the speech, and on reading it he considered that the orator had gone too far. Many phrases displeased him, he asserted that they presented him before inimical foreign powers in a humiliating attitude, and would deprive him of all respect at home. In short, he required several alterations to be made, before he would allow the speech to be printed. Regnault made a few, but they did not satisfy him. The speech was amended by another hand; all the latter part was suppressed, and it was made to conclude with a sentence which was destructive to the hopes inspired by the original text on the previous day.†

The Corps Législatif, finding itself tricked in this fashion, openly expressed its indignation. A stormy debate took place at the ensuing sitting, severe reproaches were addressed to the President,‡ who had ventured to meddle with the copy of the speech that Regnault had laid on the table, and by handing it over to the Emperor, prevented any comparison between the discourse as delivered and as printed.

The members of the Corps Législatif were therefore very unfavourably disposed, when they proceeded to the nomination of the Commission charged to receive the documents relating to the negotiations, and they selected those persons who were believed to be the most independent of Government influence.§

Communications between the members of this Commission, the Government delegates,‖ and a deputation from the Senate, were held at the Arch-chancellor's, and after a long discussion, a day was appointed for the hearing of the report to be presented to the Legislative Assembly by the Commission. The task of drawing it up had been conferred on M. Lainé, a barrister from Bordeaux, who had made himself conspicuous among the members of the

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* In the sitting of the 21st of December, 1813.

† See this sentence in the *Moniteur* of the 22d of December, 1813, which contains a dry abstract of Regnault's speech.

‡ The Duke of Massa Carrara (Regnier, member of the Council of Elders, afterwards, under the Emperor, Councillor of State).

§ MM. Lainé, Reynouard, Gallois, Flangergues and Maine de Biran.

‖ MM. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely and d'Hauterive.

Commission for his freedom of opinion, and the boldness of his language.

The report, which was read on the appointed day at the Archchancellor's, was divided into three parts. The first was entirely devoted to an exposition of the general state of political affairs, and was worded so as to present the action of the Allied Powers towards France in the most favourable light, and consequently to throw all the blame on the head of the French Government, and to attribute all our misfortunes to him alone. The second part set forth the absolute necessity of peace, and formally expressed a desire to secure it at any price. The third was a series of complaints presented to the Emperor, in which the misconduct of the employés of the administration, the annoyances of all kinds that they inflicted on citizens, and the extortion of the generals, were painted in the darkest colours. This statement of grievances proceeded on the assumption that these abuses of authority and their attendant evils were unknown to the Emperor, and that it was the duty of the Corps Législatif to acquaint him with them.

Several expressions in the first part greatly offended the delegates from the Government and the Senate, and the whole of the third was still more displeasing to them. They begged the Commission to alter those expressions which must be offensive to the Emperor, and to suppress the third part entirely. They pointed out that it was inopportune to make complaints such as these ; that the principal object at the present moment was to show that perfect unanimity prevailed between the Corps Législatif and the Government, and that both were animated by one will ; that nothing was more unlikely to produce this desirable result than a statement of grievances, which, supported by their authority, would excite the population of the interior, and would greatly interfere with the action of the Government in levying the conscription and collecting taxes. These arguments seemed to make an impression on some of the members of the Commission. They promised to make certain alterations ; they even held out hopes that the third part should be suppressed. But it would appear that those hopes were only vague and that the Commission held itself in no way bound. The members proceeded on the 29th of December to the Corps Législatif, then sitting.* M. Lainé ascended the tribune, and read the report just as it had been drawn up at first.

M. Lainé was enthusiastically received and loudly applauded. Some members, however, pointed out that the discourse contained many passages which might be read without danger in a private assembly, while their publication would be highly undesirable ;

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* The sitting was a private one.

but these members were little heeded, and the next day, at the request of the President and contrary to the usual custom, the votes for and against publication were taken, and publication was carried by a large majority* and decreed. The result of the sitting of the 29th of December, and the above particulars, were instantly made known to the Emperor. The Government was alarmed. An Extraordinary Council was held late at night on Wednesday, the 29th. The Ministers and Grand Dignitaries were summoned to it. The question of suspending the Corps Législatif was debated; but after the disadvantages of such a measure had been weighed, it was rejected, and it was resolved merely to open negotiations with M. Lainé and the most influential members of the Commission, in order to procure a modification of the report, and that it should be expressed in terms not injurious to the Government. Thursday, the 30th, was passed in these negotiations; certain alterations were agreed to, and it was thought the printing might be proceeded with. Things were in this state on the evening of the 30th, when the Director of the Imperial Printing Establishment, on correcting the proof-sheets, saw that, notwithstanding the alterations made during the day, certain passages which struck him very forcibly had escaped the censorship. He took one of the proof-sheets to the Minister of Police, who was also struck by the same passages, and hastened to show the sheets to the Emperor, who read them with great agitation.† He imagined that he had been tricked, and decided instantly on the most violent measures. The report was withdrawn from publication during the night of 30th–31st of December; the type was broken up, the proof-sheets were burned, and, in the morning, without calling a Council and having conferred only with the few present at his *lever*, the Emperor ordered the Duke of Bassano to draw up and send off a decree by which, on vaguely stated grounds, he adjourned the Corps Législatif.‡ Meanwhile, as the publication of this decree in the *Moniteur* of the 31st of December, had not been possible, and that it was important to prevent another sitting on that day, a detachment of the Dragoon Guards took possession of the approaches and doors of the Palace of the Corps Législatif early in the morning, and the Members, on presenting themselves, were obliged to turn back. Access was even refused them to their private rooms, and to the library, where they might have assembled.

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* 223 votes against 31. The scrutiny of the votes took place on the 30th of December at a public sitting.

† I had an opportunity, subsequently, of seeing the copy that had been sent to the Printing-house. The third part of the report, containing the grievances, had been suppressed; but the following words had been allowed to remain: "l'adversité véridique,"—and speaking of Louis XIV. *that King still called* GREAT *by posterity*. It seems that this expression and the phrase just quoted had particularly offended the Emperor.

‡ See this decree in the *Moniteur* of the 1st of January, 1814.

The news spread rapidly through Paris and produced a great sensation. Very free remarks were made about the Emperor, and the funds fell considerably. There was however no disturbance, and unbroken tranquillity prevailed.

On the following day, the first of the year 1814, a large number of the Members of the Corps Législatif came to the Tuileries, and among them were three members of the Committee, Gallois, Flangergues and Maine de Biran. The Emperor spoke long and with great verbosity. "He knew," he said, "that the great majority of the Corps Législatif was sound, but it contained within it a Bourbonist party, at the head of which was M. Lainé, who kept up a correspondence with England through M. Desèze." The Emperor added that he was having him watched.

He spoke for nearly three quarters of an hour. No one made any reply. The crowd dispersed and in the evening all was quiet.

On the following day, M. Lainé, having been informed of the Emperor's imputations upon him, presented himself to the Minister of Police, offered to hand over his papers, and to constitute himself a prisoner, so as to exculpate himself by every possible means from the reproach that had been cast upon him. The Minister told him not to trouble himself, that he ought to know the disposition of the Emperor, who had forgotten all about it, a moment after, and never bore malice.

The matter had ended there, and when I reached Paris, the impression produced had already faded; but the effect had been greater in the departments, where popular feeling was even more excited than in the capital. The inhabitants of the provinces were nearer to the enemy; they looked at things more seriously; taxation, the evils of war and the conscription, pressed heavily upon them. Moreover, they had not the various sources of amusement which even at that time abounded in that great capital, Paris, where every one is occupied with himself, and neither perceives nor pities the misfortunes of his neighbour.

After I had obtained the foregoing information about an event which had caused us great alarm at Morfontaine, I turned my attention to the King's personal position, and to the means of releasing him as quickly as possible from a state of uncertainty and irresolution that could not be prolonged without danger, and without exposing him to ridicule for his inaction at so critical a time. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, to whom I had confided the object of my mission, was eager in his desire to serve the King. We called together on the Duke of Vicenza, who told us that the Emperor had authorised him to confer with the Duke of

Santa Fé, one of the Spanish Ministers, and to treat with him in the interests of such of his countrymen as had embraced the King's cause. "But," added he, "how can this negotiation be begun? What is its object? How is it possible to explain the true situation of affairs to M. de Santa Fé and our powerlessness to exert any influence over the King whom we are about to restore to Spain? And supposing that, by our proposed treaty with him, we induce him to concede something in favour of the Spanish-French party, what guarantee shall we have for the execution of a clause to which he will only consent with reluctance, and in the hope of evading it? Nor must King Joseph infer from the Emperor's concession on that point [*] that he recognizes his claims as King of Spain. The Emperor has not changed and will not change his mind on this matter. He wishes, no doubt, to have his brother with him; but if he presented himself otherwise than as a French Prince and the first subject of the Empire, he would greatly complicate the position of the Government both abroad and at home. It would be thought that the Emperor still intended to conquer Spain; and the presence of the King, as such, would be an argument against the peaceful views of his Imperial Majesty. If, on the contrary, his brother comes to Paris in the capacity of a Grand Elector and a French Prince, he thereby proclaims his readiness to make every sacrifice to facilitate peace; he stands before the nation and before his brother, as having renounced on behalf both of France and himself the crown which he wears."

After this interview, in which the Minister seemed to me to be perfectly reasonable, and in which neither Regnault nor I offered any objections, because, in truth, there were none to make, I saw King Louis, who had just arrived in Paris, [†] and as I wished to have his opinion on the line of conduct I ought to suggest to his brother Joseph on my return to Morfontaine, I told him all the Duke of Vicenza had said to us. "My opinion," said King Louis, "is that my brother should come here, and remain with the Emperor without waiting for any further explanation. I will tell you what happened to myself when the invasion of Switzerland obliged me to leave my retreat there. I came hither; I wrote to the Emperor; I received no answer from him, but, on the third of this month, the Duke of Vicenza paid me a visit. He brought me word from the Emperor that if I came as a French Prince I was welcome, but that I could not be received as King of Holland.

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[*] The reader has already seen that this request was contained in the King's letter to his brother, of the 29th of December, and which Madame Mère had conveyed to the Emperor.

[†] He was staying at his mother's house where I saw him. Madame Mère was present at the interview which I describe.

I replied to the Minister as follows, 'So long as Holland is in the occupation of the enemy I make no claim to the title of King, and I am indifferent to any other. I am here solely as a Frenchman, to share in the present danger and to be useful, so far as I can. If Holland were to fall once more into the power of the Emperor, and that he did not restore it to me, my conscience as a King would forbid my remaining in France. If, on the contrary, when Peace is made, Holland is ceded to some other sovereign, and that a renunciation on my part becomes necessary for the sanctioning of that portion of the treaty, I shall not withhold it. You may repeat to my brother all I have said.' "

Having obtained as much information as possible, I returned to Morfontaine in the night, on the 4th of January, and reported to the King all I had learned, both of the state of affairs in general, and of those that concerned him personally. I added, "It seems to me that you must not expect further propositions from the Emperor, and I can see nothing but disadvantage in your deferring your return to Paris. By writing as you have written, you have gone too far for your retirement at Morfontaine to be accepted as a proof of modesty and philosophical indifference. To remain here, is in fact, in the opinion of all, your least honourable course, because it seems like a wish to escape from the difficulties, nay, the dangers of the moment. On the other hand, by longer delay, you will lose all the merit of the step, if after all you take it. Moreover, supposing that you retain some hope of obtaining a new crown in compensation for one you now sacrifice, when Peace is made, it is only in Paris that you could carry out such an arrangement, and make it popular by your generosity and disinterestedness at the moment of danger. In short, you ought unhesitatingly to follow the example of your brother, King Louis, whose position is very similar to your own."

These arguments, and still more the force of circumstances which no longer left him any freedom of choice, overcame the King's indecision; he resolved on going to Paris, and on the 6th of January he established himself at the Luxembourg, where he gave me an apartment.

On reaching Paris, Joseph again wrote to the Emperor, but his brother's letter still failed to satisfy him. He sent word that there was too much bombast in it, and that he wished it to be more simple. Shortly afterwards, the Prince of Neuchatel made his appearance at the Luxembourg, as the bearer of the Emperor's final conditions. His interview with the King lasted over two hours; but either from want of will or from want of tact, the envoy irritated instead of soothing the King, and the state of affairs was left more unpromising than ever. The King told me he had decided on giving up everything, and going into complete retirement. I used my utmost endeavours to dissuade him from carrying out this resolution, which was prompted by the generosity of his disposition, that made him think himself bound to the Spaniards who had embraced his cause, and persuaded him that in relinquishing the title of King he would be abandoning their interests and acting like a coward. While I appreciated his feelings, I did all I could to convince him that by entering into his views, he could serve those interests better than by resisting the Emperor, and I suggested that he should consult the Spanish Ministers themselves, on this point. He agreed to this, and MM. de Santa Fé, Urquijo and d'Almenara having been summoned, a conference took place in presence of the Queen, and was prolonged late into the night. I reproduced the various arguments that I have already rehearsed in my accounts of private conversations with the King. The Spanish Ministers admitted their cogency, the King was at last convinced, and the next morning he wrote the following letter to the Emperor :

"SIRE,

"The invasion of France imposes on every Frenchman the duty of flying to her defence ; but to those whom she has raised to the highest rank, belongs especially the glorious prerogative of being the first to defend the throne and the country. As premier, French Prince and your first subject, permit me, Sire, to beg you to accept the offer of my sword and of my counsels. In whatever way you may deign to use them, I shall esteem myself happy if I may contribute to restore that tranquillity and happiness to France, the country to which I owe everything, that is needed by the whole of Europe. Under existing circumstances I can see the perils of my country only ; all true Frenchmen must sacrifice every other feeling. You will yet save France, Sire, if all Frenchmen rally round your throne with the same devotion as that with which I offer you my services.

"I am, etc.

"Paris, January 7, 1814."

This letter having given satisfaction, the King was received by his brother on the 9th of January and had a conference of more than three hours' length with him. On returning to the Luxembourg he received a letter from the Emperor informing him that he had given orders at the Palace that the King should be announced as King Joseph and his wife as Queen Julia, and that they would receive the honours due to their rank. The Emperor also authorized the King to wear the uniform of the Grenadier

Guards as worn by himself, and ended his letter by suggesting that, under present circumstances, King Joseph should abstain from wearing any foreign decoration and appear in public with the order of France only. On the following Sunday, the 16th of January, the Senate, the Courts of Judicature, and all the highest state officials, came in state to the Luxembourg to offer their homage to the King, who was attended by the officers of his household. Count de Jaucourt discharged the duties of First Chamberlain, and resumed his hitherto interrupted service. I returned to the Council of State at the bidding of the Emperor. In short, the interior of the Luxembourg resumed its appearance of eight years before, when Joseph dwelt there as a French Prince and a Grand Elector.

Thus ended a long series of negotiations, which, to my mind, were invested on both sides with too great importance. The terrible crisis that had come upon us should have absorbed every thought, and put an end to all considerations of vanity and ambition. To avoid recurring to a melancholy subject, I will say a few words on the conclusion of matters in Spain.

A few days after his secret interview with his brother of the 28th of November, 1813, the Emperor despatched Count de Laforet to Valençay. He had appointed him his plenipotentiary, and sent him to treat with the Duke of San Carlos, appointed in like manner by Ferdinand VII. for the restoration of peace between Spain and France. The negotiation was carried on rapidly, and the treaty was signed on the 11th of December. The crown was restored to Ferdinand without conditions, and with the whole territory of Spain, such as it existed at the peace of Utrecht. By one article, the rank, honours, and property of those Spaniards who had espoused the cause of King Joseph, were confirmed to them, and those who wished to leave the country were allowed a space of ten years in which to sell their estates. Another article reserved to Frenchmen and Italians the enjoyment of property in Spain which had belonged to them before the war, but there was no positive stipulation in favour of those who, during the domination of France, had purchased the national property put up for sale by King Joseph.

After the ratification of the treaty, Ferdinand left Valençay, and set out for Spain. How the stipulations were carried out in the sequel, and how Spain fared under the King we sent back to her, are matters of history. The war waged by the Emperor on that unhappy country and the peace he bestowed on her, were equally fatal. How much blood had been lavished, how much treasure had been wasted, to obtain this shameful result! On the other hand, as might easily be foreseen, the Emperor reaped none of the advantages he had hoped to secure by the transaction. Neither the English nor the Cortes considered themselves bound by the treaty of Valençay ; hostilities continued in the Pyrenees, and the war was carried on in that part of France after it had been concluded in every other.

Our home affairs were in a frightful state in January, 1814. The enemy had reached to the very heart of France ; everywhere our enfeebled armies retreated before him. The Government attempted in vain to arm the people and organise a peasant warfare. A few districts of the Lower Rhine and the Vosges answered to the appeal, but the other departments, whether occupied by the enemy or merely threatened, did not follow their patriotic example. The Senators and Councillors of State who had been despatched to the frontier fortresses, fled from them and returned in haste to Paris. The English had marched into Bordeaux, where the mayor, M. Lynch, emboldened by their presence, had declared for the Bourbons. The King of Naples had deserted the French flag, thus offering the last insult to the Emperor. The negotiations at Châtillon-sur-Seine were assuming a shape which forbade any hope of a favourable issue, the Duke of Vicenza had not been admitted to them without difficulty. Far from dictating in the name of the Conqueror as in former days, he daily received insulting notes, and propositions too humiliating to be consented to, which, if accepted, would probably have been retracted afterwards. There was no wish to treat with the Emperor, but only a desire to overthrow him, and his utter ruin was clearly the object aimed at by the negotiators and their masters.

In this extremity a last effort of French arms became our only resource, and the soldiers' confidence in the genius and good fortune of the Emperor was such, that the army was persuaded that the two combined might yet save the Empire. The troops were however alarmed at the prolonged sojourn of the Emperor in his capital, when his presence was so necessary to strengthen and guide the valour of this handful of warriors, the only hope of their country, and who had remained faithful to her. Moments were precious, and there were none to lose. The Emperor felt this, and only delayed his departure in order to regulate the form of Government during his absence. Provisions were made for this on the 21st of January in an Extraordinary Council. The Empress Marie Louise was named Regent, and was to reside in Paris with the King of Rome. King Joseph and Cambacérès, the Arch-chancellor, were appointed Councillors to the Empress. The first was to preside on important occasions over the Senate and the State Council, which he had the right of convening extraordinarily whenever he should deem it necessary. These preliminaries having been arranged, the Emperor held a grand reception for the last time on Sunday, the 23d of January. I was there in attendance on the King. All the officers of the newly organized Parisian National Guards were assembled in the Salle des Maréchaux. The Emperor appeared accompanied by the Empress and the King of Rome. He presented them both to his officers, asking them to watch over the safety of what was dearest to him in the world, and repeated several times, "You will answer for them, will you not? You will defend them?" He uttered these words many times, with a warmth of feeling which seemed to make a deep impression on his hearers. There was a moment of enthusiasm and cries of "Vive l'Empereur! vive l'Impératrice! vive le roi de Rome!" were heard on all sides. In his ardent address the Emperor did not reveal any hope of peace. His whole speech, on the contrary, seemed to intimate a possibility that the enemy might soon arrive before the walls of Paris, entrusted to the defence of the National Guard. On returning to the drawing-rooms, he found there Senators, Councillors of State, Magistrates, in short, a numerous Court. He spoke a great deal and to very many persons, and without disguising the dangers pressing on us on all sides, he appealed to our generosity to help him to withstand the storm, and received from those present assurances of devotion which were soon belied. But he was fated to be deceived until the last moment, and to believe protestations of attachment to be sincere, that were but well-turned compliments from lips long accustomed to flattery. As for me I was less preoccupied; there was no occasion for hypocrisy towards me, and I perceived by everything that I saw and heard how changed was this Court, formerly so splendid and yet so subservient. I recollected the brilliant period following on the birth of the King of Rome and compared it with the present. Where were the ambassadors from every nation, where the princes, the courtier kings, who, at a period so recent and yet so different, filled these halls and bowed before this now tottering throne? All the pomp of those days had disappeared; of all that crowd of strangers there remained but a few Italian or German Councillors of State, summoned from the departments that had been annexed to France, and who, while their countries were returning to the possession of their ancient rulers, still represented that gigantic association of different nationalities already irretrievably shattered by war. But what struck me most of all was the language of the French Senators. Never had it been more obsequious. M. de Laplace, among others, speaking to me of the position of affairs, dwelt with such lively interest and such profound emotion on his attachment to and confidence in the Emperor, and such indignation on the rumoured proclamation in favour of the Bourbons, that I might well have believed the ancient dynasty to have no more determined enemy and the Emperor no truer friend than he. Judging from his language how could I have supposed that he "had never ceased to cherish"—these were his words subsequently—"the Bourbons in his heart"?

The Emperor left Paris on the 25th of January at seven in the morning and reached Châlons-sur-Marne the same day. I shall not follow him through that celebrated and fatal campaign in which, according to military judgment, he displayed the greatest talent, and which is considered the most scientific of all those which have shed lustre on his name. In this campaign he proved that his moral and physical faculties, far from being exhausted by reverses, had, on the contrary, acquired greater energy. He gave the lie direct to those rumours then prevalent, and since then accredited by many writers, that both mind and body had failed him in the Russian campaign. I leave to those who fought by his side the task of purging his memory from these slanderous imputations. I will only say that if he lost his Empire he at least preserved the renown of French arms. The soldiers fell indeed, but only before superior numbers, and though they frequently encountered enemies worthy to compete with them for the palm of valour and endurance, they never allowed it to be completely wrested from their grasp.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Preliminaries of Peace are proposed by the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies—Napoleon flushed with the military successes obtained in February rejects them—He nevertheless communicates them to an Extraordinary Council at Paris which unanimously advises their acceptance—The numerical superiority of the enemy nullifies the advantages gained by the French—Conspiracy in favour of a Provisional Government is organised in Paris by Talleyrand—Consternation in Paris at the news of the rupture of negotiations at Châtillon—The Emperor throws himself on the rear of the enemy, who nevertheless continues to march on Paris—Measures to be taken for the safety of the Empress and the King of Rome are discussed in a Council of Regency, which decides that they shall leave Paris—Joseph's proclamation of the 29th of March—The Emperor at Troyes on the 28th—The Author refuses the King's proposal that he shall leave Paris with the Queen—Reluctance of the Queen and the Empress to quit Paris—On the morning of the 30th the enemy attacks the French positions under the walls of Paris—Departure of Queen Julia with her children—We hear of the arrival of the Emperor at Fontainebleau with a portion of his guard on the 29th—An order from the Grand Judge, Count Mole, directs the members of the Senate to rejoin the Empress-Regent, the Author leaves on the evening of the 30th and reaches Chartres the 31st of March—A cold reception by King Joseph—The Government of the Regency is established at Blois—Personages composing it—Uncertainty prevails at Blois with regard to the events that had taken place in Paris and at Fontainebleau—On the 7th of April a letter from the Duke of Bassano informs the Regency of the abdication of Napoleon—The Author is sent to Paris to obtain passports for the members of the family assembled at Blois and reaches the capital—Difficulties in fulfilling his mission—He at last obtains the passports, which he sends to King Joseph at Orleans, who is greatly irritated at a clause in them—The Author is excluded from the Council of State, goes into retirement, and establishes himself and family on an estate near Paris.

During the two months which elapsed between the opening of this campaign and the catastrophe that closed it, I remained in Paris, a prey to the alternate hope and fear awakened by the contradictory accounts which reached us from the army. I was separated from all I loved—my son-in-law, General Jamin, major of the mounted grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, was sharing the dangers of the campaign, at the head of that famous regiment; my son and my nephew his aides-de-camp, had joined him; my wife and daughter were at Mayenne with the family of my son-in-law. Deprived of all domestic consolation, I lived at the Luxembourg, in the midst of an agitation incessantly kept up by the arrival of couriers, by the visits of the ministers and principal officers of State, who came for orders or advice to that palace, for it had become in some sort the headquarters of the Government. There was not an interval of repose, nor a day unmarked by some event, sometimes reassuring, at other times, and more often disastrous. Such was my life during those two months. I do not however intend to describe it in detail. I will confine myself to circumstances, which may throw some light on the events of that terrible period.

After the bloody combat of Brienne, when the bold and skilful manœuvres of the Emperor had resulted in the brilliant successes of Champaubert, Montmirail and Montereau, Napoleon regained his habitual confidence in his destiny. He once more beheld himself as the conqueror of Europe, now leagued against him, and he wrote to his brother, that, when crossing the pass of Montereau, where he lost much precious time, he was nearer to Vienna than the Austrians then were to Paris.

It was while dazzled with this success that he received the sketch of the treaty of the preliminaries of peace given to the Duke of Vicenza by the Plenipotentiaries of the allies, assembled at the Congress of Berlin.

The principal conditions are as follows :

France shall give up Belgium and all conquests made since 1792.

The Emperor shall abandon the titles of King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of the Swiss Leagues, and his son that of King of Rome.

Spain shall belong to Ferdinand VII.

Holland shall be given to a Prince of the House of Orange with an increase of territory.

Italy shall be given up to independent Princes.

England shall retain Malta, but abandon the American colonies, and the French establishments in India, as being commercial establishments. She shall retain the islands of France* and of Bourbon. All strongholds in the lands ceded by France, as well as in those still in her power on the Oder and the Elbe, shall be given up within a very short period.

The Allies will likewise retain as surety, until the signing of a definitive peace, the strongholds of Huningen, Belfort, and Besançon.

This draft of a treaty was accompanied by a Note of the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers dated the 2d of March. The

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* Mauritius.

Emperor sent it to King Joseph with all previously received papers relating to the negotiation.*

In an accompanying letter the Emperor ordered that everything should be communicated to an Extraordinary Council, presided over by the Empress Regent, and composed of the Princes, Ministers of Departments, Ministers of State, and Presidents of the section of the State Council. "But," wrote he, "it is only formal opinion I ask for—my resolution is taken—I will never accept a treaty which I regard as a disgraceful capitulation. I only wish to know what will be the sentiments of those famous Councillors on the reading of the propositions and the accompanying documents." Then he added that he had written to Prince Schwarzenberg by the Prince of Neuchatel, to announce to him his determination to concede nothing that concerned the honour of France or his own; also that he had himself written a long letter to the Emperor, his father-in-law, pointing out the importance of the success he had just obtained, and while assuring him that he would soon be at the head of a larger army than Austria's, informing him that 200,000 men would defend Paris, and that even should the capital be taken, France would never consent to such humiliating conditions.

The meeting of the Council and the opinion it might pronounce were therefore really useless, since the negotiations were broken off beforehand. It nevertheless assembled on the 3d of March at five in the evening. It was unanimous in accepting the treaty, such as the Allies proposed; and in fact, hard as the conditions were, they ought to have been accepted, if, which I cannot yet believe, they were the sincere and final proposals of the Powers. The treaty, rigorous as it was, maintained the established government of France; it sanctioned the existence of the Emperor and that of the Imperial Family. England recognised the new dynasty, which was an advantage none of the previous transactions had given Napoleon. There was no question of the Bourbons, who appeared to be altogether abandoned. This was conceding a great deal to the Emperor, who was more considered in this arrangement than France herself. Time might produce discord among the Allied Powers; the very division of the spoils of the Empire must quickly bring about dissensions, and the Emperor would be skilful enough to profit by their disunion, and partly to regain what he now lost by this treaty. Lastly, what he had most reason to fear was the disorganization that menaced the social body; it still existed ; but if peace was deferred, it would perhaps be dissolved, and France might find herself at the discretion of a conqueror unchecked by any treaty.

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* See in the *Moniteur* of the 7th of March, 1814, the two decrees of the 5th of the same month which prove that Napoleon had abandoned all idea of peace, and sought a war of extermination.

The decisions of the Council were sent to the Emperor by the King, who added to them his own entreaties to induce his brother to change his course of action. He did not hide from him how little the nation desired war, and that he risked losing every thing by refusing peace, at any price even, since peace alone could win back for him popular favour, and save him from his fate.*

But, had the Emperor been sufficiently convinced of the truth of these observations, to be willing to abandon the system he was pursuing, he had now gone too far to retrace his steps. Besides, the moment had passed, and the chances of war, in spite of all the glory we had acquired by our last engagements, had again turned against us. Our very victories took from us the means of victory. No sooner did the Emperor shut the road to the capital to one body of the enemy's army, than another appeared in an opposite direction. The Prince Royal of Sweden penetrated into Belgium at the head of 45,000 men, and there was no longer any obstacle to impede his march on Paris. On the other hand, notwithstanding all the Emperor had written to his father-in-law as to the large forces assembled for the defence of the capital, the lie was promptly given to this exaggeration of our resources by information which the enemy received from Paris. Reducing those resources to their real number, there were not troops enough to stop Blucher's army, which, while the Emperor was manœuvring in order to fall on the rear of Schwarzenberg's force, could easily advance on the capital from Meaux. This intelligence reached the enemy from sources too well informed not to be completely trustworthy.

There existed in Paris at this time several associated bodies, whose members, foreseeing the coming fall of the Emperor, and anxious to hasten it, did not hesitate to deliver up their country to the enemy for the sake of gratifying their personal enmity. M. de Talleyrand headed the most active of these societies. He had been ill-used by the Emperor, and had borne ill-treatment without showing on his imperturbable countenance the least sign of resentment, either in Napoleon's presence or in that of King Joseph, whom he sometimes visited at the Luxembourg ; and now the opportunity of revenging himself was too favourable to be let slip, and the hope of regaining power by bringing back the Bourbons—a hope that was speedily crushed—animated him with all the sentiments of enmity and ambition of which a cold heart can be capable. M. de Jaucourt, who was very intimate with M. de Talleyrand, and very scrupulous in his attendance on King Joseph, was his emissary. Being admitted to intimacy at the Luxembourg in his capacity of First Chamberlain, he picked up all the news that arrived, and carried it to M. de Talleyrand, who thus knowing the real state of affairs was enabled to regulate his own conduct accordingly. It was in this society to which the Abbé Montesquiou, Baron Louis, and some others belonged, that a plan for the establishment of a provisional government, or of a regency, which was to be substituted for that of the Empress if she left Paris, was formed ; and even the project of a new Constitution. I learned the existence of this species of committee by a purely personal occurrence. The Minister of Police, in a conversation with King Joseph on the 15th of March, told him that, among other papers received from the Emperor, there was one in which I was named as occupying myself with the projects of a provisional government to be substituted for that established by the Emperor before his departure for the army. Nothing could be more unfounded, as I easily proved to the Duke of Bovigo, whom I went to see the same day. But the origin of this ridiculous denunciation was as follows. My brother, Colonel Miot, equerry to King Joseph, was at the Luxembourg, and it often happened that M. de Jaucourt, hearing of the arrival of a courier, or the rumour of some event, would write to him during the day to know the truth. My brother answered these notes, which were apparently dictated by the greatest interest in the Emperor's cause, and his replies were all taken to M. de Talleyrand. Thus my name came to be mentioned in this particular committee, in support of the statements made there by M. de Jaucourt. From the identity of name, the spy, who kept the police informed of what passed in the committee, had concluded that I was the person in question, and had associated me in his reports with this culpably-obtained information. Thus I heard of it, and I was not surprised ; the catastrophe which was to close the drama was drawing near ; and the event proved that M. de Talleyrand was prepared for it, and that it could not take him unawares.

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* In a letter of the 1st of March to the Emperor, the King had drawn a picture of the situation of France as true as it was vigorous, and of her urgent need for peace. The reader will find the letter in the Appendix to this chapter.

By what I have just related, it is easy to judge that the Emperor could count on little aid from the capital, and still less on public opinion. Partial confidences, artful insinuations, hopes and even promises of gain, made with authority, daily detached influential members of the Senate and Council of State from the Emperor's cause, and examples of devotion and fidelity became rarer every day.* We may judge from this whether the enemy was not kept well informed, and whether he could any longer hesitate to march on Paris! The only support remaining to Napoleon's cause was the presence of the Empress in Paris. So long as she stayed there, his party might still defend itself, and it was to be presumed that her father, finding her on the throne where he had consented to place her, would not thrust her off it, nor would he with his own hands drive her from the palace she inhabited. But by a singular fatality the Emperor had especially enjoined, that if the enemy entered Paris, the Empress and his son were to leave it.† Thus then the last anchor of safety was broken. In the meanwhile events progressed rapidly to a climax. The news of the rupture of the congress of Châtillon reached Paris on the 24th of March, and spread consternation among all those who still hoped to preserve peace. The Duke of Vicenza, in reply to the project of preliminaries of peace, of which I have already spoken, presented a counter project, which appeared to be so opposed to the views and pretensions of the Allied Powers, that their ministers refused even to discuss it. Public funds in Paris fell below 48. Sadness and discouragement spread through all ranks; but at the same time intrigues and plots multiplied. All ambitious persons were in agitation, seeking to make arrangements with the new government. After the news of the rupture of negotiations, Paris remained for many days in complete ignorance of what was taking place at the Emperor's headquarters; it was afterwards known that, after a bloody and disastrous engagement at Laon on the 9th of March, and a success gained on the 13th over the Russian general Saint-Priest, the Emperor had fallen on the rear of the enemy and was in movement at a great distance from Paris.* But this bold stroke, which had intercepted the enemy's line of communication with the Rhine, and had caused both baggage and prisoners to fall into the hands of the French, did not produce the chief result which was expected by the Emperor, the diversion of the attention of the enemy, or at least the retarding of his march on Paris. The enemy's army, combined with that of Blucher, with the Russian Imperial Guard, the Royal Prussian Guard, and the greater part of the army of Prince Schwarzenberg, continued its march across the basin of the Marne, defeated at la Fère Champenoise, the Marshal Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa, who were too inferior in numbers to resist, and then, having crossed the Marne at Trilleport, advanced by Meaux and Claye on Paris. In consequence of this movement General Compans had evacuated Meaux, and placed himself between Romainville and La Villette, under the walls of the city. After this defeat, the two Marshals had retired on Provins, which they quitted by forced marches in order to defend the capital.

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* In the midst of this nearly universal defection, it is consoling to find an honourable exception in the case of Carnot. Although long set aside from public affairs, and deprived of the honour due to his rank and talents, when the moment of danger came he forgot all this injustice, and nobly offered this services to him of whom he had so much reason to complain. I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of recalling in this place the letter he wrote to the Emperor on the 24th of January, 1814:

"SIRE,

"While success attended your arms, I refrained from offering to your Majesty services which I could not think would be agreeable to you.

"But now, Sire, that misfortune tries your constancy, I no longer hesitate to offer you the feeble resources that remain to me. The strength of an old man of sixty is doubtless little, but I thought that the example of an old soldier, whose patriotic sentiments are well known, might bring back many wavering partisans to your eagles, who might otherwise be persuaded to forsake them.

"Sire, there is yet time to bring about a glorious peace, and to regain the love of a great nation."

The defence of Antwerp was confided to General Carnot. How he acquitted himself is well known; he neither capitulated, nor gave up the town until after the Emperor's abdication. In vain the Prince Royal of Sweden tried to open negotiations with him, "in the name," as he wrote in his letter, "of their ancient friendship." "I was the friend," replied Carnot, "of the French General Bernadotte, but I am the enemy of the foreign Prince who bears arms against my country."

† I never saw the letter which contained this order, but there appears to be no doubt that it existed. It will be seen what influence it exercised over the decisions of the Council of Regency.

Such was the state of affairs on the morning of Monday, the 28th of March, and as it was doubtful whether the enemy could be prevented from entering Paris, the day was passed in concerting measures for the safety of the Empress and the King of Rome. An Extraordinary Council of Regency was assembled at eight in the evening, and lasted far into the night. Many were of opinion that neither one nor the other should quit Paris, and this advice was most unquestionably the best. Those who gave it said with reason that the departure of these two personages would paralyse the means of defence, and at the same time destroy all hopes of opening negotiations, and obtaining such terms as might at least save the existence of the Government. The Empress, I have been told, was herself inclined to stay, and was not in the least alarmed at the prospect of what might happen. But Cambacérès, who was naturally timid, and who was besides anxious to place his fortune in safety, was against this course. Finally, King Jerome insisted strongly on the Emperor's letter which decided the question, commanding that in no case were his wife and son to be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy ; and opinions came definitely round to the side of obeying the Emperor's orders. It was therefore determined that the Empress, the King of Rome, and a few persons of the Imperial family, should leave Paris the next day for Blois, by the road to Chartres, and that the Archchancellor, as Councillor, and the Duke of Cadore, as Secretary of State for the Regency, should follow the Empress. When I was informed by the King of the result of the Council, I could not disguise from him my disapprobation. But although it was impossible to alter the dangerous decision, I tried to show him how important it was, that from the moment the heads of the Government left Paris, all subordinate authorities who might arrogate to themselves the right of stipulating or making terms, such as the Council of State, the Senate and the Court of Cassation, should also depart ; and there should only remain in the capital the magistrates holding municipal functions, who could in no case treat, except concerning the private interests of the inhabitants of Paris. The King answered that, so soon as the necessity of capitulating should become obvious—if indeed such an extremity awaited us—the Regency would give orders to convene the State Bodies of which I spoke, and that, besides, military authority alone would be charged to treat with the enemy, without the concurrence of any political body. This reply was not completely satisfactory, for with the enemy, the authorities, whose banishment I asked for, could still, independently of negotiations, take general measures for the interior, which might affect the actual system of government or even hand over the power to others. But to induce the King to enter into my views, it would have been necessary to convince him, and make him see the danger as it was. And this I could not do. Nothing that I proposed was done, or if it was done, it was done too late to prevent the result which I had apprehended.

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* According to a letter of the 25th of March, received at the Luxembourg on the 27th, the Emperor was on that day at Doulevent near Joinville.

On the morning of the 29th, King Joseph made me read a proclamation, in which he announced to the inhabitants of Paris, that one of the enemy's columns was advancing by Meaux, but that it was followed by the victorious army of the Emperor, and he (the King) promised to remain with the National Guard, and to defend, with the aid of the citizens, the objects most dear to their hearts. Although the style of the proclamation was rather pompous, and that I should have preferred its being more simple ; although in my eyes it had the fault of disguising the extent of the danger, and awakening hopes of help on which the people could not count, yet, since it contained an expression of generous sentiments, and there was no time for amendments, I, on the whole, approved of it. The proclamation was posted up, and at first it produced a good effect. But when the public heard of the departure of the Empress, and of the King of Rome, this good effect was done away with, and all confidence in the promises which it contained was lost.

After his proclamation had been posted up, the King, accompanied by his brother Jerome, rode out to make a reconnaissance on the road to Claye. The enemy had not attacked during the night, but he was ever drawing nearer, and our outposts retired before him. In the evening the junction of the troops of the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa was effected, and the positions to the north and east of the city were occupied.

The two marshals defended the ground situated between Charenton and Romainville; General Compans was placed between Romainville and la Villette, and General Ormone between Romainville and Montmartre. During the day there had been a great deal to be done at the Luxembourg in the way of packing up and getting carriages. Very few persons had gone there; the palace was deserted. I did not see M. de Jaucourt, and his absence was an evil omen. A courier arrived towards evening, and informed us that on the 28th of March the Emperor was at Troyes, and that he would soon be at Fontainebleau. This news was the deathblow to all our hopes. The Emperor was too far to aid us on the morrow, and that morrow would be the fatal day.

I had retired to take a few minutes' repose when I was summoned to the King's presence. It was three in the morning (30th of March). He told me all was prepared for the departure of his wife and children, and that, should nothing favourable occur to change his resolution, they would set off before noon for Rambouillet, where they would sleep, and from thence join the Empress at Chartres, where she would arrive in the course of the day. He proposed that I should profit by this opportunity of leaving Paris, adding that if the offer pleased me, he would give orders that a suitable place should be reserved for me in the carriages. I replied that I did not think I ought to quit Paris, so long as the Council of State, of which I was a member, remained there; that as I could not foresee whether circumstances would render a Council necessary, I ought not to expose myself by my absence to the suspicion of having thought of my own safety rather than of the obligation of fulfilling my duties. "Besides," I added, "your Majesty does not think of leaving Paris, and when you are forced into doing so, the principal political bodies of the state will doubtless be called to accompany the Government, and I shall not hesitate to obey such a summons. But, until then, my place is here, and I will not incur the just reproach of having deserted it.'' I could perceive that this reply and the resolution it expressed did not please King Joseph. However, he did not insist, and soon after leaving him I saw him mounting his horse. The last thing he said to me was that his headquarters would be at the telegraph hill at Montmartre, and that despatches and couriers were to be sent on to him there. He authorised me to open letters requiring an immediate reply, which I was if possible to give.

I then went to the Queen's room. She received me, although she had not yet risen. She declared she would not leave Paris, that she had received no formal order to do so, and that until she did she would not go. Besides, she seemed to me to disapprove of the determination come to on the evening of the 28th, and told me that the Empress, whom she had seen on the preceding day, had shown the greatest repugnance to leaving Paris. On the whole, I was convinced from this interview, that the true situation had been better understood by the women than by the men, and that their natural tact had shown them what would be really conducive to the interests of their family. They reckoned on the influence that their presence would have exercised on the conquerors, and particularly on the chivalrous character of the Emperor Alexander, and they were not mistaken. It is certain—at least I think so—that had the Empress remained at Paris she would have saved her son from his fate, perhaps even her husband; but destiny willed it otherwise.

The enemy began the attack at five in the morning. The first roar of the cannon spread terror in the northern parts of the city, and many of my friends came to seek a refuge, with me, in the Luxembourg. A few persons of the King's party, also came to ask for news. Among the number was M. Andrieux, one of our most elegant poets and a celebrated man of letters. I shall never forget that, as he entered, he repeated these touching lines of Homer, lines which Scipio had recited centuries before, when weeping over the misfortunes of Carthage:

Ἐσσεται ἦμαρ, ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλη Ἴλιος ἱρή,
Καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίω Πριάμοιο.*

And, without weakness, we indeed had occasion to weep. At ten o'clock the King sent General Espert with an order to the Queen to set out immediately with her children. Her sister the Princess Royal of Sweden was with her when this order arrived, and their parting was an affecting scene. By mid-day, the Luxembourg was deserted; every one had fled, and the most profound silence reigned there, where lately all had been so full of life.*

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* Iliad, 4th book, v. 164.

Meanwhile, the noise of the cannon and musketry continued. The most terrible rumours were in circulation, but no certain intelligence was to be had. At one o'clock General Dejean, son of the senator of the same name, came to the palace. He found no one but myself with whom he could speak; all the other officials of the household had either disappeared or followed the Queen. He told me that the Emperor had arrived at Fontainebleau on the evening of the preceding day, that a portion of his guard was with him, and that if Paris could hold out for the day—that is to say the day then passing—the Emperor would most assuredly be under the walls of Paris on the next, and in a position to defend the city. I could not do otherwise than tell him where the King's headquarters were, and beg him to go there as quickly as possible, since his news might have great influence. He went, but I do not know whether he reached his destination, or fulfilled the mission with which he was charged. So soon as General Dejean left me I went to visit my brother-in-law, M. Lacroix, who occupied apartments in the Rue de Vaugirard in the house of Count Boulay (of the Meurthe), President of the Section of Legislation of the Council of State, and while I was there a courier in the livery of Count Molé, Grand Judge, arrived. This courier brought orders to the Grand Dignitaries and Grand Officers of the Empire, to the Ministers, and to all the Members of the Senate and State Council, to leave Paris immediately and join the Empress at Chartres. Very few obeyed this order, and among those who refused the greater number gave no reason for so doing. A few, however, sent letters of excuse to the King, which were brought to me at the Luxembourg. Among others was that of M. de Fontanes, alleging reasons of health, but protesting his readiness to obey so soon as he should be better. I heard nothing of M. de Jaucourt, but I was told that M. de Talleyrand had started, but had been stopped at the barrier by the National Guard, and forced to return to his house. For my own part, I did not hesitate as to what I should do. Having collected all the papers I had received during the day, I and M. Boulay (de la Meurthe) entered a carriage at five in the afternoon, and left Paris by the Vaugirard barrier without encountering any obstacle.

The road along the left bank of the Seine was quite free. The cannon had ceased to roar, and the calm which surrounded us contrasted strangely with the trouble we had left behind. The image and the noise of war faded away. But on reaching Sèvres, we found the highway blocked up with carriages and detachments of different corps, which had evacuated Paris, and were retiring rapidly on Versailles. In the latter town the confusion was great, and we had much trouble in getting horses to continue our journey. At Versailles we heard that King Joseph and King Jerome had arrived there on horseback at about half-past four in the afternoon, and that they had gone on a few minutes later to Rambouillet. We gathered no further details ; we could only conclude from this information, and the cessation of the firing, that some arrangement had been come to between the enemies, and probably a capitulation signed. At last, after seven hours on the road, we reached Rambouillet at midnight, and here I found the equipages which had brought Queen Julia ; and as the horses could go no farther, she had been obliged to take the diligence on to Chartres, to join the Empress, who had arrived there on the 30th. At Rambouillet I parted from M. de Boulay, my brother procured me a place in one of the Queen's carriages, and I reached Chartres on the 31st of March, overwhelmed with fatigue both of body and mind. The King, whom I found there, received me rather coldly, and this was the first time during our long and intimate friendship that he showed himself ill-disposed towards me. He appeared angry that I had not consented to leave Paris in the morning as he had proposed. I think however there was no solid ground of objection to the motives that had determined my refusal, but on this I did not insist ; in the situation in which we found ourselves, ill-temper was quite excusable, and it was easy to find fault with each other's conduct, without one being more in the right than the other. I was at the end of my journey, and with the Regency as I had been commanded. I had done my duty ; the rest was beyond me.

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* The reader will be reminded by this passage of the opening scene of Count Miot's narrative, when he witnessed the desertion of Versailles. These were two strange experiences in a life.—(Translators.)

We remained only one day at Chartres. On the 1st of April we went to Chateaudun, and slept there that night, and the next day we reached Blois, where the Empress had arrived the day before, as well as the Arch-chancellor and the other Great Officers of State, who had left Paris with her on the 29th of March. She established the seat of government in that town, assembled the ministers, held councils, and published a proclamation to encourage her partisans. How vain were all such efforts ! The Government lasted but a few days. I cannot, however, pass in silence over the part played by the various persons called together for the moment at Blois.

The Emperor's three brothers were, next to the Empress, those who, on account of their position, exercised the greatest influence on public affairs; but King Jerome showed the most energy. His natural hastiness of temper was disliked by the Empress, whom he often annoyed.

King Joseph was calmer and more dignified, although he understood better than the others the inextricable difficulties in which he was entangled. As for King Louis, either from philosophy or resignation, he held himself quite aloof, and appeared to think only of his religious duties, for we were then in Easter week.

In the second rank was the Arch-chancellor. In accordance with his usual habits, he had surrounded himself with the etiquette of his palace in Paris. From early morning he gave audiences, attired in his brilliant uniform and with all his decorations. And as the streets of Blois are too steep for carriages, he went to visit the Empress and the Princes in a sedan-chair.

Among the ministers was Count Molé, Grand Judge, Count Montalivet, Minister of the Interior, and the Duke of Feltre, Minister of War.*

Among the Ministers of State was Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angely, who had just returned very ill satisfied with a mission that the Empress had sent him on to her father at Dijon, Baron Costaz and myself. Many others who had left Paris, but who had been unable to reach Blois, remained at Orleans. Among the number was Count Boulay, with whom I had travelled as far as Rambouillet. We, however, remained unemployed and were not summoned to attend a single council.

Any one else at all remarkable belonged to the Court of the Empress and King of Rome. Here was also the Baron de la Bouillerie, treasurer to the Empress, who rode at the head of a string of wagons, full of the treasures carried off from the cellars of the Tuileries, and who boasted at that time that he had preserved them for their rightful owner.

I did not see a single member of the Senate. The number of administrators and ministers, small as it was, diminished instead of increasing. During many days we remained in ignorance of what was passing in Paris, the Empress's Government having no official correspondence with the capital. We knew only that the Emperor was still at Fontainebleau; but we did not know what had passed between him and the Allies. Had he come to terms? Was he marching at the head of his army to regain his capital? Such were the questions men asked each other all through the day, and none could give an answer. However it was considered certain that Paris was occupied by the enemy, in consequence of the capitulation, which King Joseph, when leaving the army on the 30th of March, had authorised the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa to negotiate and conclude.

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* These were the only ministers I had occasion to see at Blois. I however, met Count Mollien at Chartres.

In the hope of clearing up our uncertainty respecting the true state of affairs, King Joseph went on the 4th of April, at two in the afternoon, to join the Emperor at Fontainebleau. At the same time measures were taken to transport the Empress and all her suite to Orleans, where she would be nearer her husband; but these plans were not carried out. Hostile bands occupied the road between Orleans and Fontainebleau, and the King was obliged to return to Blois on the morning of the 5th. The project of taking the Empress to Orleans was likewise given up; it was even proposed to take her still farther away.* The King's return, this change of plans as to the sojourn or departure of the Empress, the misunderstanding existing—according to town talk—between herself and her brothers-in-law, heightened the alarm of those persons then at Blois, and many among them, already thinking of throwing up the game, no longer appeared, or began to make arrangements for returning to Paris.

The 6th of April went by in these alternations of hopes and fears. We heard that the Princess of Neuchatel, who was then at Chambord,† had received good news, and an aide-de-camp of King Jerome was at once sent to her; he brought back a note in these words: "We have an armistice of forty-eight hours which will result in peace." We slept well on this news. But on the 7th of April what a change of scene! what a turn of Fortune's wheel!

King Joseph summoned me to his presence towards mid-day. I found with him his two brothers, his mother, his wife, and his two daughters. A table was strewn with papers. He gave me several and told me to read them. One was a letter from the Duke of Bassano, written at Fontainebleau on the 6th of April; two memoranda were attached to this. The minister expressed in a few lines the deep grief with which he fulfilled the sad duties imposed on him. Then, without any details of preceding events, he addressed to the King copies of the two memoranda. The first was written in the following terms:

"The Emperor Napoleon, being informed that he is the sole obstacle to the pacification of Europe, offers to abdicate and even to lay down his life if necessary; but he considers that the succession should be preserved in his family, and his dynasty maintained, for its existence is indispensable to the welfare of France."‡

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* It was proposed that she should go to Tours.

† Chambord is near Blois, on the left bank of the Loire.

‡ See in the *Moniteur* of the 12th of April, 1814, the final act of abdica-

The second bore the singular title of "verbal note," and appeared to be a reply to the preceding paper, or rather a sort of ultimatum dictated at the close of a negotiation. It was as follows :

"The Allied Powers, wishing to prove that all animosity on their part ended at the moment when peace was established, and desiring to treat the Emperor Napoleon with due consideration, since his name will occupy a place in history, have agreed to cede to him the entire possession of the island of Elba with a revenue of six millions of francs, three millions for himself and three millions to be divided between his three brothers, Joseph, Louis and Jerome, and his sisters Eliza and Pauline, and Queen Hortense, who will be considered as a sister on account of her position with respect to her husband."

I cannot express my feelings on reading these documents, so extraordinary in matter and in form, under the very eyes of those whom they struck as with a thunderbolt. For, although the Duke of Bassano added nothing to this communication, it appeared certain that the abdication had taken place ;* and from the fact that the Allied Powers decreed the fate of the Emperor's family, it was also evident that the dynasty was overthrown, and all hope lost. Thus, then, I was a spectator of the close of this great tragedy, and mingled with the secret horror with which that terrible stroke of fortune filled me, was a profound pity for the victims of the catastrophe. I confess that bitter tears rose to my eyes, and I forgot in a moment every cause of irritation in commiseration for so great a misfortune, and in the hopes of finding means to soften it.

The Emperor left his family without counsel or commands. He did not request any of his brothers to follow him, but all the members of the Imperial family then at Blois were terribly alarmed lest the Allied Powers should impose on them also the obligation of living in the island of Elba, and should give them the revenues assigned to them on that condition only. This appeared to them the most imminent danger they had to fear, and consequently the one to be most urgently guarded against. It was therefore resolved that I should go to Paris, to procure passports, so that each one might retire to some part of Switzerland or Germany. In the influence of the Princess of Sweden was their chief hope for the success of this negotiation. Nevertheless, King Joseph gave me a letter for M. de Talleyrand, and King Louis, one for Prince

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tion of the 11th. Everything relating to the dynasty has been suppressed.

* It took place a few days later, on account of the form being changed, as I have just explained.

Schwarzenberg, with whom he was on friendly terms. Finally, the Queen gave me a private letter for M. de Jaucourt. She said in giving it to me that she relied very much on his friendship, and did not fear to put it to the proof.*

The Duke of Feltre was next summoned, and he undertook to provide me with a passport, and at the same time he gave me a letter for his wife. This I promised should reach her. M. de la Bouillerie was also summoned, as it was indispensable to inform him of what had occurred, and he was now sparing in his professions of attachment—no doubt the Emperor's cause seemed to him hopeless, and he knew he possessed many ways of righting himself with the government which should succeed to the vanished empire.

I started at eleven at night on the 7th of April, and there I was on the road to Paris with no other protection than a passport from the Duke of Feltre, who was at that time in bad odour. However, in spite of the alarm with which people at Orleans regarded my journey, I arrived without any adventures at the enemy's outposts, which I found two miles and a half on the Orleans side of Étampes. Here my carriage was stopped for a moment; but on my declaration that I was an inhabitant of Paris returning home, I was allowed to pass without any difficulty. I did not even deem it advisable to show my passport, which might have aroused suspicion, and I reached Paris on the evening of the 6th of April, without having made use of it. I had met with no obstacle except the difficulty of procuring post-horses.

The aspect of Paris was entirely changed. Soldiers of every nation and tongue crowded the streets. In the hats of the men I noticed white cockades, and the women wore bunches of lilies in their hair; everything that could have recalled the Emperor's power was effaced; the statue on the top of the column of the Place Vendome was thrown down; the tricolour flag which had floated for more than twenty-five years over the Tuileries was removed. On the 2d of April, the Senate had pronounced the deposition of the Emperor, and already scarcely a letter of his name remained on the public monuments. His name, who ten days before had filled the city with trophies of his glory! The Senate, so unwisely left behind in Paris, had put the time to profit. A Constitution, improvised within four days, and by which the Senators took care that they themselves should be well repaid, by hereditary power and by endowments for the services they had rendered the Bourbons, was the laughing-stock of every one. A proclamation dated from Hartwell, and posted on the walls of Paris, and which the Provisional Government had been obliged to disown, had raised alarm among the purchasers of national property.* Precipitation and unreason seem to have directed all these strange proceedings; and yet some change was so needed, every one was so afraid of being the last to consent to these novelties, that addresses of adhesion to the measures taken by the Senate poured in without intermission and filled those very columns in the *Moniteur* that were formerly occupied by protestations of fidelity and devotion to the Emperor and his dynasty,† signed with the same names.

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* By the Paris newspapers, received at the same time as the Duke of Bassano's letter, we had heard of the formation of a Provisional Government, of which M. de Talleyrand was president, and M. de Jaucourt a member.

Although these scenes offered me a large field of observation, I did not on that account neglect the object of my journey, and the business with which I was entrusted was my first care. The very day of my arrival I visited the Princess of Sweden. She was expecting a visit on the following day from the Emperor of Russia, and she hoped to obtain through his kindness all the requisite facilities for the departure of Napoleon's family. She also hoped to obtain permission for her sister to remain in France with her two daughters, and advised me not to include them in the demand for passports which I was about to make to the Provisional Government.

I called the next morning on M. de Talleyrand; but I requested an interview with him in vain. The Emperor of Russia was with him; a crowd of place-hunters and courtiers filled the reception-rooms, and among them I saw men whom I had left two days earlier at Blois. I redoubled my entreaties to the surly ushers;

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* I here give the paragraph of this proclamation relating to the National Property, which caused such well-founded alarm. "As for the Property question, the King, who has already announced his intention of using every means in his power to protect the various interests of all, sees in the numerous arrangements already made between the old and new proprietors, a way of rendering any further legislation superfluous. Nevertheless he pledges himself to forbid any appeal to law which might upset these arrangements, to confine himself to encouraging amicable transactions, and himself and his family will set the example of making any sacrifice which may contribute to the happiness of France and the union of the French people."

† Among these numerous addresses, several made a great impression on me; those, for instance, of Cambacérès, and of General Mathieu, a kinsman of King Joseph, and of the Chief of his Staff, both of whom I had left at Blois. Their addresses are dated the 8th and 9th of April, and the Empress was then at Blois! The address of Count Philip de Ségur was remarkable for the chivalry of its sentiments. And this name, "a pledge of the oaths sworn to the Bourbons" by M. de Ségur, reappears just a year after, among those of the officers of the Empire who flocked to the Tuileries to serve Napoleon.

I wrote a line saying from whom I came ; I was only told I could not be received and must return at some other hour. I did return ; and met with the same reception, or rather non-reception. Finally, after four vain attempts, I was obliged to renounce the hope of seeing this invisible deity. The unfortunate ambassador of a deposed power, I was unable to deliver my letters of credit, and the very doors which ten days before would have been flung wide open at the name of him who sent me, now refused to turn upon their hinges to admit me into the sanctuary.

I had no better luck with M. de Jaucourt ; he received me before breakfast. I thought it wiser, in the changed condition of affairs to abandon our former familiarity of language, and he did not recall it.* I gave him the Queen's letter and told him how firmly she confided in the friendship of her former chamberlain. He replied that of course he would do all he could, that he would present a report at the next meeting of the Provisional Government, which would then give instructions to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, on whom he advised me to call. Then, curtly changing the conversation, "Well, where is he ?" he asked me. "Has he gone ? What is he doing at Fontainebleau ? You must know what is going on. So long as he is there, our labour is useless, and we cannot be at ease." I assured him I was not in a position to answer these questions, that according to the orders given to the Senate and the Council of State I had gone to Blois, where I had been for six days, and during that time we had only once received news from Fontainebleau, by the Duke of Bassano, announcing the Emperor's abdication. "Well," he retorted, "the abdication is not yet accomplished ; he bargains, and there are still troops in that direction ; we cannot be at ease until he is gone." Since I could do nothing to relieve his mind, I returned to the object of my visit, but not being able to regain his attention I took leave of him.

There now remained King Louis' letter to Prince Schwarzenberg, but here my luck was even worse. I was unable to get past the Hussars and Cossacks who guarded the entrance of his palace, and was forced to entrust the letter to a lady of my acquaintance, who assured me she could find means to deliver it into his hands.

I sent the letter from the Duke of Feltre to his wife, and this was the only mission in which I did not fail. After all this tiring work, I returned home, and wrote an account of it to King Joseph. My letter was taken by a courier whom the Princess of Sweden was despatching to her sister. The next day, April 10th, I heard from the Princess that her request had been well received by the Emperor of Russia, and that I would no doubt obtain the passport in the course of the day. Following M. de Jaucourt's instructions, I went at an early hour to the Provisional Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Laforet. He received me at once. I explained to him the object of my visit. He told me he had received no orders from the Government, and that he could not, unless authorised to do so, let me have the passports which I solicited. "Besides," added he, "I don't exactly know what position I hold here. I have been named Minister of Foreign Affairs, but I am the shadow of a minister at the head of a shadowy department. I am like that shadow of a coachman, who in Pluto's regions, used to polish the shadow of a coach with the shadow of a brush." Having no reply to make to this sample of Scarronian learning, I took my departure and heard nothing more of the matter. But at length, two days later, M. de Laforet sent to beg I would immediately call on him. I hastened to his house, and he showed me a paper, signed by the five members of the Provisional Government, on which was written an authorisation to him to have passports for King Joseph and his family issued, but on condition that the King should not return to France without leave from the Government. This clause was to be inserted in the passports. He then informed me, that it was not from him, as Minister or the shadow of a Minister, of Foreign Affairs, that I was to obtain the passports, but that they would be delivered to me at the Ministry of Police. I went there to claim them, and they were granted without difficulty on the same day, the 15th of April. I forwarded them at once to Orleans, whither King Joseph had proceeded on leaving Blois, and where I had addressed several letters to him acquainting him with the progress of my negotiations.

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* We were accustomed to use the familiar "*Thou,*" and "*Thee.*"

But I had not reached the end of the trouble which this mission was destined to cause me. The passports gave dissatisfaction; the clause they contained was looked upon as an insult, and the King was seriously angry with me for having admitted it, and for having sent him passports containing such a clause. He wrote me a very sharp letter,* which hurt my feelings all the more be-

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* Here is the King's letter:

"Orleans, April 17th, 1814.

"MONSIEUR LE COMTE.

"I have received various letters from you. The letter of the 15th does not harmonise with the preceding ones. How could you imagine I should ever consent to proscribe myself? I leave such a task to those who consider it their duty. Such as I am, no one can insult me without inflicting an insult upon himself. My brother, the King of Westphalia, has received passports containing no such humiliating clause. I do not cause of its injustice. I had done all that man could do, and besides, I could see nothing humiliating in the imposed conditions. The Emperor's abdication had rendered the formation of a Government, even as regarded his family, legitimate ; since no country can exist without one *de facto* or *de jure*, and that Government was free to impose the condition it had placed upon the issue of the passports. This was an act of regular authority, and in my opinion at least there was no disgrace in submitting to it.

Owing to this unlucky incident, a coolness arose between King Joseph and myself. He started alone and without passports for Switzerland, where he went to reside at the Chateau de Prangins, and I did not accompany him. Thus my relations with a man for whom I had a boundless affection were broken off. They were, however, renewed in later days, and I can now look back without bitterness on the wrong he did me, from an over-susceptibility of feeling.

To bring my account of this period to an end, I have only to add a few words about my personal affairs. So soon as the abdication of the Emperor, on the 11th of April, was known, the members of the Council of State, convened by the Provisional Government, assembled on the same day at the palace of the Tuileries. Being set free from their oaths by this abdication, they gave their adhesion to the changes which had occurred, and I was among the number of those who signed the act which appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 12th of April. But very soon a distinction was made between the various Councillors, and when, on the 16th of April, the Council was presented to Monsieur the King's brother, who had just arrived in Paris, those of its members who had followed the Empress to Blois,* were excluded from it ; so that the treason of the Councillors of State to him who had just fallen, was accepted as a guarantee of their fidelity to the new Government. Was not this sound reasoning ?

My exclusion from the Council decided my fate, and the effort that I made to be re-admitted, in accordance with the wishes of my family, having failed,† I gave up politics, and settled at Ver-

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doubt your good will, but you were very much deceived if you thought to render me a service by advising me to an act of cowardice.

"Believe nevertheless in my gratitude for your trouble, and in my attachment.

"Your affectionate,

"JOSEPH."

* The Queen and her daughters came back to Paris, where I saw them several times. They lived with the Princess Royal of Sweden.

† I wrote on the 18th of April to M. de Talleyrand, who did not reply to my letter.

sailles, where some of my relatives resided. A few days later I was joined there by my son-in-law, my son, and my nephew. They had left Fontainebleau after the departure of Napoleon. Having witnessed the last scenes which had taken place there, and which Vernet has since so vividly reproduced in his pictures, they were enabled to give us all the details.

Shortly after my establishment at Versailles, Louis XVIII. entered Paris, and disregarding the Constitution drawn up by the Senate, gave France the Charter—a monument of wisdom and prudence, which must, it seemed, put a term to all the convulsions of the country, and fix its destiny for ever. A regular Government was organized; the Council of State was re-established, and as I was not among those members who were summoned to join it, I received the retiring pension to which I was entitled. My son-in-law and I then bought between us a farm at Polangis, near Saint-Maur-sur-Marne. Thither I removed my household goods; and on the 18th of July I was quite settled in my new home. I hoped to pass quietly the rest of my life there, but this was not to be; I had not yet "dree'd my weird."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXVI.

KING JOSEPH'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

"SIRE: Your Majesty's ministers furnish me regularly with extracts from their correspondence. I read them with all the interest that present circumstances inspire. I regret to inform your Majesty, that I find everywhere in them symptoms of the decline of authority, and prognostications of the complete dissolution of the administration.

"The presence of the enemy, independently of the ravages and the misery it occasions, has still more fatal consequences, in the loosening of all the bonds which unite the people to the Government; and the means to which it is necessary to have recourse in those places not occupied by the enemy, in order to provide for urgent and ever-recurring necessities, are beyond all precedent, are exhausting our resources, and at the same time demoralizing the public mind.

"Already in the departments in the centre of La Vendée, germs of insurrection are developing, and the Senator Comte Canclaux shows great alarm respecting the state of public opinion. The appearance of the enemy in the department of the Somme, and the momentary occupation of the citadel of Doulens, are events which, if we may believe what Senator Villemanzy writes, did not take place without the connivance of the inhabitants.

"Senator Latour-Maubourg is full of alarm respecting the effect that the presence of the enemy, now in Picardy, may produce on Normandy, and still more so on account of a ship hoisting the white flag, which has been signalled from the coast.

"At the present time, the movements of the enemy at Meaux, and the terror they have inspired in Paris, have dismayed every mind; and such alarm cannot be felt without giving rise to popular discontent, which tends to alienate the people from us.

"The victories gained by your Majesty, and the odious conduct of the enemy, cannot, Sire, counterbalance these unfortunate tendencies. The most brilliant successes will not cause the miseries of the war to be forgotten, and the most fortunate of wars, by putting off from day to day the establishment of a regular order of administration, will but accelerate the fall of the financial and administrative system that now threatens us.

"Peace alone can heal our wounds, if indeed they are not become quite incurable. Your Majesty, after having in so short a time changed the face of affairs, and after having once more displayed to Europe that transcendant military talent which you never demonstrate with greater force than in the most critical circumstances, has now done all that was necessary to save France from a dishonourable peace. It remains for you to achieve a great work, by arresting, through the rule you seem to exercise over events, the evil which at present permeates every part of the social body. Every other consideration should give way before so pressing a necessity, and with so precious an interest at stake, your Majesty may make any sacrifices without fearing that you can ever be reproached with them.

"I hope that your Majesty will recognise in the freedom with which I explain mysell only a proof of the interest I take in your glory and in the happiness of France, which is inseparable from it, and that you will consider me merely as the interpreter of the wishes and opinions of your most sincere friends and devoted servants.

"I am, etc.

(Signed) "JOSEPH."

"Paris, March 1st, 1814."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

After Napoleon's return from the Island of Elba the Author re-enters the Council of State—Appearance of the Imperial Court at an audience given at the Tuileries—The Author again meets Prince Joseph—Declaration of the Council of State respecting the dogma of the sovereignty of the people—Addresses of the principal tribunals and of the ministers, in favour of the re-establishment of Imperial authority—State reception at the Tuileries—The Author is sent as Commissioner-Extraordinary of the Government into the departments composing the 12th Military Division, and goes to La Rochelle—Feeling of the inhabitants of the different departments which he visits—Difficulties encountered by him—Hostile disposition of the inhabitants of a part of La Vendée, and especially the town of Nantes—Unfortunate effect produced by the publication of the Additional Act—Warm reception given to the Author at Poitiers—On his return to Paris, the Author renders an account of his mission to the Emperor—Influence of Prince Lucien, who has returned to Paris, on affairs—The news from Vienna having put an end to all hope of a pacific arrangement with the Allied Powers, the Emperor has no other chance but war—Distrust inspired in the Government by the attitude of several general officers, and also by the majority of the nominations to the elective Chamber—Solemnity of the Champ de Mai—Discourse pronounced on this occasion, in the name of the electors, and the Emperor's reply—Solemn opening of the session of the Chambers, on the 7th June—The Emperor leaves Paris on the 12th for the northern frontier—Abandoning the army after the disaster of Waterloo, he returns to Paris during the night of the 20th of June—His abdication, strenuously opposed by Lucien, is resolved upon, and sent to the Chambers—The Author hears that his son-in-law has been killed, and his son seriously wounded in the battle of Waterloo—Dispersion of all the members of Napoleon's family—The Author returns to the country, where the generous protection of the Emperor Alexander secures both him and his family from injury by the allied troops—Death of the Count's son in consequence of his wound—At the end of two years the Author, having sold his country house, returns to Paris, where, remote from public affairs, and occupied with literary work, he lives in profound retirement.

During the latter part of 1814, and the beginning of 1815, I lived in retirement, occupied with literary work. During this interval I made only two or three journeys to Paris, and thus remained an entire stranger to the political events of that period. Nevertheless I perceived by the action of the Government since the Restoration, that far from gaining the hold on the public which it greatly needed, so many private interests were irritated and injured by it, that, having struck no roots, it would be powerless to resist the first violent shock it might sustain. Circumstances speedily justified my conviction. The Emperor returned from Elba, and the Bourbons, abandoned by the Army, fled before him. But I only learned the fact of his return and its accompanying circumstances from the *Moniteur*. Notwithstanding my former friendships with the family, I received no private information of the event, and I had afterwards reason to believe that the daring Genius who had conceived and put into execution so rash an enterprise had admitted no one to his confidence. I have therefore nothing particular to say concerning the Emperor's return, excepting that I regretted it profoundly, and that when the news reached my retreat, I was seized with a presentiment, afterwards too fully realised, of what the consequences would be.

My position did not however admit of my remaining a mere spectator of this fresh crisis. My son-in-law, General Jamin, was still in command of the mounted Grenadiers of the old Imperial Guard, which Louis XVIII. had retained, and he, as well as my son and my nephew, his aides-de-camp, were carried along with the movement which the Emperor's return had communicated to all their former comrades in the army. I could not, without disowning them, refuse to re-enter the Council of State, from which the King had excluded me, and to which I was now recalled by the Emperor. I therefore yielded, though regretfully, to fate, and went to Paris on the 23d of March, 1815. I found a crowd in the private apartment of the Emperor at the Tuileries. The former Grand Officers of the Empire had already returned to their posts; M. de Ségur, carrying the wand of the Grand Master of Ceremonies, was busy re-establishing the etiquette of the Imperial Palace, in spite of his name having been given in by his son as a "guarantee of the oaths of fidelity to Louis XVIII." The Senators who had not been created peers by the King, re-appeared in their senatorial garments, the Councillors of State had likewise put on their former robes. Ministers, Marshals, Generals, and a great number of officers of every rank, had hastened to the palace, and the tricoloured cockade appeared again in the hats of the soldiers. The metamorphosis was as sudden as it was complete. In the midst of this eager crowd, Napoleon remained calm, and his face showed no signs of astonishment or exaltation. It would seem as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and he stood there as though he had never been absent. He spoke a good deal, and in his discourses gave way to no recrimination against the Bourbons. He only pointed out, and with justice, the faults they had committed, and the errors into which they had fallen, by alienating from themselves the public feeling of France, that alone could uphold them, and by giving themselves up to émigrés, priests, and former courtiers, who could give them no firm support. He repeated many times that but for the mistakes of the Government he would never have thought of returning to France, and that it was the Bourbons themselves who had opened the way for him.

After this audience, I went to call on Prince Joseph, who had left Switzerland and just arrived in Paris. He received me well, but still not with the affection to which our former friendship had accustomed me. I found him surrounded with persons who came to entreat him to get them taken back into the Emperor's favour, and who, not having dared to present themselves at the Tuileries, implored his good offices. He received them with the greatest kindness, worked for them zealously, and succeeded in a great number of cases. As to those towards whom the Emperor was inflexible, they afterwards made a merit of their disgrace, and accounted for his refusal to receive them, by their too well-known attachment to the cause of the Bourbons!

On the 25th of March, the Council of State was assembled under the presidency of Count Defermon, the earliest in date among the Presidents of Section. Count Thibaudeau, reporter of a Commission charged to present a declaration of the Council on the situation of affairs, read to us the draft which had been drawn up by him and adopted by the Commission. Its principles, which re-established the dogma of the sovereignty of the people, could not be pleasing to the Emperor, who during all his political career had always opposed that dogma, or at least only professed it in order not too rudely to shock the ideas adopted by the majority of the nation. But at this epoch the Council reverted to the doctrines of the early days of the Revolution, and flattered itself it could secure their triumph, as the only doctrines which could attract the middle and lower ranks of society, in which it was obliged to seek its principal support, to the Government. The draft of declaration was therefore adopted without difficulty, and I, with the great majority of my colleagues, signed it.

While the Council of State was deliberating on this declaration and adopting it, the other great Bodies of the State, such as the Court of Cassation, the Court of Appeal, and what appeared more extraordinary, the Ministers themselves, held meetings, and voted addresses more or less in favour of the re-establishment of the Imperial authority.

Lastly, everything being prepared beforehand, on the following day, March 26th, the Emperor gave a State reception at the Tuileries to the various authorities, listened to the addresses which were read to him, and replied by assurances of moderation, and respect for the rights of the people. He said that he had renounced that great Empire for the establishment of which he had worked during fifteen years, and that he abdicated the ambitious titles of King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Mediator of the Swiss Leagues. But notwithstanding this abdication and the novelty of his language, he did not succeed in dispelling all distrust. Every countenance was serious, and anxiety was to be read in them all ; there was a visible constraint, and many of the generals, among others Alexandre Girardin and César Berthier, seemed to me greatly at a loss to know what to do with themselves, and with the tricolour which had replaced the white cockade they had worn in their hats for now nearly a year. General Berthier said a great deal to me about the anxiety which the position of his brother the Prince of Wagram occasioned him. He told me that he had written begging him to return and throw himself on the generosity of the Emperor. A short time afterwards Napoleon let César Berthier know that the Prince of Wagram had nothing to fear in returning to France.* And that forgiveness was sincere, for in truth never was there a sovereign less vindictive than Napoleon.

When the Emperor crossed the Salle des Maréchaux, on his way to mass, and the room which precedes the Council-chamber of the Council of State, he was greeted with loud acclamations by the officers of the Imperial and National Guards. On his return he gave audience, but he did not show himself outside the palace.

After this fashion was the newly restored Government inaugurated. To all outward appearance everything had assumed its accustomed order. The Emperor's absence had not lasted long enough to break through former habits, and the interregnum had been barely perceptible. But that it was far otherwise with the mind of the public, soon became manifest.

The Emperor presided in person over the Council of State on the 28th of March. On entering the Hall he looked up at the ceiling, on which Gérard had painted the battle of Austerlitz, and he seemed pleased to find the painting just as he had left it. He then asked for the orders of the day, and made no allusion to the general situation of affairs. He was waiting the issue of some negotiations which he was attempting with the Congress of Vienna (they were all rejected), and his ideas on the direction to be given to the Government, and on the nature of the modifications which he had promised to introduce into the Imperial Constitution, were not yet sufficiently fixed for him to bring forward subjects of such importance. The sitting was therefore of little interest. Those which were held in the month of April were far more important. The debates on the famous Additional Articles were very animated, especially when M. Benjamin Constant, who had been appointed a Councillor of State, took part in them.

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* He had forsaken the Emperor after his abdication, and the King had appointed him one of the Captains of the Body Guard. At the news of the landing of Napoleon at Fréjus, he had left Paris, and taken refuge in Germany, where he perished miserably.

During those debates I was absent from Paris. I therefore abstain from any account of what then took place at the Council, and will say a few words respecting the object of my journey.

On Sunday the 9th of April I received, while in the country, a letter from the Minister of the Interior,* ordering me, in the name of the Emperor, to start that night for La Rochelle, as Government Commissioner Extraordinary for the departments comprised in the 12th Military Division.† Some few Senators and several of my colleagues had been appointed to discharge similar duties in the other divisions. That which had fallen to me was, doubtless, not one of the least difficult; I was going into a part of the country that had long suffered from civil war; I should meet the Emperor's most determined enemies, English agents, and perhaps even some of the Bourbon Princes, who, it was said, had remained in those parts, in order to keep up the zeal of their adherents. My instructions were not very explicit, but on the other hand extensive powers were conferred on me; I could dismiss and replace the civil authorities (prefects alone excepted) and the treasury officials. I was to organise the National Guard everywhere, to encourage the formation of volunteer corps, and to direct them towards the northern frontiers, and I was to do all these things without delay; rapidity of execution was especially expected from me.

After having obtained some information from Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely concerning the neighbourhood, of which he was a native and which he knew well, I left Paris on the morning of the 10th of April, and arrived at La Rochelle on the 13th in the evening. The Minister of the Interior had given me the names of the new prefects just appointed by the Emperor to the department of the 12th Military Division. I found that Baron Arbaud de Jonques was still at La Rochelle; he had been prefect under the Royalist Government in the department of Charente Inférieure. He was waiting for his successor, M. Boissy d'Anglas. M. Arbaud made great complaints to me of his dismissal, and warmly protested his devotion in the service of the Emperor. He was eager to explain to me all his claims to less severe treatment, on account of the services he had rendered to the Imperial Government at different times, and particularly when Prefect of the Hautes-Pyrénées at the time of our retreat from Spain. He begged me to forward his petition to Paris, and I did so. It obtained no attention, and the fact that it did not, became in his case, as in many others, a title to fresh favours from the restored Royalist Government.*

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* General Carnot, whom a few days previously the Emperor had made a Count and Minister of the Interior.

† That is, the departments of La Vienne, Deux Sèvres, Charente Inférieure, La Vendée and Loire-Inférieure.

The people appeared to regard the change of their magistrates with considerable indifference. So many similar convulsions had successively occurred at very short intervals, that their political sensitiveness was worn out. I found the department quite tranquil. The dwellers in the towns, trembling for their trade, were, if not hostile, at least cold ; the country people, who believed the Emperor's return would protect them from the nobles and priests who had tyrannised over them, were less indifferent, and were ready to make further sacrifices.

I remained several days at La Rochelle. In concert with M. Boissy d'Anglas, who arrived on the 15th of April to supersede M. Arbaud, I made some changes in the civil authorities ; but quietly, and with the sole view of preventing internal dissensions between the governors and the governed. I endeavoured to hold the balance as evenly as possible between the two extremes, without feeling certain however that I had chosen for the best. During my stay in this department, and in others that I visited subsequently, I had not time to obtain information for my guidance ; I can therefore only claim the merit of good intentions. Moreover, my work was not permanent enough to have been productive of much good or evil.

I left La Rochelle for Rochefort on the 20th of August, thence I went to Saintes, and St. Jean d'Angely. I was not ill-received on my journey. The changes that I effected in the administration were always in accordance with the principles I have just mentioned, and, generally speaking, met with approval.

On my return I passed another day at La Rochelle, whence I directed my steps to the department of La Vendée. In order to reach the chief town, which had resumed its former name of Napoleon, I crossed that part of it called La Plaine. All was perfectly quiet, and the inhabitants displayed attachment to the principles of the Revolution, which I had not expected in a department famous for obstinate resistance to the Republican system, and for devotion to the family of our former kings. But the case was different in a part called Le Bocage, a wooded country difficult of access, and at that time greatly disturbed.

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* After the second Restoration, Baron Arbaud was made Prefect of the Guard. His severity in the department, and his imprudent conduct, contributed in no small degree to the sanguinary disturbances that took place there in 1815.

I stayed two days at Napoleon. I saw the new Prefect, M. Boullé, who did not disguise from me that he was alarmed by the popular feeling in this part of his department. He considered it useless to dream of re-organising the National Guard; he believed that if fresh battalions were formed, they would never consent to leave the department, and that if they remained in it, they would turn their arms against the very authority that had re-established them. I followed his advice, and confined myself to making a few changes in mayors and municipal officers. I refused, moreover, to listen to the numerous denunciations that were, of course, addressed to me, and if I could not provide for the future tranquillity of the country, at least I did not disturb such as it enjoyed.

I proceeded next to Nantes. On entering the town I found considerable crowds awaiting me, and I was received with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur.*" But I should have gravely erred had I taken this unexpected welcome for a sincere expression of the feelings of that great and important city. Not one of those I had as yet visited had shown more hostility. All the merchants, the magistrates, the rich landowners were strongly against the Emperor. Women especially displayed great aversion and enmity to him; they inspired all over whom they had any influence with the same. The shouts that had welcomed me proceeded only from the lowest classes of society, and the guilds of workmen and artisans. But these assemblies, which were openly encouraged by the agents of the Minister of Police, and to which I could not refuse my sanction, were more formidable to the upper classes, to whom they recalled the early days of the Revolution, than useful to the cause they had to defend.

This state of things made my task difficult, and it was only by great exertion that I succeeded in creating a new municipality at Nantes, and inducing men of sufficient character to justify my choice, to accept public offices which I could not leave in the hands of declared enemies. The new Prefect, M. Bounaire, was without influence, and could not help me. Lastly, the promulgation of the Additional Act to the Constitution of the Empire, which I received just then, added to the difficulties of my mission. That act fulfilled so ill the hopes that had been built on it, that it was unanimously rejected by all parties. The people had flattered themselves that the Emperor would convene a National Assembly, to discuss those alterations in the Constitution which past experience had shown to be necessary. This was what the Emperor had promised in his proclamations and in his speeches ; it was the text which the Commissioners, sent into the departments, had amplified in order to regain the favour of the people. But, instead of fulfilling these promises, the Emperor alone, unassisted by any national representation, and without public debate, made, in some sort, a new Constitution. With a stroke of his pen, he confirmed the provisions of a number of former Decrees which required reform, and forbade their further examination. The new institutions announced by the Additional Act, although good in themselves, were incomplete. They did not affect the Communal system of 28 Pluviôse, Year VIII. ; a system inherently vicious, and of which great complaints had been made. Finally, the concluding article (of no avail, for what law can fetter the future will of a nation ?) offended not only all the partisans of the Bourbons, but also those of that system of the Sovereignty of the People, which had been recognised by the very organs of the Government itself. Thus both extremes of public opinion were equally unfavourable. Thenceforth all action in the name of the Government became almost ineffective, and the slight influence I had been enabled to exert at Nantes was entirely effaced. Never had a political error more immediate effect, and I clearly foresaw that the elections by which a Chamber of Deputies was to be formed, would end in the return of members of the so-called patriotic opposition, and that the Emperor, instead of finding firm and faithful support in that new Chamber, would only find opponents more or less imbued with the Republican maxims which they would have restored only that time had failed them. I wrote to Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, pointing out all the harm that his imprudent measure had done to the Emperor's cause ; but the evil was irreparable.

I had now only to visit the Department of Deux-Sèvres and that of Vienne, and had barely time to pass hastily through them. I had received orders to be back in Paris on the 5th of May, and as it was physically impossible for me to get there at that date precisely, I resolved at least not to exceed it by more than a few days.

I reviewed the National Guard at Nantes, on the 2d of May. Although the weather was beautiful, there was not a woman present. The Guard took the oath to the Emperor *en masse*, but with a marked reluctance which I pretended not to perceive. I left Nantes the same evening for Niort, where I arrived on the 3d, after again traversing all the Department of La Vendée, by way of Montaigu, Chatonnay and Fontenoy le Comte, where I halted for a few hours.

The department of Deux-Sèvres, of which Niort is the chief place, is situated in the neighbourhood of La Vendée. Its inhabitants had frequently taken part in the civil wars, but at the time of my visit it was still pretty quiet. I met with more civility there than I had expected, and was enabled to act without encountering much difficulty. M. Busch, the Prefect of the Department, a worthy and clever man, had made himself popular, and was of great use to me. The National Guard supplied battalions for the frontiers, and showed a readiness to defend the interior too ; but this state of tranquillity was soon disturbed. In proportion as the tendencies of the Congress of Vienna became better known, the emissaries of the Bourbons and of England reappeared in La Vendée, and the neighbouring departments, and renewed their intrigues. Serious disturbances soon broke out. I was not informed of them until after I had left Deux-Sèvres, but as I had no means of restoring order, I did not think it desirable to return to that department, although I was entreated to do so by the Prefect, and I confined myself to reporting the state of things to the Government, who thereupon despatched an army corps into the disturbed provinces under General Lamarque.*

From Niort I proceeded to Poitiers, where I arrived on the 6th of May. I found the town in a state of ferment. The electors were assembling for the election of the Chamber of Deputies. The National Guard under General Demarçay, who had re-organised it, was full of ardour and energy. In a word the "patriots" had the upper hand. My reception showed signs of this ; crowds came out to meet me, and not, as at Nantes, the people only ; the highest classes of society hastened to take part in the fête. The streets were illuminated at night ; the next day the town invited me to a state banquet ; in fact, none of the demonstrations usual on occasions of the kind were omitted. I will even add that they were in great part sincere ; the conduct of the old nobility, and that of the clergy since the first Restoration, had alienated the people of the department from the Bourbon cause, and in their desire to escape a yoke of which they had felt the weight, they embraced the cause of the Emperor. The concurrence of these various circumstances saved me from opposition ; I could not, however, overcome the ill-will of the clergy, who obstinately refused to pray for the Emperor. In an interview which I had with the Vicar-General on the subject, he defended himself by saying he was without orders from the Bishop of the Diocese. All he could do, he said, was to leave off praying for Louis XVIII. ; and he assured me that he had done so. "But," added he, "I shall pray for no one else until ordered by my superiors.'' I had to content myself with this compromise ; there was no more to be said.

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* It is well known that in executing this difficult task General Lamarque proved himself an able commander and also a capable negotiator, and that he succeeded in pacifying that part of the country.

My mission was now ended, and, on the evening of the 9th, I began my return journey to Paris, filled with melancholy reflections. True it was that I left behind me—at least so I flattered myself—the recollection of no individual grievance, of no act of violence or passion ; I had neither persecuted nor annoyed any man because his opinions were not the same as mine ; I had even shut my eyes to many political shortcomings, excusable under the difficulty of the circumstances. Nevertheless, I was far from experiencing that interior satisfaction which public men derive from the conviction of having done good, and conduced, each in his own sphere, to the welfare of his fellow citizens. Had I been of service to them, or had I misled them ? Had I contributed by the appointments I had made, to their well-being, or the contrary ? Time only could answer these questions, nor was it long before I knew that all my efforts had been, if not injurious, at least unavailing.

I reached Paris on the 12th of May, and the following day I waited on the Emperor, who was then residing at the Elysée. On presenting myself, I was told that he was engaged with the Duke of Dalmatia, whom he had just appointed Major-General of the army intended to act on the frontiers of the Netherlands, of which the Emperor was to take the chief command in person. I was not a little surprised to find this man restored to Napoleon's friendship, and honoured with so great a mark of his regard ; this same Marshal who, when Minister of War under the Royalist Government, had apparently used every effort to prevent the Emperor from marching on Paris, and to render his daring enterprise abortive. Such a return for Napoleon's favour might have led me to think that the opposition of the Minister of War was on the surface only ; but in that conjecture I should have been mistaken. Necessity alone had recalled the Marshal ; his military ability was the true cause of a reconciliation which seemed to me so strange at that time.

On the conclusion of the Duke of Dalmatia's audience, the Emperor sent for me, and kept me with him about a quarter of an hour. As this was my last interview with Napoleon, I will give the particulars of it. "Well," he said, as soon as he saw me ; "well, have you made good selections ? Can I rely on the men you have appointed ?" "I have done my best," I answered, "but I cannot answer for them to your Majesty. The time allowed me was altogether insufficient. I found new prefects who knew the country no better than myself. I avoided as far as possible making choice of men of extreme views, and I excluded all those who were notoriously such; but I can answer for nothing. Besides, until either political treaties or victory have definitely pronounced for us, we cannot reckon on any real success. The return of the Empress to Paris would do more at this moment than all the efforts of the Commissioners to the departments." "You are right; I don't yet altogether despair. I have sent to Vienna; I have endeavoured to treat with Talleyrand; he will listen to nothing; he is sold to England. But," interrupting himself, "was the Duc de Bourbon still in La Vendée when you got there?" "I do not know," I replied, "and I made no inquiries. If he was there, it was better to give him an opportunity of getting away than to try to detain him." "You are right," answered the Emperor, "it would have been a great difficulty." Then, after a moment's silence, he resumed. "What is the state of public feeling in those departments?" "It is my duty to tell your Majesty the truth," I replied, "and I will not attempt to disguise it. With the exception of some parts of La Vendée, where it was entirely against the Bourbons, and almost revolutionary, in other places, and especially among the higher classes, it is, if not hostile, at least cold and indifferent. As for the lower classes, they seem actuated rather by a return to Republican maxims than by any other sentiments; and if they attach themselves to the name of your Majesty, it is because they take it as a guarantee of the liberties which they claim, and which you have promised to restore. But I must not conceal that nearly everywhere, women are your declared enemies, and in France they are adversaries not to be despised." "Oh, I know that," he exclaimed; "I am told of it on all sides. I never admitted women into cabinet secrets; I never suffered them to meddle with the Government; and they are now avenging themselves."

The conversation, during which, as his custom was, he had never ceased walking up and down, then dropped, and, after a silence of a few minutes, I was dismissed.

I left the audience chamber with an unsatisfactory impression. The Emperor was no longer what I had seen him formerly. He was moody. The confidence that of old had manifested itself in his speech, the tone of command, the lofty ideas that directed his words and gestures, had disappeared; he seemed already to feel the hand of adversity that was soon to weigh so heavily upon him; he had already ceased to reckon on his destiny.

Nor was there anything to reassure me in the state of Paris. Disgust, alarm, and discontent were predominant; there was no appearance of attachment to the Government. As yet this opposition evaporated in epigrams and pasquinades, and as the artisans of the populous quarters of St. Antoine and St. Marceau had formed themselves into companies, and even presented themselves for review at the Tuileries, there was no sedition to fear. Besides, to the very last moment, Napoleon was the King of the people of Paris, and the spell of his name over them has survived him who bore it.

On my return from my mission, I found Lucien Bonaparte established in Paris, under the name of Prince Lucien.* On hearing of the Emperor's landing, and the success of an enterprise that had restored him to the throne, Lucien had hastened to leave Rome, and come to Paris with offers of service to the Emperor. The two brothers, who twelve years before had parted after a violent quarrel, met again in Paris and were reconciled. Prince Lucien resided at the Palais-Royal. The other members of the family had also assembled; Madame Mère, Prince Jerome, and Cardinal Fesch were at the Emperor's side, ready to share the good fortune of him whom they had deserted in his exile. Prince Louis alone held aloof, and did not re-appear on the shifting scene.

Prince Lucien, whose superior abilities entitled him to play a leading part, and who did in fact exercise great influence over affairs, was both bolder and more determined than the others, and would have shrunk from no extremity in order to retain the supreme authority in his family; but we were no longer in Brumaire, Year VIII., and he was mistaken in supposing that the measures than resorted to could again command success. As, moreover, notwithstanding the reconciliation of the two brothers, a certain distrust still existed between Napoleon and Lucien, Prince Joseph was nominated President of Council in the Emperor's absence, while Prince Lucien was to be present merely as a member like the Ministers.

Such was the position at the end of May. Meanwhile events were hastening on, and an inevitable crisis, of which the issue was terribly uncertain, was fast approaching. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, whom I saw on the 23d of May, told me that news had arrived from Vienna some days before, and that it was extremely bad. All hope of arrangement, or of political transaction must be given up. It was even rumoured that the dissolution of the Emperor's marriage with Marie Louise had been decided on. Although this was contradicted, there was no longer any hope that that Princess could or even would return to her husband, and that prospect, with which the nation had been soothed for awhile, vanished utterly. Thus the battlefield became our only resource; it was again to decide our fate, and we reflected with despair that if we were beaten, the foreigner would rule in France, while, if we conquered, we should once more fall under military government.

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* Pope Pius VII. had conferred on him the title of Prince of Canino.

The Emperor, who could see no chance of success excepting in war, had taken advantage of the slowness of his enemies to prepare for the campaign. The army was strengthened daily, new corps were formed, and old ones had their losses filled up. All was activity on the frontier ; the soldiers were in excellent spirits ; they longed for battle, for they knew that for them there was no salvation but in victory. With such feelings, the army, it was said, was invincible, though their numbers were only in the proportion of one to three of the enemy. But less confidence was felt in the officers than in the men. Certain reports had given rise to alarm, and the worst was that all uneasiness had to be concealed for fear of increasing the evil. All that could be done was to recall certain generals on whom commands had been bestowed, and who were now under suspicion. General Alexandre Girardin was one of these ; but the sequel has shown that many others who were retained at their posts, should have been included in this precautionary measure.

It is clear, therefore, that the Emperor, in setting out on this campaign, was no longer in the same position as formerly when he undertook his memorable wars. He was oppressed with cares of another kind, which deprived him of the prescient glance, and of the profound sagacity he had so many times displayed. There was something strained and uncertain in the situation, that was not of good augury for the future.

Another circumstance arose to complicate the position. The Chamber of Deputies was elected, and the Government affected to be satisfied with the choice of members. But their satisfaction was not sincere ; there was no concealing that the majority of the members were imbued with all the prejudice and dislike that had been manifested in the departments against the Additional Act. It was to be feared, therefore, that the Chamber would declare itself against the new Charter, and would proceed to its overthrow instead of seconding the Government. Moreover, who was to curb it during the Emperor's absence ? And on his return must a second 18 Brumaire be enacted, in order to get rid of it ? Fouché, who had so greatly aided the first, was now more than doubtful, and only the fear of making a declared enemy of him induced the Emperor to retain him in his office of Minister of Police.

There were, however, no means of temporising, nor of further adjourning the meeting of the Chambers. The Council of State even refused to act in place of the Legislature. In a sitting on the 23d of May, they had refused their adhesion to a decree proposed by the War Section calling out the conscription of 1815, because levies of recruits appertained to the Legislative Power.* In their next sitting, therefore (May the 26th), the preliminaries for the opening of the two Chambers were brought forward,† and the date fixed for the 3d of June. But, before their meeting, it was not possible to avoid holding the famous "Champ de Mai," as promised in the Emperor's first proclamation, and to which all the members of the Electoral Colleges, the deputies representing the Army and Navy, and those from all the National Guards of the Empire, were summoned. In fact, this assemblage, resuscitated from our ancient annals, and originally designed to decree any necessary modifications to the Imperial Constitutions, had become, since the publication of the Additional Act, totally superfluous; but it had been announced; all those entitled to be present were in Paris; curiosity hungered for the vain ceremonial and must needs be satisfied.

It took place in the Champ de Mars, on the 1st of June. I was present. A great concourse of people, deputies from all parts of France, magnificent troops, bishops, and numerous priests, an altar and a throne; all these things afforded a gorgeous spectacle. But there was, in general, more curiosity than enthusiasm, and the festival was in no respect to be compared, as had been intended, with the Federation of 1790. On that occasion the fête had been eminently national; the feelings of both actors and spectators were exhibited without effort or intermission. In 1815, short bursts of factitious enthusiasm occurred abruptly now and again, and the signal for applause was always given by the troops. The groups formed by the various state officials responded but feebly. I observed, however, that the University, at the head of which was M. Cuvier, who encouraged them by his example, were lavish in their shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!"‡

The state with which the Emperor had surrounded himself was not approved. The gold-embroidered garments which he had resumed, the tinsel on his courtiers' dress, were in too strong a contrast with the plain attire of the electors, and were evidently out of harmony with the spirit of the fête. The white uniforms worn by the Emperor's three brothers, and which implied a prerogative unsanctioned by the nation—since, with the exception of Prince Joseph whose right of succession was recognized, the other princes (Lucien and Jerome) had not been called to heredity—produced an especially disagreeable and offensive effect.

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* They were raised under the Empire, by means of a Senatus-Consultum, which by usurpation had the force of law.

† The Additional Act had instituted an hereditary Chamber of Peers.

‡ Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely assured me many times that he had exerted all his influence to obtain M. Cuvier's re-admission to the Council of State. M. Cuvier himself greatly wished it. But the Emperor was inflexible. He was equally so about the petitions of M. de Laplace and M. Berthollet, to be included in the Chamber of Peers, although Queen Julia, to whom he was much attached, had strongly interested herself on behalf of the former. Napoleon considered he had great cause of complaint against these three illustrious members of the University. He had, in fact, loaded them with favours, for which they had shown very little gratitude.

The speech delivered in the name of the electors, after Mass had been celebrated by the Archbishop of Bourges, was in great part the composition of Carrion-Nisas, a former member of the Tribunate. It was read, or rather theatrically declaimed, by M. Dubois, one of the deputies. The speech, which had been adopted on the preceding day by a majority of the Electors, under the presidency of Arch-chancellor Cambacérès, although occasionally very able, did not produce the effect that had been expected. On an attentive examination it was perceived that it did not touch on the special points on which the public would have wished it to be explicit, that is, on the relations to be established in future between the Nation and its Chief Magistrate. No doubt, it was right to speak of the unjust aggression of foreign powers, and to say that every Frenchman should be ready to shed his blood in repelling that aggression, but there should also have been a strong assurance that no return to the system of home government that had brought us so swiftly to destruction was intended. On this solemn occasion the Nation should have registered, in the presence of its representatives, the rights it had re-conquered, and which at that very moment it was beginning to exercise. The Chief should have been told that from that day the form of Government was changed, and France refused to be any longer the patrimony of a master.

Such was the language we would have liked to hear, and not vain recriminations on the conduct of the Royalist Government, whose faults were sufficiently known. For we had to defend ourselves, not only against the return of the Bourbons and foreign invasion ; there were other dangers that past experience had taught us to dread, and now was the time to point them out.

The Emperor's reply was as vague and commonplace as the speech addressed to him. In the midst of generalities there was only a word about the revision of the Constitution. This revision was to consist in a law intended to unite and co-ordinate all the scattered acts of the Constitution. Moreover it was full of the formulas " my people," " my capital," and others of like nature, jarring upon ears that had recovered their Republican susceptibility. From these expressions of the Emperor it was concluded that no change had been effected in his sentiments, and that the concessions he made were only yielded to necessity.

Thus, the ceremonial, far from drawing the people towards the Emperor, only cooled them the more. The displeasure of the deputies and electors was evident. Their remarks were strongly imbued with a spirit of opposition, and they did not care to conceal their feelings. In a word, the thing was an utter failure, and the assembly from which so much had been hoped, became before evening a subject of derision. Nevertheless, the ridicule cast upon it did not hinder the people of Paris from crowding as usual to the fête provided for them on the following Sunday, the 4th of June.

If the Government could not congratulate themselves on the success of the Champ de Mai, the spirit manifested by the Chamber of Representatives on their opening, two days later, was not calculated to console them. On its first sitting, the Chamber elected Count Lanjuinais as President. It could not have made a more honourable choice, nor at the same time a more hostile one. Count Lanjuinais, as a Senator under the Empire, had always belonged to the small minority who opposed those usurpations of power to which the rest of the Senate so complacently agreed. His principles were well known, and if he could not be reckoned among the strong partisans of Republican maxims, he was known to be the declared enemy of despotism. His upright and inflexible character was not open to persuasion, still less to bribery. Notwithstanding the annoyance this selection must have caused the Emperor, he gave it a cheerful approval.

The Chamber of Peers had been nominated on the 2d of June, by a decree, which was not, however, inserted in the *Moniteur* until the 6th of June. It seemed to be so selected as to ensure a strong Government party, although the list of members was a curious mixture of names from the Army, from the remains of the Senate, from the old nobility, and a few financiers. The men of science belonging to the former Senate were excluded, with the exception of Counts Chaptal and Monge. But as nearly all the newly created Peers were in the pay of the Government, there was apparently no danger of any serious opposition, nor in fact did any arise so long as the Emperor's power endured. But no sooner was it shaken than Napoleon learned that his Chamber of Peers, like his former Senate, was faithful only in prosperity.

The two Chambers being thus organised, the solemn opening of the Session was appointed to take place on the 7th of June. The sitting was held in the hall of the Chamber of Deputies, and the Council of State having been summoned to attend, I was present on the occasion. The Emperor's throne had been erected on the spot usually occupied by the writing-table of the Chamber, and the President sat opposite, in the centre of a half-circle formed by the benches of the deputies. The peers occupied lower seats on the right of the throne, and the Council of State was on the left.

The Emperor's speech, on the whole, was good, and gave much more satisfaction than that of the Champ de Mai. The expressions which had offended on that occasion were not employed. Consequently he was received with applause that seemed genuine. A few shouts of "Vive l'Empereur" were even uttered, but in general the demeanour of the Assembly was grave and cold.

After receiving addresses in reply to his speech, from both Chambers, the Emperor set out for the army on the 12th of June, at 3 A.M. The Imperial Guard had left Paris on the 5th ; it included my son-in-law, General Jamin, my nephew, and my son. This separation, which for some was to be eternal, added family troubles to the pain that as a citizen and a public man I endured during those fatal days.

Before leaving Paris, the Emperor had appointed a Governing Council, consisting of the Ministers, and presided over by Prince Joseph. It included Prince Lucien. Prince Jerome accompanied his brother to the army.

The Council of State was to exercise its usual functions, and as Arch-chancellor Cambacérès was president of the Chamber of Peers, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely was made president of the Council of State.

The duties of my post and my desire to be within reach of news from the army, kept me in Paris, and I made short excursions only to my family in the country. I saw Prince Joseph frequently, and our former friendship, which, from the circumstances I have already related, had been somewhat shaken, was again renewed. His house was the centre of the Government, and was never free from crowds, who, under pretext of attachment, endeavoured to find out, by watching our countenances, what might be looked for, either of good or evil.

The first accounts were favourable. On the morning of the 18th of June, a discharge of cannon announced the successful opening of the campaign,* and crowds more numerous than ever waited on Prince Joseph.

But on the 20th, in the evening, the most disastrous rumours were spread abroad. I tried in vain to obtain particulars as to what had occurred. Prince Joseph had not as yet received any intelligence, and I returned home at eleven, full of distress and anxiety.

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* **The engagement at Ligny under Fleury.**

The next morning there was no longer any room for doubt. We were beaten; the flower of our army, the one only hope of the nation, had perished on the field of Waterloo, and although I did not yet know the full extent of my private misfortunes, all that I heard filled me with dismay.

The Emperor had arrived during the night, and his sudden return, causing consternation to all, deprived him of the last remnant of popularity. None could understand how he had deserted the army, in the face of such dangers, and the bitterest reproaches were uttered by all.

I learned, in the course of the day, that there had been a meeting of Ministers at the Elysée Palace. Prince Joseph and Prince Lucien had been present. The Emperor offered to abdicate for a second time, and the proposition was discussed. I heard that the Duke of Otranto had been strongly in favour of accepting it, but that Prince Lucien had been as strongly against it. He had, on the contrary, urged the Emperor to get on horseback, and, at the head of his followers, to march on the Chambers, dissolve them, and declare himself dictator; the only means, he said, of saving France, and his family. The Emperor had hesitated to take this extreme step; his former energy seemed to have deserted him, and all the other members of the Council being of the same opinion as the Duke of Otranto, the abdication was resolved on, and immediately made known to the Chambers, who set up a Provisional Government. They had already declared themselves to be sitting in permanence, and at the commencement of that day's sitting had secured their inviolability, protesting against any attempt that might be made against them.

These are the only particulars that came to my knowledge at that time. But I learned, afterwards, that in the interval between the abdication and the Emperor's departure, Prince Lucien had again unsuccessfully urged the course he had advised at the Council. But he had been too ill-received in both Chambers, whither he had gone as Commissioner-Extraordinary from the Emperor, to inspire any great confidence. Times were changed, as I have already pointed out, and although his plan offered some chances of success, it is more than probable that it would have failed. Looking at it, however, neither in the interests of morality nor in those of France, but as it regarded the Emperor's fame, this, no doubt, would have been the most glorious way of ending his career.

It is worthy of remark that amid all the violent agitation prevailing during the whole of the 21st of June, in the Chambers and the Government Council, the inhabitants of Paris were far less excited than might have been expected under circumstances so serious. A complete calm reigned throughout the city, and was not for one moment disturbed. Was this from courage or from indifference? Time has solved the question. Tossed from one government to another, the people had lost all regard either for the one they were losing, or for the other that was about to be restored to them. They slumbered, while waiting to hear at their awaking, whether they were to obey Napoleon II. or Louis XVIII.*

I passed the 22d of June in Paris. In a state of overpowering mental agony, I sought in every direction for news from the army, in the hope of learning the fate of my daughter's husband, my son and my nephew. All three, as I have said, belonged to the mounted Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, and their corps, I was told, had been almost entirely destroyed.

At last, on the 23d of June, I received a letter from my nephew, telling me that General Jamin had been killed on the battlefield, and that my son had been struck by a ball in the right hip, and was seriously wounded. My nephew himself had been fortunate enough to escape all harm on that fatal day, and he was bringing home my son, on a litter he had had made for the journey.

The duties imposed on me under these melancholy circumstances absorbed all my thoughts. I went immediately to the country, to my wife and widowed daughter, who was expecting to become a mother, to offer them every consolation in my power. My son did not arrive until the 27th of June. He had been obliged to travel by circuitous routes, to avoid the enemy, who were already spreading on the roads leading to the capital. His wound was far more serious than had been thought at first. I should have liked to keep him in the country, where he would have been in better air, and would have been more quiet than in Paris; but the danger was too great, and I was obliged to remove him with the rest of my family to my small apartment in Paris.

I returned there myself two days beforehand. I had seen Prince Joseph several times, and had told him of my misfortunes. He sympathised in my grief, and was touched with regret at the death of his former aide-de-camp, who had so bravely defended him at Vittoria; but the crisis in his own affairs naturally absorbed all his thoughts, and I shrank from diverting his attention from them.

I had left him on the 27th of June, and had gone the next morning to the country, to complete some domestic arrangements. I had barely arrived there when I received a note from M. Presle, Joseph's private secretary, begging me in the most pressing terms to wait upon the Prince immediately. The note was addressed to me in Paris, from whence it had been forwarded to me. I started at once, and I reached Prince Joseph's palace at about noon ; but he was not there ; I only saw his wife. She told me that her husband had set out that very morning ; that he had wished me to accompany him, and would have proposed my doing so had I arrived in time. She added, however, that she had been doubtful whether, under the melancholy circumstances in my own family, I could have accepted his offer, but that her husband had been determined on making it, because he knew of no other friend sufficiently devoted to follow him in his self-imposed exile. She did not however tell me the place he had chosen for his future abode, nor did I question her on the subject.* She also informed me that the Emperor was at Malmaison ; that he was to leave that place on the same day, or, at latest, on the next, the 29th, for Rochefort, where the Minister of the Navy had two frigates in readiness to escort him to America. She added that the Emperor's mother, Prince Lucien, Prince Jerome and Cardinal Fesch had left Paris for either Switzerland or Italy, and that she herself, with her two daughters, was about to reside with her sister the Princess of Sweden, in a country house belonging to the latter at Auteuil, where under the protection of Sweden, she would be safe from any kind of pursuit or ill treatment.

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* Napoleon had abdicated on condition that his son should succeed him.

Thus did a family, who for fifteen years had dazzled Europe with their splendour, and made themselves a mark for envy, utterly disappear from the scene. At the end of the conversation just recorded, I felt like a man awaking from a long dream, and who at first can hardly believe in the reality of the objects he sees about him. Although I ought, for some days past, to have expected such an ending, I was as much surprised as if it had been unforeseen. My thoughts were confused and uncertain. The scene at Blois, when we heard of the first abdication of the Emperor, had greatly impressed me. That fall was great, but not inglorious. The victors respected the great man they had overthrown, and seemed, as it were, astounded at their own victory. They even gave him a place in their own ranks, by retaining for him his title of Emperor. But now, there was nought remaining ; power, grandeur, even the name which perpetuated the recollection of these, and was a consolation for their loss ; all, all had perished, and perished irretrievably !

At the close of this painful interview I returned to the country, to conduct my family to Paris, and on the 29th of June we were settled there.

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* I learned, a few months afterwards, by a letter from Joseph himself, that he had decided on the United States, and had safely arrived there.

In consequence of these circumstances, I retired into private life, and as I had no communication with those who at that time were deciding the destinies of France, I can give no particulars of the events that took place from the time of my return to the capital until the 26th of July, when I removed to the country, there to live in complete seclusion.

During our absence, our house and premises had been occupied first by General Vandamme's division, and afterwards by various corps belonging to the enemy, who had come there in succession, and had done much damage. Lastly, a detachment of fifty soldiers belonging to the Russian infantry was quartered there under command of an officer. I had however no complaints to make of the conduct of these troops. The Emperor Alexander had, at my daughter's request, sent us two Cossacks belonging to his guard, who protected us from any excesses. He even came himself, as a Russian officer merely, to make sure that his benevolent intentions had been duly carried out. During his visit we were not aware of his rank, and it was only after he had taken leave of us, that the two Cossacks, who had recognized him, but had kept his secret until then, told us that the officer was their Emperor.

Notwithstanding this generous protection, of which I shall always retain a grateful recollection, the inevitable and legitimate expenses imposed on us by the four months' sojourn of the troops in our household—expenses that were far beyond our means—the requisitions of forage and provisions, which we also had to furnish, as our share of the general tax levied on the department for the support of the enemy's troops ; these expenses, I repeat, quite exceeded our means, and threw our very moderate fortune into a disorder from which we have never been able to extricate it.

The loss of fortune, however, was not the greatest misfortune I had to dread. My son's wound, which medical men had at first thought serious, but not fatal, assumed day by day a more dangerous aspect. The ileum, which they thought had not been touched, had been injured, gangrene set in, and after lingering for nearly six months, and in spite of the care and attention lavished on him, he breathed his last on the 5th of December, 1815. He had not completed his twentieth year when he received his death-wound on the field of Waterloo.

I will not attempt to describe his mother's grief or mine. This dreadful loss embittered the latter years of our lives ; but he died fighting against the invader and for the independence of his country. His was a glorious death, and this is my only remaining consolation.

After the death of my son-in-law and my son, our reverse of fortune* no longer permitted us to retain the country house to which we had retired in 1814, and we succeeded in selling it towards the end of 1817.

There were then two courses open to me. The one was to live in the remote country, which we could have accomplished more easily on the means remaining to us: the other to come to Paris, and encounter severer privations in consequence of the high price of provisions and of house rent, but with the hope of greater liberty by way of compensation. In the then state of France, I was afraid of life in a province, where I should have been a more or less suspected personage, and vigilantly watched by the mayor, the curé, the officer of gendarmerie, and the sub-prefect. In Paris, I should be independent. There were so many persons there to attract the attention of the police, before they reached me in my obscurity, that I had nothing to fear, since it was my intention to deepen that obscurity if possible, rather than to emerge from it. These considerations prevailed and I established myself and my family in the capital, in the month of April, 1818. Being now neither an elector nor eligible, I lived there entirely apart from public affairs, weary of the civil strife of my country, and occupied exclusively with those literary labors which in 1835 obtained for me the honor of being made a member of the Institute.

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* My pension as former Councillor of State had been withdrawn in 1815. It was restored to me in 1818, through the influence of Baron Pasquier, who obtained this act of justice, by such efforts and such zeal as might be expected from a former colleague.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

THE reader will remember the circumstance of the passport sent by Count Miot to King Joseph in the April of 1814, one of the conditions of which had deeply offended the King, and had greatly impaired the friendship that had existed for many years between those two personages. It would seem, however, that by the end of the Hundred Days, the cloud had partly cleared away, since Prince Joseph, when he set out for America, in June, 1815, had intended asking M. de Melito to join his exile. Time and reflection probably caused the Count de Survilliers to perceive still more clearly how great had been his injustice in visiting on M. de Melito, a restriction placed by the Provisional Government of 1814 on the delivery of a passport to Napoleon's brother. For it is a fact that a few months after his arrival in the United States, M. de Survilliers wrote a friendly letter to Count Miot, and that a regular correspondence was established thenceforth between them, and their former intimacy was renewed.

Count de Survilliers frequently expressed a desire to see his friend, and at the beginning of 1825, M. de Melito received a letter in which he was urged so strongly to visit the Count in his chosen retreat, and the invitation made to him was accompanied by such friendly and affectionate expressions, that Count Miot could not resist them. He resolved on going to the United States, and embarked at Hâvre on the 1st of July, 1825, on board the American vessel *Cadmus*. After a rough voyage, he reached New York on the 9th of August, and was met immediately on landing by the Count de Survilliers, with whom he remained until the 15th of May, 1826, when he embarked on his return to Europe.

According to his custom, Count Miot made notes of all he saw or heard worthy of remark in the course of his travels through several of the States, either alone or in company with M. de Survilliers. But since that time so many excellent works have been published on America; and the institutions, the political government of the United States, and even the manners of the inhabitants have so greatly changed, that what was novel and accurate in 1825, might appear at the present time antiquated and incorrect. These considerations prevent us from publishing that part of Count Miot's journal which relates to his visit to America, and we limit ourselves to transcribing what he learned from Count de Survilliers concerning his departure from France, and his settlement in the United States. We shall thus complete the history of that prince whose life and policy occupy so large a place in these Memoirs.

On leaving Paris at the end of June, 1815, Prince Joseph had turned his steps toward Rochefort, intending to join the Emperor, for whom two frigates were being got ready in that port. But, having learned that an English ship was cruising about, and that it would be impossible to escape it, he resolved on chartering an American vessel that was being laden with brandy in the Charente. By purchasing the cargo, not yet complete, from the Captain, and also paying him a heavy indemnity for the remainder of his profits, he induced him to set sail at once. After having vainly proposed to his brother to take this opportunity of eluding his enemies, he embarked, passed unmolested through the midst of the English squadron, and after a passage of a month and some days at last reached New York. He at first took up his abode in that city where he was taken for General Carnot; but when it became known who he really was, the welcome afforded him by all the most distinguished men in New York, gave him no cause to regret the loss of his incognito. The interest he excited, the regard which he won by his misfortunes, his philosophic fortitude, his attractive manners and his noble simplicity, soon caused the hospitable land of his retreat to seem to him like a second home. How much more fortunate was he in his choice than his brother, who had imprudently trusted himself to a nation which became a gaoler to the hero who had confided in its generosity!

Having decided on establishing himself altogether in the United States, Joseph Bonaparte, under the name of Count de Survilliers, sent to France for his money, his library and his pictures. He then left the city, his tastes inclining him to a country life, and after residing for some time at a house at Manhattan on the left bank of the Hudson, in the State of New York, he finally purchased the estate of Breezy Point in New Jersey. He occupied himself in improving this property, making it his principal care. The works he undertook, and had carried out by the numerous laborers in his employment, diffused prosperity around and especially in the village of Bordentown; and far from restricting himself to the embellishment of his own property only, he acted generously towards the country itself; contributing to the improvement of the roads, by levelling heights, and constructing several bridges at his own cost.

The Government of the States had acknowledged the services and the worth of their illustrious guest by various marks of distinction. The Count de Survilliers, notwithstanding the situation in which circumstances had placed him, and the independence he had thus acquired, had never consented to give up the title of a French citizen, and become naturalized in one of the States, and consequently he could hold no funded property. But the Legislature of New York State relieved him by a formal Act from this incapacity, and conferred on him all the rights of an American citizen without obliging him to assume the name. By means of this special enactment, he acquired vast estates in the North, on the banks of the Black River, and became also one of the largest landholders in the State of New York.

Such was the position of Count de Survilliers, when Count Miot de Melito joined him in August, 1825. He enjoyed it, and yet was not perfectly happy. Certain recollections, hopes, and illusions, would at times arise before his mind to disturb its serenity. A longing to see Europe once more had not completely died out. Nevertheless, when Count Miot informed him of the negotiations which the Duke de Montmorency had set on foot with the Austrian and Russian Ministers, of which the result had been that those Powers would never consent to his residing in Italy, he seemed to give up the intention of returning to Europe, and his subsequent refusal of the offer of the Low Countries as a place of residence would seem to show that his renunciation was sincere. Moreover, had he not wished for Italy in particular, he might long before have taken up his abode elsewhere in Europe. His brother-in-law, the King of Sweden, and the Emperor Alexander, who had shown unabated interest in him, had offered him hospitality, but the climate, whose severity he dreaded, caused him to decline it.

In their conversations, Count Miot endeavored to confirm him in his resolution not to leave America, but the sequel has shown that he did not altogether succeed. Everybody knows how greatly the events of July, 1830, agitated the Count de Survilliers in his retreat, and that he made efforts to maintain the rights of the Napoleon family to the Throne of France, efforts that must needs be fruitless at that period. After crossing the Atlantic several times, he finally returned to Europe, and after several apoplectic attacks had reduced him to a deplorable condition of mind and body, he obtained permission to join his wife at Florence, where he died in 1844.

APPENDIX.

Note 1, *Page* 311.

THE 'Lady-in-waiting' to whom the author alludes, was Madame de Rémusat. In her Memoirs she gives the following account of the conduct of the wife of the First Consul in the matter of the execution of the Duc d'Enghien:

"Madame Bonaparte informed me that we were to pass that week at Malmaison. 'I am very glad,' she added; 'Paris frightens me just now.' Shortly afterwards we set out; Bonaparte was in his own carriage. Madame Bonaparte and myself were in hers. I observed that she was silent and sad for a part of the way, and I let her see that I was uneasy about her. At first she seemed reluctant to give me any explanation, but at length she said, 'I am going to trust you with a great secret. This morning Bonaparte told me that he had sent M. de Canlaincourt to the frontier to seize the Duc d'Enghien. He is to be brought back here.' 'Ah, Madame,' I exclaimed, 'what are they going to do with him?' 'I believe,' she answered, 'he will have him tried.' I do not think I have ever in my life experienced such a thrill of terror as that which her words sent through me. Madame Bonaparte thought I was going to faint, and let down all the glasses. 'I have done what I could,' she went on, 'to induce him to promise me that the prince's life shall not be taken, but I am greatly afraid his mind is made up.' 'What, do you really think he will have him put to death?' 'I fear so.' At these words I burst into tears, and then, so soon as I could master my emotion sufficiently to speak, I urged upon her the fatal consequences of such a deed, the indelible stain of such vain bloodshed which would satisfy the Jacobin party only, the strong interest with which the prince inspired all the other parties, the great name of Condé, the general horror, the bitter animosity which would be aroused, and many other considerations. I argued every side of the question, of which Madame Bonaparte contemplated one only. The idea of a murder was that which had struck her most strongly; but I succeeded in seriously alarming her, and she promised that she would endeavor by every means in her power to induce Bonaparte to relinquish his fatal purpose."

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"That night when I was leaving Madame Bonaparte, she again promised me that she would renew her entreaties.

I joined her as early as I could on the following morning, and found her quite in despair. Bonaparte had repelled her at every point. He had told her that women had no concern with such matters; that his policy required this *coup d'état;* that by it he should acquire the right to exercise clemency hereafter; that in fact, he was forced to choose between a decisive act and a long series of conspiracies which he would have to punish in detail; as impunity would have encouraged the various parties. He should have to go on prosecuting, exiling, condemning without end; to revoke his measures of mercy toward the emigrès; to place himself in the hands of the Jacobins. . . . During their interview, Madame Bonaparte informed her husband, that he was about to aggravate the heinousness of the deed by the selection of M. de Canlaincourt, whose parents had formerly been in the household of the Prince de Condé, as the person who was to arrest the Duc d'Enghien."

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"My profound emotion distressed Madame Bonaparte. She had great faith in all Bonaparte's views, and owing to her natural levity and fickleness, she excessively disliked painful or lasting impressions. Her feelings were quick but extraordinarily evanescent. Being convinced that the death of the Duc d'Enghien was inevitable, she wanted to get rid of an unavailing regret; but I would not allow her to do so. I importuned her all day long without ceasing. She listened to me with extreme gentleness and kindness, but in utter dejection; she knew Bonaparte better than I. I wept while talking to her; I implored her not to allow herself to be put down, and, as I was not without influence over her, I succeeded in inducing her to make a last attempt."

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"On the Tuesday morning, Madame Bonaparte said to me, 'All is useless; the Duc d'Enghien arrives this evening. He will be taken to Vincennes and tried to-night. Murat has undertaken the whole. He is odious in this matter; it is he who is urging Bonaparte on, by telling him that his clemency will be taken for weakness, that the Jacobins will be furious, and one party is now displeased because the former fame of Moreau has not been taken into consideration, and will ask why a Bourbon should be differently treated. Bonaparte has forbidden me to speak to him again on the subject. He asked me about you,' she added, 'and I acknowledged that I had told you everything. He had perceived your distress. Pray try to control yourself.'"

Extract from a Note by M. Paul de Rémusat.

"The 'Mémorial de Ste Hélène' denies, however, that Bonaparte had to refuse any entreaties for clemency. The imaginary scene in which Joséphine begs on her knees for the life of the Duc d'Enghien, and, clinging to the coat of Napoleon, is dragged along the ground by her inexorable husband, is one of those melodramatic inventions with which the fiction-writers of the present day compose their veracious histories. On the evening of the 19th of March, Joséphine was in ignorance that the Duc d'Enghien was to be tried; she only knew that he had been arrested. She had promised Madame de Rémusat to interest herself in his fate."

Note 2. Despatch from Lord Wellington respecting the Battle of the Arapiles.

"FLORES DE AVILA, 24th July, 1812.

"TO EARL BATHURST:

"My aide-de-camp, Captain Lord Clinton, will present to your Lordship this account of a victory which the allied troops under my command gained in a general action, fought near Salamanca on the evening of the 22nd inst., which I have been under the necessity of delaying to send till now, having been engaged ever since the action in the pursuit of the enemy's flying troops.

"In my letter of the 21st, I informed your Lordship that both armies were near the Tormes; and the enemy crossed that river with the greatest part of his troops, in the afternoon, by the fords between the Alba de Tormes and Huerta, and moved by their left towards the roads leading to Ciudad-Rodrigo.

"The allied army, with the exception of the 3rd division, and General D'Urban's cavalry, likewise crossed the Tormes in the evening by the bridge of Salamanca and the fords in the neighborhood; and I placed the troops in a position, of which the right was upon one of the two heights called Dos Arapiles, and the left on the Tormes, below the ford of S^ta^ Marta.

"The 3rd division, and Brigadier-General D'Urban's cavalry were left at Cabrerizos, on the right of the Tormes, as the enemy had still a large corps on the heights above Babilafuente, on the same side of the river; and I considered it not improbable that, finding our army prepared for them in the morning on the left of the Tormes, they would alter their plan and manœuvre by the other bank.

"In the course of the night of the 21st, I received intelligence, of the truth of which I could not doubt, that General Clausel had arrived at Pollos on the 20th with the cavalry and horse artillery of the Army of the North to join Marshal Marmont, and I was quite certain that these troops would join him on the 22nd or 23rd at latest.

"There was no time to be lost therefore; and I determined that, if circumstances should not permit me to attack him on the 22nd, I would move towards Ciudad-Rodrigo without further loss of time, as the difference of the numbers of the cavalry might have made a march of manœuvre, such as we have had for the last four or five days, very difficult, and its result doubtful.

"During the night of the 21st, the enemy had taken possession of the village of Calvarassa de Arriba, and of the heights near it called N. S. de la Peña, our calvary being in possession of Calvarassa de Abaxo; and shortly after daylight, detachments from both armies attempted to obtain possession of the more distant from our right of the two hills called Dos Arapiles. The enemy, however, succeeded; their detachments being the strongest, and having been concealed in the woods nearer the hill than we were; by which success they strengthened materially their own position, and had in their power increased means of annoying ours.

"In the morning the light troops of the 7th division, and the 4th caçadores belonging to General Sack's brigade, were engaged with the enemy on the height called N. S. de la Peña, on which height they maintained themselves with the enemy throughout the day. The possession by the enemy, however, of the more distant of the Arapiles rendered it necessary for me to extend the right of the army en potence to the height behind the village of Arapiles, and to occupy that village with the light infantry; and here I placed the 4th division, under the command of Lieut.-General the Hon. L. Cole; and although, from the variety of the enemy's movements, it was difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of his intentions, I considered that upon the whole his objects were upon the left of the Tormes. I therefore ordered Major-General the Hon. E. Pakenham, who commanded the 3d division in the absence of Lieut.-General Picton, on account of ill health, to move across the Tormes with the troops under his command, including Brig.-General D'Urban's cavalry and to place himself behind Aldea Tejada; Brig.-General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry, and Don Carlos de España's infantry having been moved up likewise to the neighborhood of Las Torres, between the 3d and 4th divisions.

"After a variety of evolutions and movements, the enemy appears to have determined upon his plan about two in the afternoon ; and under cover of a very heavy cannonade, which, however, did us but very little damage, he extended his left, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace, by the position of his troops, and by his fire, our post on that of the two Arapiles which we possessed, and from thence to attack and break our line, or, at all events to render difficult any movement of ours to our right.

"The extension of his line to his left, however, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops still occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him, for which I had long been anxious. I reinforced our right with the 5th division, under Lieut.-General Leith, which I placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the 4th division, and with the 6th and 7th in reserve ; and as soon as these troops had taken their station, I ordered Major-General the Hon. E. Pakenham to move forward with the 3d division and General D'Urban's cavalry, and two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, under Lieut.-Colonel Hervey, in four columns, to turn the enemy's left on the heights ; while Brig.-General Bradford's brigade, the 5th division, under Lieut.-General Leith, the 4th division, under Lieut.-General the Hon. L. Cole, and the cavalry, under Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, the 7th, under Major-General Hope, and Don Carlos de España's Spanish division ; and Brig.-General Pack should support the left of the 4th division, by attacking that of the Dos Arapiles which the enemy held. The 1st and light divisions occupied the ground on the left, and were in reserve.

"The attack upon the enemy's left was made in the manner above described and completely succeeded.

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"After the crest of the height was reached, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the 4th division, which, after a severe contest, was obliged to give way, in consequence of the enemy having thrown some troops on the left of the 4th division, after the failure of Brig.-General Pack's attack upon the Arapiles, and Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. L. Cole having been wounded. Marshal Sir W. Beresford, who happened to be on the spot, directed Brig.-General Spring's brigade of the 5th division, which was in the second line, to change its front, and to bring its fire on the flank of the enemy's division ; and, I am sorry to add that, while engaged in this service he received a wound which I am apprehensive will deprive me of the benefit of his counsel and assistance for some time. Nearly about the same time Lieut.-General Leith received a wound which unfortunately obliged him to quit the field. I ordered up the 6th division, under Major-General Clinton, to relieve the 4th, and the battle was soon restored to its former success.

"The enemy's right, however, reinforced by the troops which had fled from his left, and by those which had now retired from the Arapiles, still continued to resist ; and I ordered the first and light divisions, and Colonel Stubbs' Portuguese brigade of the 4th division, which was reformed, and Major-General W. Anson's brigade, likewise of the 4th division, to turn the right, while the 6th division, supported by the 3d and the 5th, attacked the front. It was dark before this point was carried by the 6th division ; and the enemy fled through the woods toward the Tormes. I pursued them with the 1st and light divisions, and Major-General W. Anson's brigade of the 4th division, and some squadrons of cavalry under Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton, as long as we could find any of them together, directing our march upon Huerta and the fords of the Tormes, by which the enemy had passed on their advance; but the darkness of the night was highly advantageous to the enemy, many of whom escaped under its cover who must otherwise have been in our hands. I am sorry to report that, owing to the same cause, Lieut.-General Sir S. Cotton was unfortunately wounded by one of our own sentries after we had halted.

"We renewed the pursuit at the break of day in the morning with the same troops, and Major-General Bock's and Major-General Anson's brigades of cavalry, which joined during the night; and having crossed the Tormes, we came up with the enemy's rear of cavalry and infantry near La Serna. They were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons, and the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. I have never witnessed a more gallant charge than was made on the enemy's infantry by the heavy brigade of the King's German Legion, under Major-General Bock, which was completely successful; and the whole body of infantry, consisting of three battalions of the enemy's 1st division, were made prisoners. The pursuit was afterward continued as far as Señaranda last night, and our troops were still following the flying enemy. Their headquarters were in this town, not less than ten leagues from the field of battle, for a few hours last night; and they are now considerably advanced on the road towards Valladolid, by Arevalo. They were joined yesterday on their retreat by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the North, which have arrived at too late a period, it is to be hoped, to be of much use to them.

"It is impossible to form a conjecture of the amount of the enemy's loss in this action; but, from all reports, it is very considerable. We have taken from them 11 pieces of cannon, several ammunition wagons, 2 eagles, and 6 colors; and 1 general, 3 colonels, 130 officers of inferior rank, and between 6000 and 7000 soldiers and prisoners; and our detachment are sending in more at every moment. The number of dead on the field is very large.

"I am informed that Marshal Marmont is badly wounded and has lost one of his arms; and that four General Officers have been killed and several wounded. Such an advantage could not have been acquired without material loss on our side, but it certainly has not been of a magnitude to distress the army or to cripple its operations.

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"Captain Lord Clinton will have the honour of laying at the feet of H.R.H. the Prince Regent the eagles and colors taken from the enemy in this action."

"Flores de Avila, 24th July, 1812.

"To Earl Bathurst.

"I hope that you will be pleased with our battle, of which the dispatch contains as accurate an account as I can give you. There was no mistake; everything went on as it ought, and there never was an army so beaten in so short a time. If we had had another hour or two of daylight, not a man would have passed the Tormes; and as it was, they would all have been taken if — — had left the garrison in Alba de Tormes as I wished and desired; or having taken it away, as I believe, before he was aware of my wishes, he had informed me that it was not there. If he had, I should have marched in the night upon Alba, where I should have caught them all, instead of upon the fords of the Tormes. But this is a little misfortune, which does not diminish the honour acquired by the troops in the action, nor, I hope, the advantage to be derived from it by the country; as I do not believe there are many soldiers who were in the action, who are likely to face us again till they shall be very largely reinforced indeed." * * * * *

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